

ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZING

ON CAMPUS...



...AND BEYOND

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The South Africa Catalyst Project is one of an exciting set of existing campus groups which are working to change the policy of the American government and corporations toward a minority ruled South Africa. The Catalyst Project was formed in June, 1977 by twenty members of the Student Commission for a Responsible Investment Policy. We are pleased to meet the need for good material on organizing campus groups of the U.S. role in South Africa. Therefore, we have published a guide to organizing—*Organize, Organize, Organize!*—and *U.S. Involvement in South Africa*. We also will post a bulletin board to distribute these materials and catalyze activity on California campuses.

Our first year was rather successful. The two publications were printed at the end of 1977, and have been very well received. U.S. Involvement in South Africa has been explained by the instructor for Public Studies. Our bulletin board has made extended trips throughout California, working closely with some twenty groups. His efforts have led directly to new anti-apartheid complaints at previously inactive schools and greater discussion among existing groups.

The Catalyst Project's second year has been one of increased effort as against the militant anti-apartheid movement. We recently published a collection of the Northern, greatly expanding both our communications network and our ability to help campuses coordinate their efforts. Through these two collectives, our work has been steadily increasing. The Catalyst Project is printing a monthly national newsletter, *A Date With*. The two Catalyst collectives have also been working on two new publications. This organizing manual is the first one. It will soon be followed by a second pamphlet studying the economic and political impact of U.S. withdrawal from South Africa.

Since the Catalyst Project began, student activity around South Africa has spread to over 100 campuses nationwide. Regional collectives are taking shape and the movement has started to move off-campus to work with communities, churches and unions opposing U.S. involvement in Southern Africa. This pamphlet is part of our contribution to this growing movement.

We began working on this publication in the summer of 1978, in order to provide a much-needed companion to *Organize, Organize, Organize!* a valuable handbook on basic organizing skills—we call strongly recommended it to starting activists. However, our burgeoning movement now requires more specific knowledge and skills which encompass the numerous issues stemming from U.S. links to apartheid. We believe that after several years of successful organizing around many issues, it is time to gain together our experience and knowledge in order to make it more accessible to a growing number of activists. We sought to provide basic information, valuable experience and a listing of resources which would aid and facilitate anti-apartheid organizing—in its fullest scope and reach to give us its broadest constituency. We rely on your own experience in carrying responsibility for much of the material in this guide. Where we lacked knowledge we relied on the staff of the Catalyst to broaden the scope of the material. Thus, the contributors to this guide are activists from many different campuses and several non-student organizations.

...AND BEYOND

INTRODUCTION

The South Africa Catalyst Project is now in its second year of assisting campus groups which are working to change the policy of the American government and corporations toward minority-ruled South Africa. The Catalyst Project was formed in June, 1977 by twenty Stanford community members involved in the Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP). It was created to meet the need for good material on organizing techniques and a more accessible analysis of the U.S. role in South Africa. Therefore, financed by grant monies, we produced *Organize*—a handbook for organizers—and *U.S. Investments in South Africa*. We also sent out a full-time traveler to distribute these materials and catalyze activity on California campuses.

Our first year was rather successful. The two publications were printed at the end of 1977, and have been very well received. *U.S. Investments in South Africa* has been reprinted by the Institute for Policy Studies. Our full-time organizer has made extended trips throughout California, working closely with some twenty groups. His efforts have led directly to new anti-apartheid campaigns at previously inactive schools and greater coordination among existing groups.

The Catalyst Project's second year has been one of increased efforts to support the student anti-apartheid movement. We recently established a collective in the Northeast, greatly extending both our communications network and our ability to help campuses coordinate their efforts. Through these two collectives, our work has been steadily increasing. The Catalyst Project is printing a monthly national newsletter, *A Luta Continua*. The two Catalyst collectives have also been working on two new publications. This organizing manual is the first one. It will soon be followed by a second pamphlet studying the economic and political impact of U.S. withdrawal from South Africa.

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We began working on this publication in the summer of 1978, in order to provide a much-needed companion to *Organize*. *Organize* is still a valuable handbook on basic organizing skills—we still strongly recommend it to aspiring activists. However, our burgeoning movement now requires more specific knowledge and skills which encompass the numerous issues stemming from U.S. links to apartheid. We believe that after several years of sustained organizing around many issues, it is time to pool together this experience and knowledge in order to make it more accessible to a growing number of activists. We sought to provide basic information, valuable experiences and a listing of resources which would aid and facilitate anti-apartheid organizing—in its fullest scope and with an eye on its broadest constituency. We relied upon our own experiences in campus organizing for much of the material in this guide. Where we lacked knowledge we relied on that of other activists to broaden the scope of the manual. Thus, the contributors to this guide are activists from many different campuses and several non-student organizations.

But as our name suggests, we seek to catalyse action, not simply compile information. This guide was undertaken for just that purpose—to catalyse the expansion of the movement, both in terms of the issues it encompasses and the people it reaches. By providing information, experiences and resources on issues that go beyond university investments we hope to give students, workers and all activists the inspiration and capacity to organize anti-apartheid activities wherever they find the tentacles of racism and apartheid. We offer no one focus for organizing as inherently superior to another. Nor do we intend to suggest that an activist commit her/himself to cover all the issues we touch upon. Each focus is best suited for particular conditions and resources, goals and interests. All educate people and unite them to oppose apartheid. All help erode the edifice of racist rule in South Africa and challenge support of this edifice in America. Just as resistance in South Africa bears all hues and shades—from the writing of a poem to the building of a dwelling for one's family to the toting of a gun—so must an effective support movement in the U.S. encompass the myriad connections to apartheid we encounter.

We hope to see and help such a movement blossom further. We seek your advice, support and solidarity.

A luta continua,

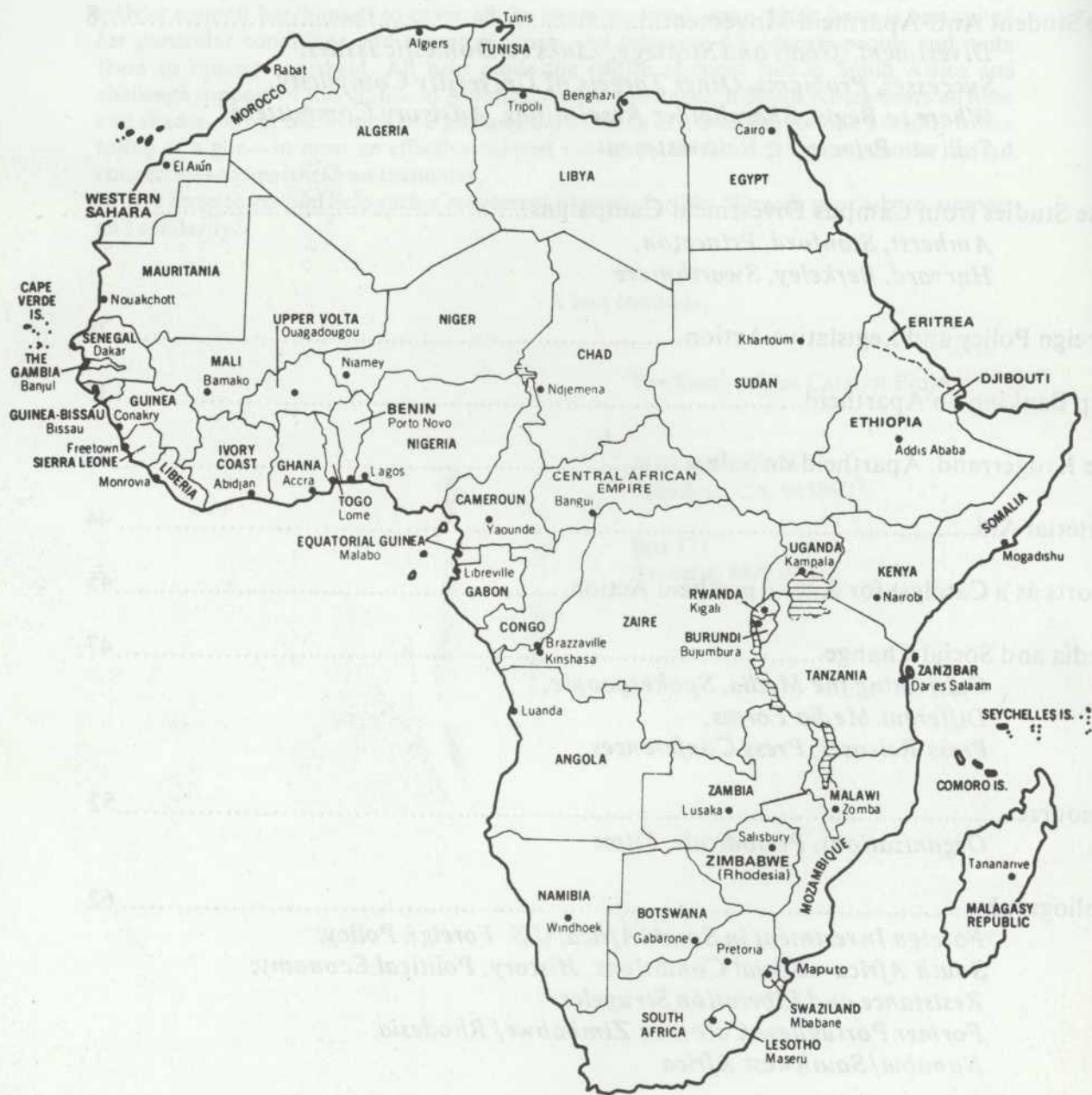
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WHY SOUTH AFRICA?

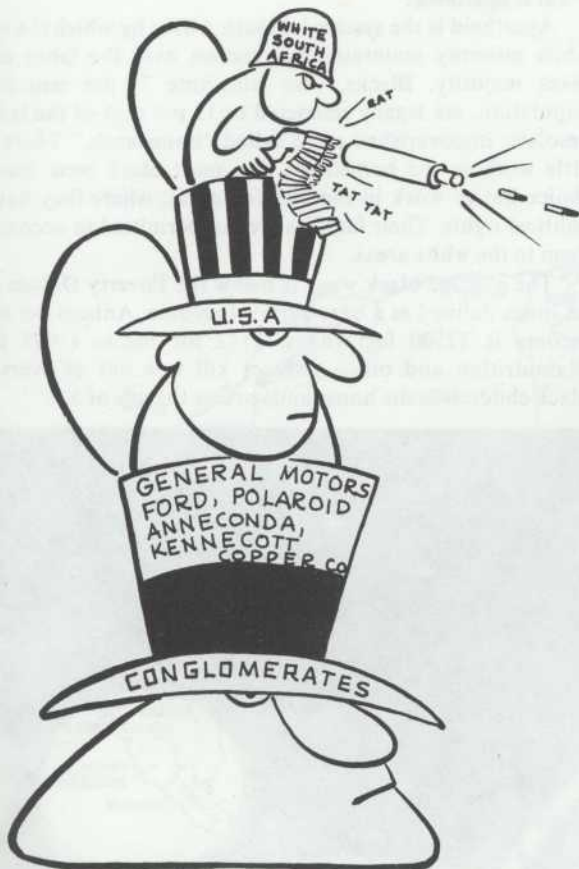
What is apartheid?

Apartheid is the system in South Africa by which the ruling white minority maintains domination over the labor of the black majority. Blacks, who constitute 71 per cent of the population, are legally restricted to 13 per cent of the land, in desolate, impoverished areas called "homelands." There is so little work in the homelands that most black men have no choice but to work in the "white" areas, where they have no political rights. Their families are not permitted to accompany them to the white areas.

The average black wage is below the Poverty Datum Line, an index defined as a bare-survival income. Annual per capita income is \$2500 for whites, \$172 for blacks (1975 data). Malnutrition and other diseases kill one out of every two black children in the homelands before the age of 5.



Rachel Burger/CPF



What is the role of U.S. corporations in South Africa?

U.S. corporations provide goods and services for the white market and for the apartheid government. They are concentrated in strategic sectors such as oil, computers, automotive, and rubber—industries in which South Africa is not self-sufficient. For example, South Africa must import virtually all its oil. But U.S. investment and bank loans are gradually helping the apartheid regime to become economically impervious to outside pressure, especially in the energy sector.

Senator Dick Clark (D-Iowa) has summarized the conclusions of a recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee study (the so-called Clark Report):

American capital and credit have played a pivotal role in assisting the South African government to entrench its policies of apartheid... The net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's apartheid regime, undermining the fundamental goals and objectives of U.S. foreign policy.

U.S. corporations pay taxes to the apartheid regime, and cooperate with restrictive apartheid laws. Under the recently enacted National Supplies Procurement Act, their facilities are subject to immediate conversion to war production in the event of a "security emergency", such as an uprising by South

Africa's black population. Also, U.S. corporate assets serve as an "American hostage" which influences U.S. government policy toward South Africa.

Doesn't foreign investment mean more jobs and better conditions for everyone?

U.S. investment is largely capital-intensive; it provides only 100,000 jobs out of a total labor force of 9.8 million, while black unemployment exceeds 1 million. Certain imported technology in fact reduces non-white employment. Wages paid by U.S. firms to their few black workers are, on the whole, equal to or only marginally higher than those paid by South African firms. Furthermore, the assumption that overall economic growth "trickles down" significantly to the black majority is simply not borne out by the historical record.

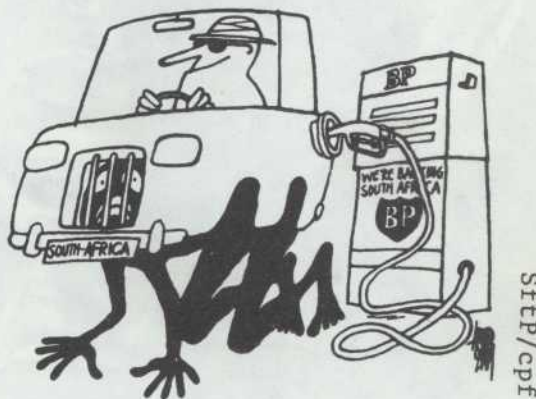
U.S. corporations also argue that foreign investment and economic growth are likely to bring about a "liberalization" of apartheid policies, and that progress in this direction is already occurring. These self-serving claims are contradicted by the facts: prosperity (for the minority) is perfectly compatible with brutal repression, as history in South Africa and elsewhere has repeatedly shown; and repression, far from relaxing over the past few years, has ominously intensified.

In the succinct words of *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker:

American businessman ought to stop kidding themselves, or disguising their profit motives; when they invest in South Africa, they invest in apartheid.

But can't U.S. corporations be a "liberalizing influence" by staying in South Africa?

This is the public position of the corporations (with the notable exception of Polaroid, which has recently withdrawn from South Africa). Not coincidentally, it is also the position of many boards of trustees, who state—although without providing any evidence—that "by pursuing progressive labor policies, American companies doing business in South Africa could be a positive force toward the elimination of apartheid."



Such statements gloss over the major role of U.S. corporations as *producers* of strategic materials for the apartheid economy; and they ignore the fundamental constraints of the apartheid system within which the U.S. corporations must operate and which no "progressive labor policies" could ever

change. In any case, it is simply not in the interests of the U.S. corporations to fundamentally challenge the apartheid system; for as the corporations themselves have stated, they are in South Africa to do business at a profit, not to campaign for political change. The U.S. corporations are, in the words of NCR's South African manager, "good corporate citizens."

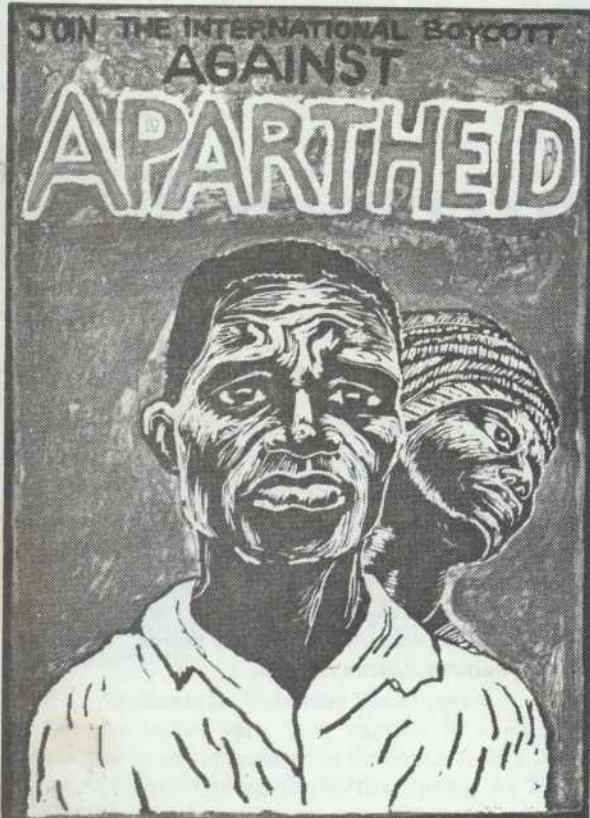
South Africa's Ambassador to the U.S., Donald Sole, was asked recently about the progressive force claim. He replied:

I do not think that they (U.S. corporations) will play a role in what you refer to as "elimination of apartheid"...They cannot play any role whatsoever in the institution of black majority rule.

What is our task?

We seek to apply pressure to U.S. corporations and the U.S. government to cease their support of the apartheid economy and military apparatus. Pressure in the U.S. has already induced Polaroid to withdraw; Control Data to curtail its activities; and Chemical Bank and other banks to refuse loans to the Vorster regime.

We should remember that while U.S. corporations are very important to the apartheid economy, the reverse is not the case: South African operations constitute only a small fraction of the business of most of these multinational corporations. Thus, the way to force the corporations to withdraw is for our actions to make the costs here at home of continued complicity with apartheid greater than the benefits: costs in terms of bad publicity, decreased sales, and above all, losses in political power and legitimacy. □



San Francisco Poster Brigade/LNS



•princeton

•Students Say "No Investments in South Africa!"•

occidental•

•santa barbara•williams•irvine•wesleyan•mit•santa cruz•davis

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY SAYS



hampshire•columbia•riverside•dartmouth•swarthmore•stanford

“thanks U.S. universities!”

•tufts•rutgers•u of oregon•brandeis•santa barbara•smith•u mass•harvard•amherst •

LNS

Inspired by the youth of Soweto, students all across the United States have joined a growing movement in support of the Southern African liberation forces and opposed to U.S. involvement in Southern Africa. In every part of the country, involving literally thousands of students, the movement against apartheid is showing itself to be a positive and forceful reminder of the legacy of the movement of the 60's. A legacy proving that people are willing to take a stand for freedom, equality, and social justice. A legacy pointing to the need for major social changes if those goals are to be reached. This time, the target is U.S. corporations and the arguments and actions are geared towards ending their critically needed support for the minority Southern African regimes.

The Student Anti-Apartheid Movement

While an anti-apartheid movement has existed in the U.S. for a number of years, it is really since the June 16, 1976 Soweto uprisings, that student anger over U.S. corporate support for apartheid erupted. The brutal murder of Steve Biko, which stirred the entire world community, reinforced a burgeoning campus commitment to action.

This past spring saw an escalation of student actions which stunned campus administrators, corporate executives, and government officials. April 14 through May 1 saw two weeks of coordinated actions at schools throughout the Northeast—Brandeis, Columbia, Cornell, Amherst, MIT, Princeton, Vassar, Yale, Dartmouth, Wellesley, Smith, Harvard, Rutgers, Tufts, Swarthmore, Williams, the University of Pennsylvania, Wesleyan, and Brown—put down their books and marched, picketed, and rallied to the cry of "University investments out of South Africa." The West Coast was no less active with demonstrations occurring on seven of the University of California campuses, Stanford, and several other private schools, all culminating with a series of sit-ins which forced the University of California Board of Regents to hold a state-wide public forum on the issue. Campuses in the mid-west, southeast, and southwest also reported anti-apartheid protests.

Over two years has passed and the movement shows signs of a growing degree of coordination and consolidations. Regional conferences and organizations have come together in the northeast, leading to the establishment of the Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA), and in the west, Campuses United Against Apartheid (CUAA). Regional coordination has continued into the fall of 1978, when a mid-western regional conference was held at Northwestern University, a southeastern conference at Duke University and a southwestern conference at the University of Texas.

Similarly, the establishment of the South Africa Catalyst Project, a collective of students based at Stanford, and its companion collective in the northeast, has played a key role in providing resources, skills, and energy to the movement both in California and the rest of the nation. The group maintains contact with student anti-apartheid groups throughout the nation, helps coordinate regional actions, puts out a national anti-apartheid activists newsletter, and periodic research and organizing pamphlets.

Demands for University Divestment

While the tactics vary from campus to campus, the immediate goal is well articulated by the chants from a demonstration at Wesleyan University this past spring. As Trustees were meeting to consider the issue, over 200 students marched through the campus chanting: "Vorster, Apartheid, We say

No! Wesleyan stocks have got to go!". Divestment of university held stocks in U.S. corporations operating in South Africa is the major focus of most campus movements.

Divestment has been found to be a very effective focus for organizing students. Through raising the issue of university investments activists are able to both educate students on the economic support for apartheid that U.S. corporations provide and expose university complicity in such support. Divestment also brings the issue of apartheid close to home. Students are organizing to change their own institutions and communities, and in this manner, divestment of university holdings in corporations operating in or with South Africa connects the struggle for freedom across the globe to American students' "everday life". Students demanding divestment are sending a clear message to their trustees: they will not accept university investments which profit from the racist exploitation and brutalization of the black South African people.

While local demands and forms of protest have varied the divestment movement has grown rapidly to include anti-apartheid groups at some 150 schools of all sizes and shades. From small liberal arts colleges, such as Grinnell and Oberlin, to large public universities, such as the University of Michigan and Indiana State, to state and community colleges such as, California State Dominguez and Philadelphia Community College, the issue of university investments, U.S. corporations and South Africa has become a major one for student organizing. The rapid expansion of actions indicates a movement not of naive idealism, but of collectively demonstrated strength, commitment and purpose.

Anti-apartheid activists at Stanford University, which owns \$120 million worth of stocks in South Africa-related corporation have served as a spur for much of the growing nation-wide movement. In May of 1977, in the first major sit-in over South Africa, 294 students were arrested over demands that the University support a stockholders' resolution calling for withdrawal by Ford Motor Co. from South Africa. The Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP) has continued its efforts, and during the spring of 1978, organized three sit-ins involving over 300 people.

Freezing and snowing weather has not stopped students at Princeton. Between 100 and 250 people turned out every day for noon-time picket lines starting in the cold days of February, and continuing through the end of May. A mid-April occupation of an administration building, by the People's Front for the Liberation of Southern Africa persuaded U.N. Ambassador, Leslie Harriman to convene a special session of the U.N. Committee Against Apartheid on May 9. The committee declared their intentions: "To maintain close cooperation with the student groups concerned in order

to promote a world-wide campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and for maximum support to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement."

The nine branches of the University of California system have all coordinated their efforts through CUAA, calling for divestment by the U.C. Regents and the withdrawal of funds in the Bank of America. During the 1977-78 school year, students collected over 10,000 signatures for divestment; staged picket lines, forums, and student-administration negotiations; and finally, sit-ins at university and state government offices involving several hundred students. The presence of Governor Jerry Brown on the U.C. Board of Regents, the interest of former SDS activist Tom Hayden, (who now leads a group called Campaign for Economic Democracy), and state-wide coordinated Bank of America pickets have elevated protests around corporate activity in South Africa to a state-wide political issue.

Harvard University, the site of militant demonstrations in the early '70s over Harvard's stock in Gulf Oil (which had virtual monopoly control over Angola), was the site of one of the largest campus anti-apartheid demonstrations ever. In early May 1978, over 3500 Harvard students marched to protest nearly \$400 million invested in corporations and banks with ties to South Africa.

The Political Goals and Strategy of Divestment

The motivations for involvement in the divestment movement are quite varied. Some people feel compelled to issue a moral protest against the incredible brutality and oppression in South Africa while others feel the issue of multinational corporations profiting from apartheid may prompt people to build a movement opposing what is seen as a structure of capitalism and imperialism whose underlying tenant is profit.

The basic goal uniting all the student activists is the development of a strong movement supporting the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and opposing U.S. involvement, corporate and otherwise. Divestment, as the immediate focus and goal of the movement, provides students a way to educate all Americans about apartheid and the U.S. role in supporting it, pressure corporations to withdraw or limit their investments in South Africa, and constrain U.S. government political and military support for the white minority regime.



Apartheid, and U.S. support of that system, are so morally repugnant that organized opposition to corporate involvement can be recognized as an important imperative by many Americans. Education, therefore, must be linked to effective political action to pressure U.S. corporations and banks to withdraw from South Africa. Student activists have noted that the amount of stocks held by American colleges and universities can be used to apply such pressure on corporations to end their support for apartheid. Divestment is far more than a moral imperative; rather it is a potent political weapon. Students have power to affect the policies of their institutions, and therefore, through divestment and education campaigns on their campuses, the power (albeit limited) to affect the critical balance that exists in Southern Africa.

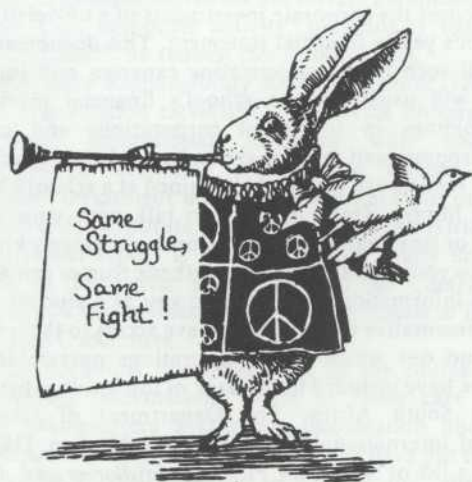
Divestment is not an end in itself. Moreover, it is not likely, at least in the short run, directly to affect the market value of corporate stock. But what will affect corporate decisions concerning investment in South Africa is the degree to which bad publicity generated by divestment campaigns erodes public confidence in corporate judgment. Corporations are fully aware of the importance of strong public confidence. The Conference Board, a prestigious research institution serving America's largest corporations, reported that the "dearth of public confidence in business is the paramount external problem facing corporate management today...In fact, most external issues troubling companies are closely linked to, and in some cases the direct result of, this primary problem of credibility."

Corporations have taken great pains to cultivate their image of legitimacy within the academic community. In particular, corporations established, financed and controlled academic research institutions as well as financing professorships of private enterprise at many colleges. The questioning of corporate legitimacy resulting from divestment movements directly threatens both the image and services corporations enjoy at many universities.

The erosion of public confidence (the so-called "hassle-factor") is the strongest weapon the divestment movement possesses. The increased political costs of continued investment in South Africa when weighted against the relative insignificance of their South African operations, may well prompt U.S. corporations to withdraw from South Africa. A broad-based movement of public pressure, including divestment, is a sophisticated and practical strategy for promoting corporate withdrawal from South Africa. It is not merely a "symbolic gesture". Student anti-apartheid activists do not advocate divestiture as a means of washing our hands or salving our consciences. Nor do we entertain any illusion that divestiture will cleanse our college portfolios of all morally questionable investments. We advocate divestiture as an effective means toward a specific end: U.S. corporate withdrawal from South Africa.

The divestment movement, through its educative role and impact on the political environment, also affects the government's ability to intervene in Southern Africa. As the conflict in South Africa escalates even further and the liberation movements present an immediate threat to the existence of the apartheid regime, the pressures for direct and indirect, public or covert, military intervention will undoubtedly increase. Corporations will push for intervention to support threatened

investments and access to valuable mineral resources; the Pentagon will desire intervention to maintain access to "strategic" water routes; cold warriors will call for standing behind a long-time anti-communist ally. The presence of a strong, broad-based anti-apartheid movement will be necessary to prevent increasing military and political support to racist regimes in Southern Africa. The political costs of public outrage, demonstrations and publicity will certainly affect how the U.S. government reacts to change in Southern Africa. While divestment has begun to educate and mobilize a potential opposition force to U.S. government intervention, many students see the need to focus directly on and expose U.S. foreign policy toward Southern Africa. Students at several schools are already expanding their teach-ins and leaflets to address these issues. Others are starting to research their school's connections to the foreign policy and military establishment.



Linking South Africa to Domestic Issues

Several campus groups have emphasized the relationship between U.S. multinationals investing in brutality and exploitation in South Africa while investment capital for social needs in the U.S.—housing, mass transit, alternative energy—is nowhere to be found. Activists at Dartmouth College have done in-depth research on this issue and are proposing divestment coupled with alternative investment opportunities for university funds.

The links between racism in the U.S. and in South Africa have been stressed by some, especially with the Bakke case threatening to bring back the unstated "color bars" in jobs and education in the U.S. For example, in April 1978, over 300 Cornell students blocked the exit of a trustee meeting over demands for divestment, opposition to the Bakke case, and funding for Third World Studies programs. At the New Brunswick campus of Rutgers University, the Anti-Apartheid Alliance has focused its energy on Third World funding programs, and inadequate campus housing, as well as university divestment.

Successes

Initially, many student anti-apartheid groups find themselves confronting unsympathetic administrators and intransigent trustees. In spite of this, the divestment movement has scored several successes.

After a four-day building takeover in May of 1977, students at Hampshire College were successful in forcing their trustees to sell \$200,000 of the school's portfolio which included South African tainted stocks. At the University of Massachusetts, student pressure through petitions and marches, resulted in a decision by the administration to sell nearly \$650,000 of stocks in apartheid-related investments. Community-wide petitions and demonstrations persuaded the board of trustees at Antioch College to divest the college's \$5 million endowment of \$.75 million in South Africa-linked stocks.

Student and community pressure in Madison led to a ruling by the Wisconsin attorney general stating that investments by the University of Wisconsin in corporations operating in South Africa were illegal because of state laws which prohibit public funds from being invested in corporations which practice or condone racial discrimination. The ruling resulted in divestment of \$11 million worth of stocks, bonds and securities in 20 corporations operating in South Africa.

Student demands for divestment have also resulted in the partial sale of South Africa-lined stocks by several other schools. Ohio State University sold holdings of \$48,000 from four such companies while Smith College divested of several hundred thousand dollars worth of Firestone stock.

While denying any pressure from organized student divestment campaigns on each campus, Harvard and Tufts have withdrawn deposits in American banks which have extended loans to the South African regime. In October 1978 trustees of Vassar College decided to sell \$2.25 million in bonds invested in five banks that have loaned to South Africa.

Problems: Challenges to Divestment

Several schools have encountered problems after successfully organizing divestment campaigns. Responding to student and community protests, the Oregon State Board of Higher Education was forced to divest of \$6 million in South African holdings. However, the sale has been held up, as state officials are challenging the power of the Board of Education to authorize such actions. Supporters of South African liberation are presently fighting to push the withdrawal through.

A similar challenge has risen elsewhere—only in this case directly from the corporations being threatened. After divestment received overwhelming support from a student referendum, the trustees of Miami University (of Ohio) voted to divest of \$52,000. However, indicating the substantial effect even such a relatively small divestment protest has on the collective consciousness of U.S. corporations, the Ohio University Trustees have since reconsidered their decision. This came after several of the corporations involved threatened to withdraw grants they had previously made to the university. So much for academic freedom!

Other Targets of University Complicity with Apartheid

While the student movement has focused largely on university investments, other links between the university and apartheid have been targeted for protest.

The issue of conflict of interest has been one related area. Trustees of most colleges are often high-ranking officials in South Africa-related corporations. For example, Williams College has a trustee who is President and Chief of Operations of Union Carbide—a major mining company in both South Africa and Rhodesia. Students at Princeton have used the conflict of interest issue very effectively. They have demanded, along with divestment, the resignation by several trustees from either their corporate position or their trustee position. Two of these trustees include the Chairman of the Board of Chemical Bank, which has made loans to the South African government, and Nicholas Katzenbach, a high ranking IBM official. Recently, it was discovered that Princeton President William Bowen serves as Director of NCR, a company which has supplied computers to the South African Defense Department. Revelation of this connection, immediately after Bowen had staked his prestige on a position of "institutional neutrality" on "external political issues", severely weakened Bowen's credibility. It also led many previously apathetic students to take campus anti-apartheid activists much more seriously.

The potential impact of exposing such linkages, along with their ubiquitous nature, makes researching trustee connections an important activity. A full list of trustees can usually be obtained from university public relations offices. Personal biographies are often available and are a good starting point for information. Biographies in alumni directories, *Who's Who* (there are many volumes of *Who's Who* for different fields), and other biographical directories such as the *New York Times* biographical edition are all valuable sources of materials of corporate positions of trustees. Finally, one should check trustees with directorships of major corporations operating in South Africa. The best source for lists of corporate executives and directors is *Standard and Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives*. *Moody's* directories and *Polk's Bank Directory*, along with annual reports of each company, can be consulted for further information.

Corporate recruiting on campuses is also a target of protest. From Smith College to the University of California at

Santa Cruz, corporate recruiters have been counter-leafleted, picketed, and even forced off campus. A campus referendum at the University of Oregon, proposing divestment and the banning of recruiters from corporations with South African connections received the support of 75 per cent of the student body.

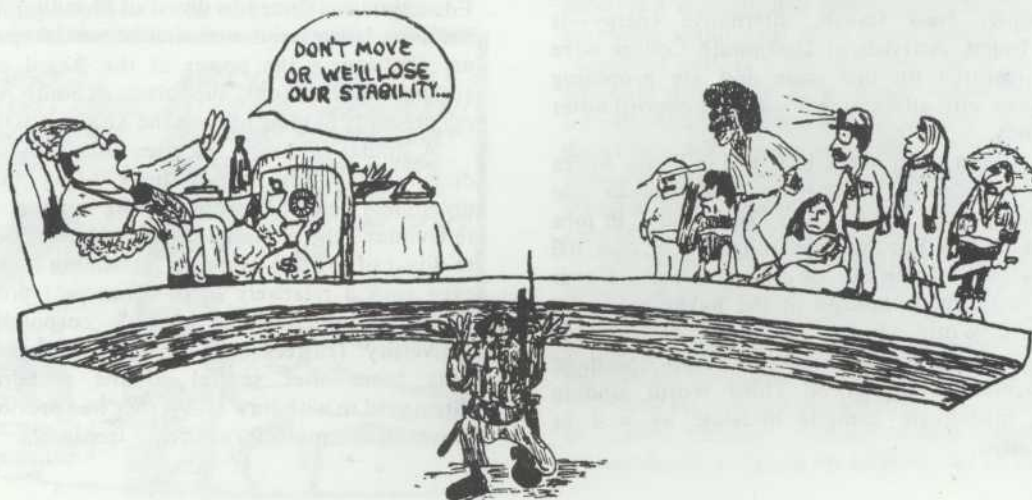
The South Africa issue has also been taken into local campus communities. Students at the University of Minnesota picketed Control Data, a Minnesota-based firm which markets computers in South Africa. In Boston, students have done investigative research into a local plant of Badger Corporation, which has been instrumental in the development of a strategic South African government oil processing plant.

University Investments: Where to Begin

The first step in a campaign around university investments and South Africa involves researching the financial holdings of a school, identifying which investments are linked to South African, and detailing the specific role played by those corporations in maintaining the apartheid system.

To uncover the corporate investments of a university, check the school's yearly financial statement. This document, which will detail such things as operating expenses and sources of income, will usually list a school's financial investments: stock holdings in individual corporations and common funds, corporate and municipal bonds, bank notes, real estate, etc. Such reports can usually be obtained at a school's business office or library. Don't hesitate to talk with your school's treasurer or financial manager—he or she obviously knows the answers to your questions. A sympathetic trustee can also give you such information. Faculty, and you as a student government representative likewise often have access to these reports.

To find out which U.S. corporations operate in South Africa, we have included in the back of this guide, a list of U.S. firms in South Africa. The Department of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce (Washington, DC 20230) puts out a list of *American Firms, Subsidiaries and Affiliates* identifying U.S. firms in foreign countries, containing address, brief description of operations and name of parent company. Ask for the list for South Africa. The cost is \$1.00. The *Directory of American Firms Operating in Foreign Countries* (World Trade Academy Press, New York, 1966) can also be checked for this information.



Information detailing the specific role played by a particular corporation in supporting the apartheid system can be found in many places. The bibliography in the back of this guide lists several references.

The handbook, *Church Investments, U.S. Corporations, and Southern Africa*, put out by the Corporate Information Center (see resource list), though a few years old, is still quite useful in providing information on the activities of particular corporations. CIC has also produced several reports on the Southern African operations of specific corporations. Contact them for more information.

The recently published Senate report by the Clark Subcommittee on African Affairs, *U.S. Corporate Interests in Africa* (see bibliography), should be checked for background information on U.S. corporate activity in Southern Africa, particularly the employment practices of these corporations. Likewise the pamphlet *U.S. Investment in South Africa*, published by the South Africa Catalyst Project, provides background information on particular corporate activity. The American Committee on Africa has several pamphlets and fact sheets on U.S. corporate activity, particularly bank loans, which are available on request (see resource list).

The Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC) is a research organization established to provide universities and other large institutional investors with background information on corporate practices to further "socially responsible" investment decisions. They have put out several reports on U.S. corporate practices in Southern Africa. While each individual report is quite expensive, many universities subscribe to the service and receive all the Center's publications. Check the business office of your school to find out if they are IRRC members.

The corporations themselves can be the source of some very revealing information. Write to them care of their national headquarters asking for information about their South African operation. Oftentimes, they have put together a glossy public relations leaflet to "pretty up" their South African connections. The addresses of national headquarters of corporations can be found in any one of the standard guides listing U.S. corporations such as *Standard and Poor's Register*, *Moody's*, or *Dun and Bradstreet*.

Finally, check relevant newspapers and business journals. If you have access to South African publications, the international weekly edition of *The Star* of Johannesburg, and the *Financial Mail*, along with the British *Economist*, and *The Financial Times* of London, often have items of interest on American investment in South Africa.

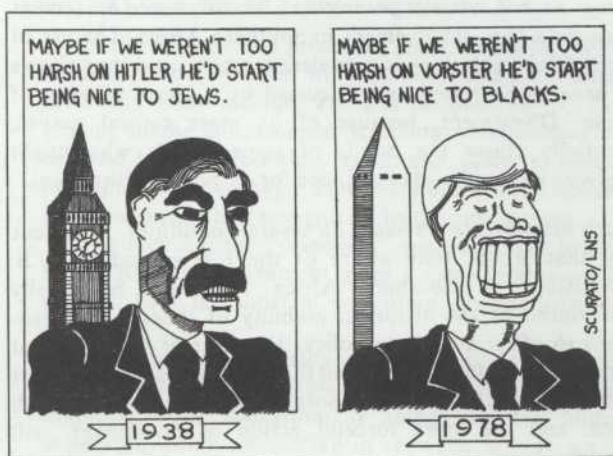
Shareholder Resolutions: Argument For and Against Their Use

The question of shareholder resolutions has to be raised within the context of a general campaign for withdrawal. Every year in the spring the "proxy season" arrives, when corporations poll their shareholders (universities included) on general policy issues, among them the church-initiated resolutions on non-expansion in and withdrawal from South Africa. These provide issues around which to organize—they force the university to look into the issue and take a public stand—but focusing a withdrawal campaign on the demand for sympathetic proxy votes has its weaknesses as well as strengths, and these demand careful consideration.

Against Shareholder Resolutions

Several arguments are advanced against their use.

Advocating shareholder resolutions means tacitly endorsing the notion that there is a possibility for U.S. corporations to be reformed from the inside. This can be educationally misleading, it is argued, for if corporate structures, which are the basis for the system of apartheid, can be reformed from within, why can't U.S. businesses use their positions as "progressive models of social change" to break down racism and exploitation through reform on the inside?



Realistically, such resolutions can have little if any impact on corporate policy. A writer for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* has noted: "No shareholder's resolution on South Africa, even on asking a corporation to sign a modest fair employment pledge, has ever won more than a handful of votes." Beginning in 1970 with "Campaign GM" and continuing annually at stockholder conventions, churches and other concerned parties have pushed shareholder resolutions as a tactic of trying to force corporations to withdraw from South Africa. Rarely have they received more than 3 per cent of the vote—the minimum required to keep the issue on the agenda of the next year's annual convention. At shareholder conventions in 1978, 21 resolutions were presented calling for some movement towards withdrawal. Of those 21, only 14 received the 3 per cent minimum with only three receiving more (barely) than 5 per cent.

It is also pointed out that shareholder resolutions get muffled within corporate meeting rooms. Their ability to attract media attention is very limited and thus pressure on the corporations comes from a very small audience. The educational impact is also limited. Divestment, on the other hand, makes the point about corporate withdrawal direct, loud, sharp, and painful. Divestment of stocks by a university or college is bad public relations; it's much more of an embarrassment because of its more extreme and final nature, and hence greater ability to attract press. The tactic of

shareholder resolutions directs most of one's focus toward changing the minds of corporate shareholders. Divestment as a tactic instead shoots for changing corporate policy through public pressure.

Finally, the mechanics of shareholder resolution by their very nature require a fair amount of time. However, the rapidly worsening situation in Southern Africa—Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia as well as South Africa—demands strong and immediate protests. Divestment makes such a forceful and immediate statement.

For Shareholder Resolutions

Student anti-apartheid organizers who have developed some form of demands involving shareholder resolutions most often see their use as being a tactical decision in an overall strategy geared towards generating a broadly based movement opposed to U.S. involvement in Southern Africa. The use of shareholder resolutions is a moderate action, and thus allows the issue to be raised and discussed by a larger number of people. Divestment, because of its more radical nature, potentially closes the minds of some people who might otherwise be convinced of the need for corporate withdrawal.

Such assessments are based on several conditions. A student body that is not fully aware of the role played by U.S. corporations in Southern Africa may not be totally unconvinced of the historical inability of shareholder resolutions to affect corporate policy. However, it is hoped that after consistent education around the issue, widespread support for the principal of U.S. corporate withdrawal from South Africa, and the more forceful action of divestment, will develop.

The amount of money invested is another factor. At universities where millions of dollars are involved, sometimes representing up to 40 per cent of a school's portfolio, demands for immediate divestment may be considered extreme. Shareholder resolutions, it is argued, allow a dialogue between students and administrators to develop, as voting for withdrawal resolutions is much easier for an administration to agree upon. With investments in South Africa-related corporations of nearly \$400 million, the Harvard Southern Africa Solidarity Committee began its organizing on the principle that the administration should use its rather sizeable power as a shareholder—both in economic and psychological terms—to push for corporate withdrawal.



Some groups have explicitly combined the two possible courses of action as part of a stage by stage process. That is, first work for withdrawal within the corporations. If that fails to pull the corporations out of South Africa, then demand divestment. Students at Amherst College have followed such a process, calling for a two year period of support for withdrawal resolutions, and then divestment. Through such demands, they have been very successful in mobilizing a fairly conservative student body and faculty in support of U.S. corporate withdrawal, with many now advocating immediate divestment instead of the two-stage process.

Several schools have taken action on resolutions. Bryn Mawr College sponsored a resolution calling on Kodak to restrict its sales to the South African government. Similarly, Haverford College initiated a resolution calling for complete withdrawal by Motorola. After organized student pressure, the University of Illinois agreed to support resolutions that "seek a moratorium on further investment in South Africa, prudent withdrawal of investment from South Africa or disclosure of information on corporate activities there."

Administration Response I:

Administration-Sponsored Investment Advisory Committees

If Martians landed on campus and began eating the students, the administration would undoubtedly set up a committee to investigate the affair and write a report. Not surprisingly, demands for withdrawal are almost always met with the establishment of investment advisory committees. These committees do represent a kind of victory (what university would look into the ethics of its South African investments without being forced to?), but they are also a danger, and deserve serious thought.

When millions of dollars of stock holdings are in question, the need for some kind of study committee is not unreasonable. Typically, such committees are charged with examining the role played by corporations in South Africa; researching the financial effects of divestment on the university; and finding alternative options for investment. Members are drawn from the university community—trustees, administrators, faculty, and students. Representation can, and has been, an issue of struggle between students and administrators—i.e., having university employees on the board—but there are other perils to committee work.

First, many campus activists see these committees as being simply a diversionary tactic on the part of the administration. Evidence detailing the negative effects of U.S. corporate operations in South Africa is widely available, and the issue is overwhelmingly clear right now. Setting up a committee to "study" the effects of U.S. corporations in South Africa, in reality, serves only to delay the trustees from having to make a final decision on the issue—i.e., trying to put off a confrontation with a committed and mobilized student body, hoping that by dragging the "study" process out and limiting student involvement to papers and debate, sentiment will be lost, and a strong movement will dribble away.

A greater danger is that the real issue—corporate complicity in apartheid, university support of these corporations—gets lost. Issues like the committee's real power over trustee decision, and financial responsibility of the trustees, can make withdrawal an internal campus battle.



From the issue of "this institution should take a stand against apartheid," administrators move the dialogue into trust law (is it illegal for trustees to lose money? it is their sacred duty to maximize profits) and campus power (students are only *one* part of a varied community, and can't speak for it; besides, "the university is not and never has claimed to be a democratic institution"). Finally, given the Establishment composition of most committees, should students abide by their decisions, or use them as tactics in a larger campaign?

Two considerations qualify these dangers. The first is simple; students can use these committees to show how undemocratic and profit-oriented universities are. The second is the "backfire potential" of these committees. At Vassar and Stanford, committees surprised the administration by urging some form of protest action opposing U.S. investments in South Africa. Trustees at both schools were then forced to reject the "balanced" and "carefully researched" recommendations of their own committee. This angers radical and liberal students and faculty, and brings home the limitations of committee advice and the need for public pressure.

Administration Response II: The Sullivan Principles

Many universities have responded to demands for a position against U.S. investments by endorsing the so-called "Sullivan Principles". The principles, developed by Reverend Leon Sullivan, a black minister and G.M. Board of Directors member, have been adopted by more than 60 U.S. corporations. They seem to be the tactic most used by businesses to deflect criticism of their South African operations.

The principles themselves call on corporations to support the following operating practices:

1. Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities.
2. Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
3. Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.
4. Initiation and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs.
5. Increasing the number of blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions.
6. Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation, and health facilities.

Thinking that the adoption of such principles are an answer to the growing student movement, university administrations including MIT, Tufts, Harvard, Wellesley, Columbia, Dartmouth, Swarthmore, Oberlin, and the University of Minnesota have established an "Ad Hoc Committee on the Sullivan Six Principles". The group has sent a letter out to over 200 schools urging them to adopt the Principles as a basis for investments in South Africa.

Principles rejected by anti-apartheid movement

Most student groups have rejected the Sullivan Principles, labeling them an attempt to hide the true nature of U.S. corporate support for, and profits from, the apartheid system.

The following excerpts from the pamphlet, "Too Little, Too Late", written by Jennifer Davis, research director of the American Committee on Africa, illustrate this position:

In the abstract, the principles make unobjectionable reading. The catch lies in what they exclude, rather than what they include. There is no demand for any change in the fundamental structure of apartheid no demand for black political rights, and, closer to home, no commitment to negotiating with black trade unions or demands for their recognition by the government.

The fact that the "principles" were endorsed by the South African government gives a clear indication of how far they fall short of presenting any challenge to apartheid.

There can be no equality of opportunity in a country where one group of workers on the basis of skin color is excluded from education; is forced to live under exhausting conditions, often in crowded hostels, away from family or friends; is constantly subject to the threat of being arrested under a battery of special laws which control movement, the right to be in a particular place, the right to go out at night; where making any complaint about a job may lead not only to instant dismissal, but also to "endorsement out" of a town, back to the bantustan where there are not jobs. Above all, there can be no equality of opportunity where one group of workers is denied the right to effective trade union organizations.

Tim Smith, director of the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, notes:

Many of the signatories of the principles act in ways that directly assist and strengthen the powers of South Africa's white rulers. Citibank has loaned \$300 million directly to the South African government; IBM still provides computers to that government for any purpose, however repressive. Caltex and Mobil are major suppliers of oil to the South African military, and through South Africa they are the oil lifeline to Rhodesia. Union Carbide assists apartheid by investing in and on the borders of bantustans. Caltex is in the midst of a \$134 million expansion in white South Africa's future. The list goes on.



Reinvestment

When the anti-apartheid movement calls upon universities to divest their South Africa-related investments, it implicitly raises the questions of where money should be invested. Many activists rightfully fear that the question of alternatives to investing in apartheid will drag them away from the central issue of the U.S. corporate role in South Africa. The cry "Well, where should we put our money?" most typically comes from university administrators attempting to skirt the issue of complicity in racism. Yet the reinvestment debate cannot simply be dismissed as a stall tactic of the opposition. Many students and workers have a genuine concern that, once divestment is achieved, the money will instead simply be channeled into the multinationals which do not operate in South Africa but in Chile, Brazil and Taiwan. Many people in the community at large believe that money going to South Africa-related investments, once freed up, could and should be meeting their needs for jobs, housing, environmentally sound energy, health care, and so on.

Three questions seem central to whether anti-apartheid activists should put energy into campaigning for specific forms of reinvestment. First, do socially progressive investments exist in a predominantly capitalist economy? Or do we end up reinforcing illusions about our present economic system by advocating reinvestment plans that won't produce what they claim? Second, are these likely or possible investments for a university endowment? Third, given that the first two questions can be answered affirmatively, will organizing around reinvestment drag us away from the central issue of support for apartheid? As hard as these questions are, the political realities of organizing for divestments may require that they be addressed. □

Alternative Investment Resources

The following individuals, organizations and papers should be helpful in considering the possibilities for alternative investments, particularly in relation to the second question above.

California Campaign for Economic Democracy
P.O. Box 22699
San Francisco, CA 94122
"Testimony of Tom Hayden on Investment Priorities"

California Public Policy Center
Bradbury Building, 304 South Broadway, Rm. 224
Los Angeles, CA 90013
"South African Roulette"

Community Economics Associates
6529 Telegraph Ave.
Oakland, CA 94609
Have an excellent survey-style report on possible investments.
Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies
1901 Q St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009
"Investment Strategies for Public Employee Pension Funds in Home Mortgages, Community Development and Other Socially Responsible Purposes" by Lee Webb



UC San Diego Disorientation Manual Fall 1977

Federation for Economic Democracy
Suite 607, 2100 M Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20063

Foundation for National Progress
607 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94105
"Strategic Investment: An Alternative for Public Funds" by
Richard Parker and Tamsih Taylor. Very good report.

John C. Harrington, Consultant
California Senate Select Committee on Investment Priorities
Room 66, 9th and L Building
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 445-7816

Institute for Community Economics
639 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139

Edward M. Kirshner
349 62nd St.
Oakland, CA 94618
"Public Pension Funds as a Source of Capital for Job
Creation"

Patti Lightstone
City of Davis Reinvestment Task Force
2548 Lafayette Dr.
Davis, CA 95616

Vic Pasnack, President
California Rural Job Creation Company
1476 N. Van Ness Ave., Suite #2
Fresno, CA 93728
"Economic Development Investment Opportunities in the
State of California"

Strongforce
2121 Decatur Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

Case Studies from Campus Divestment Campaigns

Case Studies From Campus Divestment Campaigns

We have included, as an addendum to this section on campus organizing, several case studies of divestment campaigns at particular schools. We see these analyses, written by leaders of such campaigns, as a vital way for people to learn from the experiences of other students. These brief pieces will aid student anti-apartheid activists both by presenting creative tactics employed at other schools and discussing common organizing problems such as sustaining a campaign over a long period or building unity among white and Third World students.

The schools included in this section are Amherst College, Harvard University, Princeton University, Stanford University, Swarthmore College and University of California at Berkeley. The authors of each case study have generally taken one of two approaches. Several have concentrated on analyzing and presenting a few of the most important lessons of their experiences. Thus, the Amherst case study emphasizes the importance of tone and style in political work, the process of delegitimizing Trustee authority and the need to develop new leadership. The Stanford analysis focuses on the contradictions of student radicalization and their effect on the group's politics during the first two years of organizing there. The Princeton study discusses the importance of thorough research, the use of the daily picket as a tactic, and their lessons on building multi-racial unity.

Two other case studies, Harvard and UC Berkeley, provide a broad overview of their campaigns. These sections are valuable since they provide a sense of how a campaign was initiated, built and sustained. They also give examples of the broad range of tactics available to student organizers. Harvard provides some interesting techniques such as the use of wall posters to attract and educate people and the staging of an all-night vigil. UC Berkeley discusses how they implemented a six month strategy of winning an open forum with the UC Board of Regents through statewide coordinated actions.

The Swarthmore case study is a good integration of the two approaches. It details how they built their campaign while also focusing on some of the lessons they learned in the process, e.g., the importance of thorough discussion of tactics and strategy, the need for consciously chosen leadership, and the role of leadership in developing individuals' political skills.

Read these sections critically, taking what you find valuable and applicable to your own organizing needs. Remember that these experiences are the result of unique circumstances and environments; they cannot be transferred mechanically. However, they do offer good insights about the needs and dynamics of student organizing.

Amherst College Case Study

The Amherst College South Africa Support Committee (SASC) is now in its third year of activities. SASC began as a project of an older radical political organization and grew into a large, active broad-based movement on campus. The basis of SASC's work was laid in the spring of 1977 through research into the school's holdings in corporations operating in South Africa. This information was then publicized through articles in the campus newspaper and a door-to-door petition campaign was mounted. The anti-apartheid campaign really got off the ground during the second year (1977-78) when SASC held many educational events, three large demonstrations, and an open debate with members of the Board of Trustees. SASC has been quite successful in reaching, education and convincing many people about the necessity of corporate withdrawal from South Africa. It has also politicized a campus marked by much quietism and apathy. The experiences of Amherst SASC are somewhat unique in terms of our demands and our success on a campus with no real history of activism or sizeable radical community upon which to build the campaign. (There is, however, such a community at UMass/Amherst and divestment was won at both Hampshire College and UMass before the Amherst College campaign took off).

These experiences present a good case for how thorough, reasonable and well-planned political work can reach and convince hitherto apathetic and non-political students. We have learned that tone and style are important components of successful political work. Militance for the sake of militance, and demands based on ideological purity rather than the concrete campus conditions are likely to alienate students and isolate activists. On the other hand, realistic demands, non-rhetorical, well-argued literature and a demonstrated willingness to work through established channels will reach students and earn their respect—both vital precursors for winning students over to supporting corporate withdrawal from South Africa. In this essay we will emphasize SASC's experiences that we feel are important components of our success and can be valuable to other schools. We recognize that our tactics and style are best suited for small private schools with relatively conservative and apathetic students.

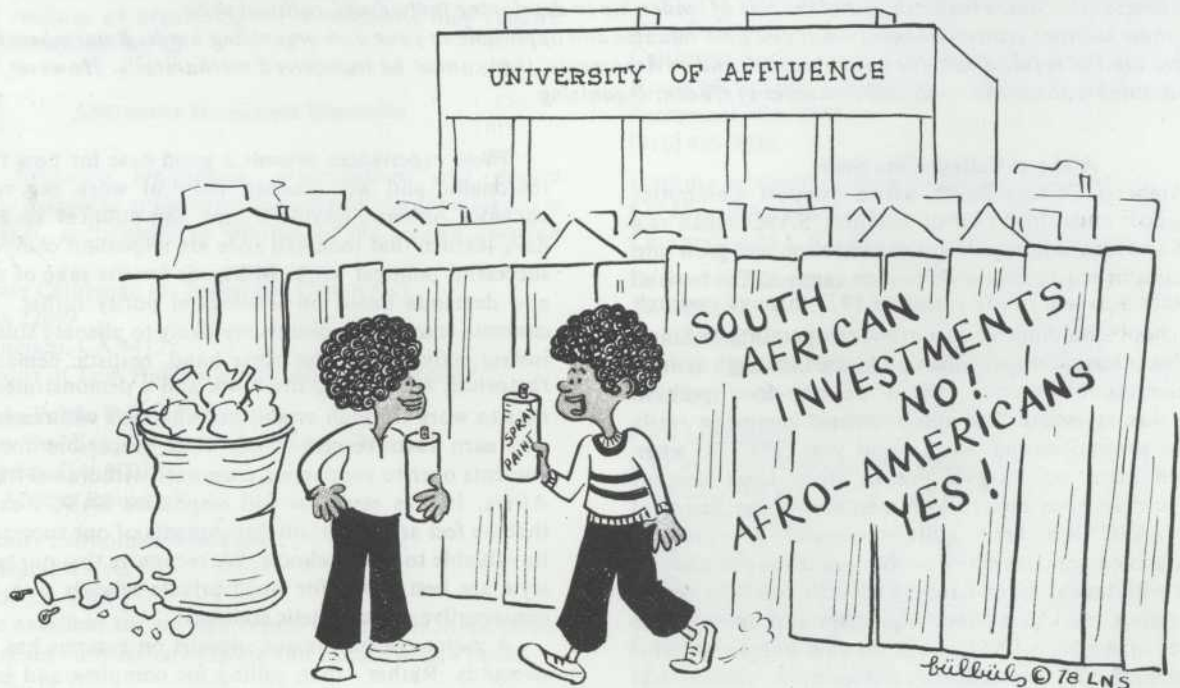
A major reason for our support on campus has been our demands. Rather than calling for complete and immediate divestment, we drafted demands based on a two stage process centered around support of corporate withdrawal from South Africa. We demanded that the school commit itself to the goal of corporate withdrawal from South Africa, that as a first step it vote proxies for, and where necessary introduce resolutions

calling for withdrawal, and that if such resolutions failed twice consecutively then the college should divest of its stock. These demands have several advantages. First, they helped keep the issue focused on the role of U.S. corporations in South Africa. Rather than having to argue over the feasibility of divestment, whether it would cause tuition to increase, etc, we have been able to define clearly the lines of argument over investment in South Africa. Our experiences with the student body confirmed this factor. Students often responded to SASC members by saying they opposed divestment. In this situation we were able to explain that divestment alone was not the crux of our demands, thus confronting the student's ignorance of the issue. Secondly, these more moderate demands won the support of over half the faculty—a major impetus to our legitimacy on campus, clearly defining our broad support. Finally, these demands allowed us to debate the issues clearly with the Trustees and successfully counter their attempts to portray us as either naive or extremists.

Our experiences have also demonstrated that the ability to reach students and gain their support is often more dependent on how you present your arguments than their actual content. Consistent, patient and intelligent education is necessary to demonstrate our seriousness and grasp of the issues. Leaders of anti-apartheid groups cannot assume that the entire campus is at the same state of understanding of the issues or Trustee tactics as they are. It is necessary to educate people until they see through their own experiences that the Trustees have no intention of seriously considering either student sentiment or arguments in deciding the issue. This requires delegitimation of the Trustees' authority and respect.

Such a process is a long one requiring both patience and a willingness to discuss the issue with Trustees if they offer and participate in Trustee initiated committees in order to delegitimize them. We were successful in this respect through winning an open meeting (debate) with the Trustees. This meeting was the result of demonstrating wide community support for our position and raising the demand at a closed meeting the day before a large demonstration was scheduled at a Trustee meeting, i.e., by a show of force and the threat of potential confrontation. The meeting exposed the Trustees' inability to defend their position and they publicly admitted it had to be changed. The point is that the delegitimation process took a semester and a half. Furthermore, we recognize much of it must be repeated again this year since there are many new students and many older students will have forgotten past events.

Two other important facets of SASC's work are constant grassroots work and following up successful actions with further educational events and expansion of the group. Extensive grass-roots work was made possible by the small size of the school where 20-30 people could effectively petition door-to-door and set up tables in the Post Office and dining halls. Such agitation creates a sense of immediacy and importance to events. For example, our open meeting was successful because we brought out half the student body through postering, dorm meetings and setting up tables. Another important tactic in building a sustained campaign is to build constantly upon the impact and publicity of a successful event by following it up with educational events that will draw upon the heightened interest. For example, right



**NOW LETS GO SPRAY IT ON THE
TRUSTEES NEW CADILLACS!**

after our first action in October, 1977 (a picket of 100 people at a Trustee meeting) we showed *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, drew 150 people, expanded the size of our committee and facilitated the campaign to build a large demonstration in December. The point is simple: education is important not only to build for events, but a valuable way to cash in on and sustain activity. Newly won support and interest must be built upon to maintain momentum.

The final lesson we can offer is the need to develop new leadership. At the beginning of our second year, SASC was dominated by three seniors. We confronted this problem early and consciously and thus successfully developed a new leadership core. Early in the year we recruited younger students and continually urged them to take on responsibility and develop

skills. Our limited success with this approach led us to set up a study group to increase understanding of the issues and bolster people's confidence. We also formally transferred responsibility to a group of non-seniors thus forcing them to develop skills and grapple with how to run meetings, plan events, etc. Of course, we worked closely with non-seniors in this process. Finally, through some change in the course of events we had to organize carloads of people to go to D.C. to picket our Trustees' last meeting of the 1977-78 year. Through spending a week-end together, we built considerable solidarity and friendship among SASC members which helped cement the group together and facilitated greater participation in the group.

Stanford Case Study

The Stanford movement began in the spring of 1977 with 6 weeks of intense organizing that climaxed in a massive sit-in and bust of 294 demonstrators and a series of follow-up demonstrations that involved over one thousand students.

In its second year, the Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP) had a contact list of hundreds and an active membership that fluctuated between 30 and 90. Significant parts of the community were won over to oppose U.S. investments in South Africa. They included the Stanford Church, other religious groups, the YWCA, the *Daily* and the student government. There were numerous demonstrations, a vigil, a march on the local Bank of America and a short take-over, confrontations with the administration, a victorious school referendum on corporate withdrawal, three sit-ins (of 75, 150, and 250) and a blockade of the president's office. Yet, it is fair to say that the majority of SCRIP was disappointed by the year's efforts. Certain general lessons can be drawn from SCRIP's second year. Maybe they can help other campuses deal with these areas more effectively than Stanford did.

Perspective, Radicalization, Leadership

1) SCRIP never had unity on what it wanted to accomplish. Some people saw winning divestment as a real possibility, others just wanted to raise the issue of Southern Africa in the community, and others wanted to involve hundreds of people in the inevitable radicalization process that real political struggle entails. While these different perspectives could often agree on a program, in times of crisis their different premises and goals became very obvious and conflict developed rapidly. It is a mistake to wait until a crisis to make the goals of the group explicit. It is precisely at a crisis point that a group needs unity and it was at the crisis points that SCRIP lacked unity and was plunged into debates on the organization's very purpose.

Having the political work in perspective is crucial. A real problem at Stanford is that many Scripers were radicalized during the first heady year when everything went smoothly and community support was overwhelming. But the tedious grass-roots work of the second year and the need for continual and greater personal sacrifices resulted in a growing frustration, disillusionment, and despair among many key activists. Some dropped out of SCRIP but others stayed and became bitter and angry not only toward the administration but also toward the campus community.

2) This brings up the second key lesson Stanford learned: there are real contradictions in the radicalization process. First, most of SCRIP was radicalized liberals drawn into the issue for ethical and paternalistic reasons and most of them came expecting to be able to convince the administration to change its policy by the reasonableness and justice of the SCRIP position. They were sorely disappointed. Out of this disappointment many became angry and began questioning all their liberal assumptions about the basic reasonableness of the "system" and their role in it.

As these second generation Scripers worked on the issue into the second year they felt a greater and greater need to act strongly to protest the administration's position. They also wanted SCRIP to put forward the radical analysis that they now held. But the contradiction lies in the fact that new liberals and other people wouldn't join SCRIP or even support it if it organized on pure anti-imperialist and confrontational lines. Radicalized Scriper's found themselves in the position of having taken up a radical analysis but unable to propagate it because it would alienate the general student body.

There is no easy solution to this dilemma. It is not enough to say you must just put forward the pure radical analysis all the time because it is the truth. Most people aren't radicalized that way. It is a step-by-step process and much of it involves



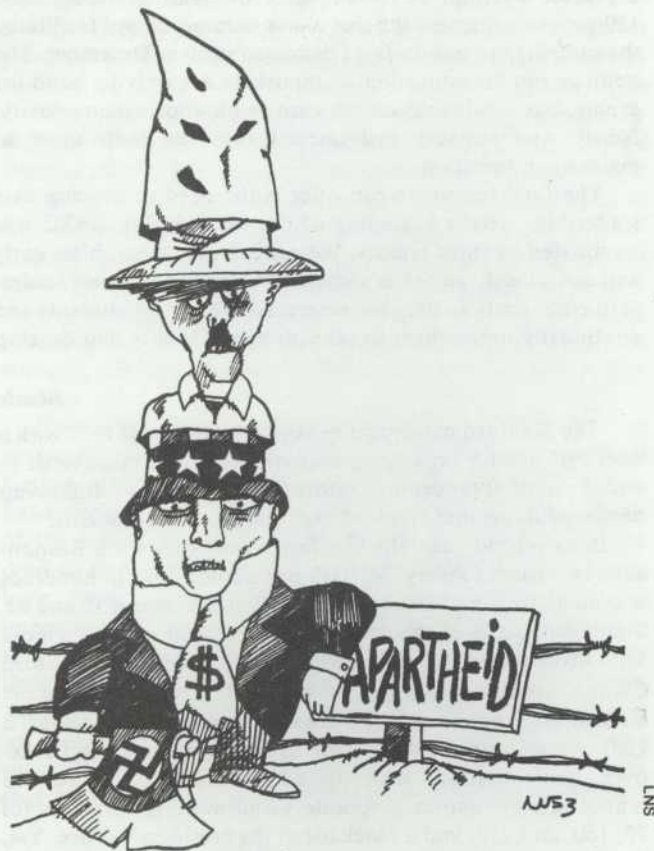
each person going through the disillusioning process and learning from their own experiences. SCRIP initially set out to do just that—expose Stanford by stripping away the liberal facade. But in the second year a gap developed between the second generation of Scripers on the one hand—those radicalized by the struggle; and the first and third generation Scripers on the other hand—those who started the groups as a mass organization mainly concerned with struggle and what people could learn from it and the new Scripers who were involved for the issue and who were just beginning to be disillusioned.

There very well may be no easy solution to the contradictions of radicalization. You can't just start with a full radical analysis or you won't have anything resembling a mass movement. But the radicalization process is uneven and newly radicalized people often lack the perspective or desire to work with others who hold the liberal beliefs they held so recently. SCRIP found no solution to this dilemma. The mass line was maintained but SCRIP suffered greatly in lost energy and unity. But every second year movement with a mass base must expect these contradictions to develop. And this leads inevitably to the last area of difficulty—leadership.

3) SCRIP was started by a handful of white males with considerable experience in the anti-war movement, UFW, and other campaigns. Their first goal was to help develop a mass movement in opposition to the administration that would involve and radicalize hundreds of people. Their second goal was to help develop a mass movement that could significantly help the liberation forces in Southern Africa by limiting U.S. foreign policy options and by putting pressure on U.S. corporations. With this perspective the "founding fathers" were interested in SCRIP maintaining its mass line and mass base both as a way of involving the largest number of people and as a way of pressuring the U.S. in the strongest way. It did not mean a rejection of militant actions or a radical analysis—but it did mean that militancy would be judged on how effectively it built the mass base and radicalized the SCRIP membership and analysis would be non-rhetorical and factual. For the first year of SCRIP, the old leadership was generally considered the left-wing—pushing for more militant tactics and a more radical analysis. But in the spring there was a real reversal and the second generation of SCRIP called for non-violent confrontations and abandonment of the mass line.

It was during the spring debates on militancy that the inadequacy of SCRIP's position on leadership was revealed. Basically it was SCRIP's policy to pretend that there was no leadership. SCRIP's decentralized non-hierarchical structure and a process that was strongly influenced by feminist, anarchist, and cooperative ideals led to the development of a great deal of confusion about leadership. On the one hand formal tasks were spread widely between SCRIP members and new people often found themselves chairing meetings, giving speeches, and negotiating with the administration and police. But all of SCRIP's strategic decisions and most of the key tactical ones were proposed by roughly the same group of people who started SCRIP.

To further complicate matters, much of the new SCRIP leadership was closely tied to the old leadership by interpersonal and community ties. SCRIP served as a focus for the tightly knit—but growing—radical community at



Stanford. But to many, the friendships between the old and new leaders smacked more of "protege's" than developing new leadership skills.

SCRIP's confusion on this led to the "tyranny of structurelessness" in that the leadership was unrecognized and therefore not accountable. The premises it operated from went undiscussed and unchallenged since the membership only dealt with the actual proposals which it would accept. And while there was an extraordinary development of leadership skills among SCRIP members it did not include the ability to think strategically, to sustain a deep commitment, and to have the SCRIP experience in a broad perspective since these all flow from a complete analysis and only the old leadership in SCRIP had one.

The solution may lie in part with just raising the issue openly and dealing with it. To discuss leadership concretely not only demystifies it, but it also is the only way to plan rationally how to spread leadership skills as widely as possible. SCRIP was wise to avoid giving leadership any institutional power, but it erred in the other direction by pretending that there was no leadership.

The place to start is with a few good questions: "What makes leadership?" "What can be done to spread leadership skills, attributes, and special knowledge to as many people as possible?" "What can we do to keep leadership accountable and under control?" "What can be done to make sure leadership shifts easily as time and circumstances will demand of it?"

Princeton University Case Study

The anti-apartheid movement at Princeton has been relatively successful during 1977-78. Although the university's trustees have made no significant concessions, our ideas have reached large numbers of students: over 700 participated in a divestiture demonstration, the largest demonstration here since 1971; and 210 students participated in a carefully planned peaceful sit-in in the administration building, while 350 supporters demonstrated outside.

In this brief essay, we would like to focus on three factors which we believe have been crucial to our success: 1) the strongly multi-racial nature of our movement; 2) effective research and dissemination of information; and 4) the daily picket.

Princeton is perhaps atypical among majority-white campuses, in that our anti-apartheid movement was founded by black and other Third World students. White students gradually became involved, first in mass activities such as demonstrations, and later as leaders and activists. Our group's racial composition fluctuates, but is now around 65 per cent white, 35 per cent black and other Third World.

We feel that the strong participation of Third World students, particularly at the leadership level, has been essential to the vitality of our movement. The next few paragraphs are primarily addressed, therefore, to campus groups which are now mostly white. Many such groups have made base-broadening a high priority, but are asking the question: how? Though our experiences cannot and should not be transferred mechanically to another campus, we hope that our ideas can be of some use.

First and foremost, it is important for white students to respect the cultural and political autonomy of the black student community. If close interracial friendship is rare—and it usually is in the United States today—this isolation cannot be transformed overnight, nor transformed by the mere desire to do so. It is transformed only gradually, through cooperation *and* through conflict, while working together toward a common goal. Trite but true.

It is best, therefore, for each community to organize its own constituency, at least at first. At the same time, close contact and coordination should be maintained among the

leaders and activists. The form of this coordination will depend on local conditions: though we believe that a single unitary organization, with a single set of goals and demands, is preferable where it can be attained, some Third World groups may prefer (at least initially) to retain autonomy within a looser coalition, and this desire should be respected.

Racial or cultural tensions *will* inevitably arise; these should be acknowledged and dealt with openly and honestly, in an attempt to build a working relationship based on mutual respect and a common purpose. Tensions should be resolved first among the most committed leaders and activists, who can then work to convince their constituencies of the need for unity. Likewise, interracial activities can be introduced gradually, among successively larger groups, starting with the most committed activists. The goal is to build an effective multi-racial movement—not one where tensions (racial, political, or any other) are magically eradicated, but one where all can work together in the knowledge that their shared commitment is more important than their differences.

Third World student organizers should draw links to domestic struggles, and should emphasize the responsibility of the present generation of Afro-American students to continue the struggle against racism both here and abroad. (Point out, for example, that it was only through this struggle that significant numbers of black students were admitted to "white" colleges in the first place.) Organizers will sometimes encounter fear and hostility among Third World students toward working with whites (e.g. fear of white domination or "sell-out"); organizers should acknowledge these dangers, but point out that as a practical matter, a successful South Africa solidarity movement on a majority-white campus *must be* multi-racial. Finally, organizing may be enhanced by directing it toward a serious, concrete action (e.g. a planned sit-in or other act of nonviolent civil disobedience); this underscores in students' minds the seriousness of the issue and the importance of making a personal commitment.

Groups should try to be conscious of the racial and sexual dynamic within their meetings and other activities. For example, lengthy meetings dominated by a small group of white males can bore and alienate other students, who may prefer concrete action to debating fine points of theory or tactic. Similarly, a conscious effort should be made to involve women and Third World students in traditionally white-male tasks such as research. We are the first to admit our own deficiencies in these respects.

Careful research is an important component of any organizing campaign. Well-documented research lends credibility to our arguments; students appreciate "facts and figures". Moreover, accurate information is needed to counter prevalent myths, e.g. about the liberation movements.

Equally important is careful attention to the form and tone with which this information is disseminated. Each organization must make a careful assessment of who is its intended audience, what are their present political values and beliefs, and what mode of exposition would be most likely to educate them in the desired direction and/or elicit the desired action. Thus leaflets should generally not be couched in rhetoric or "leftspeak"; students are more likely to be impressed by an organization which simply shows that it knows that facts and can organize them into a clear and effective argument.



Science for the People

Research regarding the corporate ties of college officials and trustees, particularly the college president, is extremely useful in helping to politicize the campus. Timing is crucial: we exposed President Bowen's directorship of NCR, a major computer supplier to South Africa, immediately after Bowen had staked his prestige on a call for "institutional neutrality" on "external political issues". This revelation didn't in and of itself convince anyone to support divestiture (and indeed it shouldn't); but it was crucial in breaking through the apolitical atmosphere usually prevailing at Princeton: it weakened Bowen's credibility, opened the eyes of many students, and convinced them to listen seriously to our arguments. Two warnings: 1) Make clear that these revelations are not meant as a personal attack on college officials (lest you provoke a sympathy backlash). Rather, the intent is to educate students as to the true nature of the college power structure, in order to explain why the trustees will divest only when the students force them to do so. The issue is the structure, not the particular individuals who occupy it. 2) It's often helpful to play up the conflict-of-interest angle—but avoid giving the misimpression that the trustees could become "neutral" or "objective" if only they would abstain from voting where their own corporations are concerned (they usually do so anyway) or resign their corporate connections.



On most campuses, an apathetic or apolitical atmosphere usually reigns supreme. Breaking through this conspiracy of silence is our most urgent task: for before we can begin specific political education and action, we must first convince students that they should bother educating themselves and that they should at least consider acting on their beliefs. Thus, we must first make the South Africa issue a visible and important controversy on campus—only then will we get large numbers of student to read our leaflets or attend our teach-ins.

Continued picketing can be an extremely effective tool to provide visibility for the movement and to politicize the campus. A regular picket is also a useful location for petitioning and leafletting, and for quick dissemination of information to movement supporters. New activists can be encouraged to prepare informal speeches to their fellow picketers, either concerning some aspect of Southern Africa or concerning their personal reasons for joining the movement. Finally, picketing is useful in maintaining morale among our supporters.

In February 1977, we began a daily noon-to-1:00 picket of the campus administration building. At that time, we were able to count on 50-100 hard-core supporters, and we planned to have people sign up for the picket on a rotating basis, so as to maintain a minimum of 10 picketers each day. In fact, we never had less than 30 people; supporters simply came whenever they could make it, and the picket became a daily ritual and social event as well as a serious political statement. We maintained the picket for 60 days, and it gradually increased in size to over 200 people on some days. This picketing was a crucial factor in increasing the politicization during the spring of 1978, in preparation for the 700-student demonstration and the sit-in.

Harvard Case Study . . .

Harvard's Southern Africa Solidarity Committee was formed in the spring of 1977. We had only a few members who did a little educational work. In the fall SASC adopted the goal of getting Harvard to take a public stand favoring U.S. corporate withdrawal from South Africa and for ending all bank loans to that country. Beyond this goal we had no coherent line or political philosophy. We were a one issue group which wanted to attract as many people as possible. We easily agreed to keep our position simple. As the year progressed our demands became a major focus of struggle within SASC. We originally based our demands on shareholder resolutions because we felt it would unite more people. By the end of the year many people moved toward total divestment, arguing that shareholder resolutions always failed. However, we never really resolved the question of demands or developed a clear rationale for them.

We knew our first task was to educate ourselves and our community in order to build effective action in the future. SASC developed many diverse educational techniques which helped us reach and interest a large portion of the community. First, we educated ourselves by inviting different people to speak during the first half of our business meetings. We then began a petition campaign which gave us the opportunity to talk to people about the issue while also helping us find and plug the holes in our arguments. We learned that internal education is an important prerequisite for petitioning. Many



people felt unable to make a convincing argument for corporate withdrawal. We should have better prepared people through distributing good literature on the U.S. corporate role in South Africa and then devoting at least one evening to discussing it.

SASC's own literature was a major component of our educational efforts. SASC published a 4 page pamphlet on newsprint which detailed the situation in South Africa, the corporate role and Harvard's links to South Africa. We printed 6000 copies and distributed them door to door during the two weeks before the first mass demonstration. SASC also wrote a statement of purpose which detailed our demands. We sent this leaflet to all faculty members, enclosing a cover letter asking for endorsements and financial support.

SASC brought the South Africa issue to everyone's attention through putting up two series of large character posters. One series on "To Black South Africans Apartheid Means..." followed by some shocking statistics and asking at the bottom "Should Harvard be Investing in Apartheid?". The second series entitled "Why U.S. Corporations Should Withdraw From South Africa" concluded with the question "Shouldn't Harvard Pressure Corporations to Withdraw?". The most important feature was a large sheet of white posterboard taped up next to the character posters, asking people to write down their comments, suggestions and criticisms. In this manner we made people feel involved in the process. Students

appreciated being given a chance to comment. It also helped give SASC a friendly, creative image on campus.

SASC also promoted awareness through actions such as putting black crosses in the snow to remind people of all the political detainees, or chaining a black dummy to John Harvard's statue. SASC members hung around these small actions to answer questions and promote discussion.

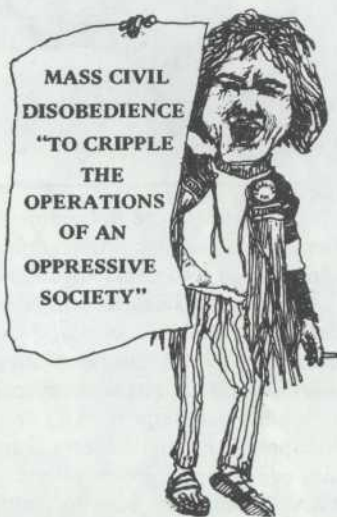
In order to broaden our support on campus we sent SASC members to other political, religious, ethnic and social organizations, making educational presentations and asking for endorsements. SASC ended up with 30 endorsements which added both to our strength vis-a-vis the administration and to the number of people who supported our position.

We constantly extended our hand to administrators and faculty, inviting them to attend our educational events. We also sent letters explaining our position and asking the Advisory Committee on Shareholder Responsibility (ACSR—4 students, 4 faculty, 4 alumni) to respond. Finally, we requested the ACSR to hold an open meeting where we could present our views. Through constantly taking the initiative in this manner, SASC was able to appear reasonable while administrators who were unwilling to talk with us appeared unreasonable.

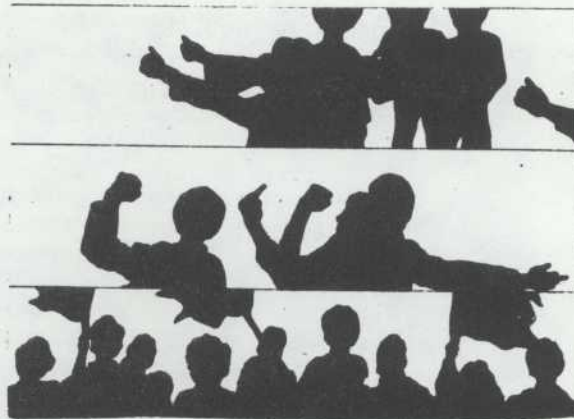
The administration tried to dissipate the movement by channeling the issue through ACSR. However, SASC was able to respond effectively by making ACSR meetings a focus for

action. We picketed ACSR meetings weekly, focusing on the committee's continual delays. At the same time we sent statements responding to points raised in their closed meetings. When the ACSR delivered its report to the Harvard Corporation, we picketed the meeting, protesting the report's recommendations. Although the reported recommended divestiture of all banks that continue to make loans to South Africa, it advised against supporting all corporate withdrawal resolutions, instead recommending a case-by-case study of corporate practices along the lines of the Sullivan Principles. Shortly thereafter the Harvard Corporation announced at an open meeting that it would release its policy decision on April 24. However, on April 24 the Corporation announced that its report would be delayed. We immediately built upon this delay by organizing an all-night vigil to wait for the report.

We set up the vigil with plenty of banners and posters. Nobody could walk through Harvard Yard without knowing that something was going on. At night we showed films. The vigil kept the issue in people's minds as we waited for the report to be released. It provoked discussion, and promoted an atmosphere of anticipation— a sense that something had to happen. We also received wide media coverage since the vigil provided a continuing story they could keep checking up on. When we called a press conference on the 27th, the day the decision was finally released, all the major media showed up. The decision conceded even less than the recommendations of the ACSR in that its commitment to bank divestiture seemed less clear.



SASC then held a torchlight march to protest the decision. We routed the march by various dorms so that people would come out to see what was going on, and join the march. By the time we reached the yard at midnight there were 3500 people. Someone who was willing to accept the legal consequences of a militant action asked the crowd to be silent for 30 seconds to think about South Africa and the depth of their commitment. People joined hands above their heads, and then he asked how many people would stay and blockade the administration building the next day. About 150 raised their hands. Someone wrote a short statement explaining why we were blockading the building, stating that we were nonviolent, that we would leave at 5 p.m., and indicating that we were protesting Harvard's failure to support corporate withdrawal.



By 8 a.m. close to 250 people showed up and began marching around the building. Another 150 sat on the steps, having committed themselves to being arrested if necessary. They wouldn't actively stop people from coming through but they would have to be forcibly removed to make the doors accessible. Soon after 9 a.m. it became clear that the administration was not going to take any action to stop the blockade. We presented guerrilla theater to entertain people and raised the issue with students and passers-by all day. The day ended with a brief speech on what we had accomplished and who we had reached.

The important lessons we learned from organizational matters concern the advantages of having a system for rotating the chair and how to establish a coalition. Our rotation system was based on having the secretary of one meeting chair the next meeting. The chair for the coming meeting helped chair the steering committee meeting, which drew up the agenda for general meetings. Rotating the chair helped bring more of our membership into contact with the core leadership and the planning of SASC activities, thus helping new people gain experience. In April, 1978 we formed the United Front with Third World organizations. Our experiences with this coalition taught us that it is important to get coalitions going as soon as possible. Even if the ties are merely formal ones at first, they establish the basis for a real working relationship to develop. Furthermore, in initiating a coalition you usually maintain the most influence in shaping its direction. When forming a coalition it is important to make your goals and positions clear to other groups and be sure they understand them. Every participant should also be clear on the ground rules for the coalition. For example, in the United Front all groups were free to go beyond the United Front position if they made it clear it was their own position and not that of the entire Front.

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize our two most important lessons. Be reasonable in your work, including tactics, rhetoric, posters, statements and dealings with the administration. This is essential for gaining respect among your constituency. Secondly, be open. Keep contact with your constituency and treat them as people. In our case this meant putting up posters for people to write comments on, keeping our meetings open and well publicized, and *sitting outside the building* at the sit-out so as to keep in touch with the community.

UC Berkeley Case Study

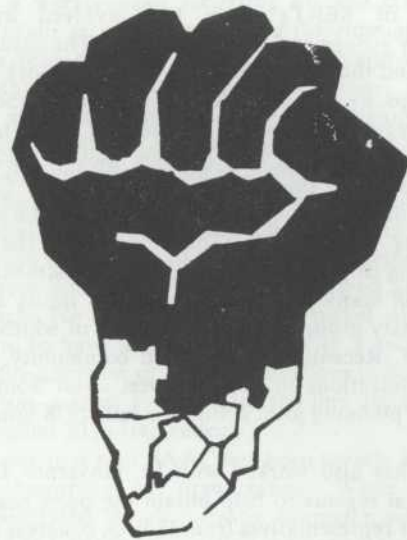
Anti-apartheid organizing at UC Berkeley began in 1977 with the formation of Campuses Unitead Against Apartheid (CUAA), a statewide coalition of anti-apartheid groups from UC campuses, private colleges and other public schools. CUAA Berkeley sponsored a number of actions in 1977, including teach-ins, demonstrations and sit-ins. These actions lacked an overall strategy; we simply built activities from one regents meeting to another. In January, 1978 SERJ, Students for Economic and Racial Justice, was formed after CUAA Berkeley disintegrated during the fall, largely due to the disruptive effects of the sizeable RCYB group on campus. The formation of SERJ coincided with a CUAA coordinated effort to force the Board of Regents to agree to hold an open public forum on the issue of UC investments in corporations operating in South Africa.

The UC Board of Regents controls a portfolio of close to \$1.8 million. This portfolio consists of California Retirement System funds (one half of portfolio), an endowment fund and the variable annuity plan. 70 per cent of this money is in stocks, over \$800 million is invested in corporations operating in South Africa. The Board of Regents, which includes Gov. Brown and Lt. Gov. Dymally, rejected a two year plan for divestment submitted by Lt. Gov. Dymally in September, 1977. At this September meeting the regents also refused to allow CUAA to present testimony before the full board. CUAA built upon this failure to allow open discussion of the issue by developing a strategy aimed at getting the regents to publicly explain their position. The struggle for an open forum on the issue of UC investments lasted six months, resulting in special Board of Regents meeting on June 8, 1978. Most of SERJ's 1978 activities were part of this statewide effort.



In January, CUAA began contacting all regents who had voted against divestment asking them to appear at well-publicized open forums on all UC campuses to explain their position. No one responded except President Saxon, who refused to appear. At a March meeting the regents denied CUAA any time to present petitions signed by over 10,000 people calling for divestment and reinvestment to solve problems such as housing, hunger, employment and education. The regents also overwhelmingly voted against holding a special meeting to address the divestment issue.

After months of little response from the UC regents, CUAA planned a campaign of militant actions to force the regents to hold an open forum. On May 1, CUAA called for a special public regents meeting with all regents present to address the issue to be held on the UC Berkeley campus. A May 15 deadline was set for the regents to respond and protests were planned for all UC campuses on May 18, if there was no response.



A picket line was maintained at the UC Berkeley's chancellor's office for two weeks calling for the special meeting with the regents. The sit-ins, at UC Riverside, UC Irvine, UC Davis and UC Berkeley, lasted until 3 of the 4 regents necessary had signed a statement to call a special meeting in June. UC Irvine voted to stay all night until the 4th regent signed. During this time some 5,000 booklets were distributed containing articles on apartheid, U.S. corporations, UC investments and the like.

Right after the sit-in at UC Berkeley, SERJ organized a march to dorms and co-ops which brought out 300 people the next day to picket the chancellor's office. The picket then moved to the administrative center of the 9-campus UC system where we called upon President Saxon to attend the special hearing. He agreed. SERJ then turned a rally for Governor Brown into a victory for CUAA by covering Sproul Hall with banners facing the crowd and calling for him to attend a special meeting. He agreed to do so.

To build for the public hearing we sent letters to and called regents to pressure them to attend. A wide range of community, labor, religious and legislative groups were contacted by SERJ to testify at the hearing and to pressure regents to attend. CUAA reps worked with regent John Henning (AFL-CIO Secretary Treasurer) and Lt. Governor Dymally's staff to lay out the details of the program and to invite people to testify. A rally was held at noon, before the hearing, with speakers from the Black Consciousness Movement, faculty, CUAA and the campus local AFSCME. 2000 people attended the hearing, but only seven regents out of the 24 total came, the conservatives in essence boycotting the meeting.

That night, in response to the intransigence of the Regents, SERJ decided to take action through a sit-in the next day at the main administration building. The sit-in lacked many things organizationally, but 100 people stayed with half of them being arrested.

We found that the most effective way to set the stage for successful actions, such as marches, sit-ins and the public hearing, was through guerrilla theater and numerous dorm and co-op programs (films and discussions). Teach-ins were usually only effective directly *after* or *during* a sit-in.

Much of SERJ's work has involved union locals, community groups and legislative work. The nature of the UC portfolio and the regents has required us to work closely with these groups. SERJ has worked closely with AFSCME, whose members regularly attend SERJ meetings. SERJ members also have supported AFSCME campus pickets. We have also utilized studies by the California Public Policy Center on the deterioration of the UC portfolio to counter the arguments of the regents regarding loss of money and the consequent jeopardizing of pension funds through divestment. SERJ also called upon many progressive groups to testify at the public hearing. Sixty groups testified, only one of which was against divestment. Recently, SERJ joined community, church and labor organizations in the new west coast Southern Africa Coalition, planning joint action for fall, 1978 around Bank of America.

SERJ has also worked with Lt. Governor Dymally and other liberal regents to help obtain the open hearing and to arrange for representatives from ILWU, congress and the state legislature to testify at regent meetings. The California Select Committee on Investment Priorities and Objectives has been especially important in providing studies central to our information distribution. CUAAs meet regularly with the committee to discuss pension fund investment, legislative bills, ideas for reinvestment and changes in the Board of Regents.

Our strategy of pursuing the open regents hearing and calling for full public discussion was successful in exhausting a primary avenue for "legitimate" discourse. The tedious petitioning, letter writing, requesting of meetings, etc. was important for the education and radicalization of new people.

It also helped us assess more accurately the mood on campus and the questions people have. There is considerable debate over the strategy for the 1978-79 year. While most people feel we should emphasize the student power issues as a "handle" on divestment, there is also a strong feeling that our movement should be one aimed at changing American society. People feel the need to broaden the movement without losing its radical analysis.

Some possible strategies include: calling for the resignation of regents with connections to companies in South Africa, or for elections of regents, a shortening of their term, and the like. Many of these changes would require altering the state constitution and people are weary of being diverted into liberal, energy diffusing reforms at the University. In the wake of Proposition 13, some members of SERJ feel that reinvestment of pension funds and tax money that comprise the UC portfolio should be the major focus: out of private corporations and into the public sector to fund housing, alternative energy, etc.

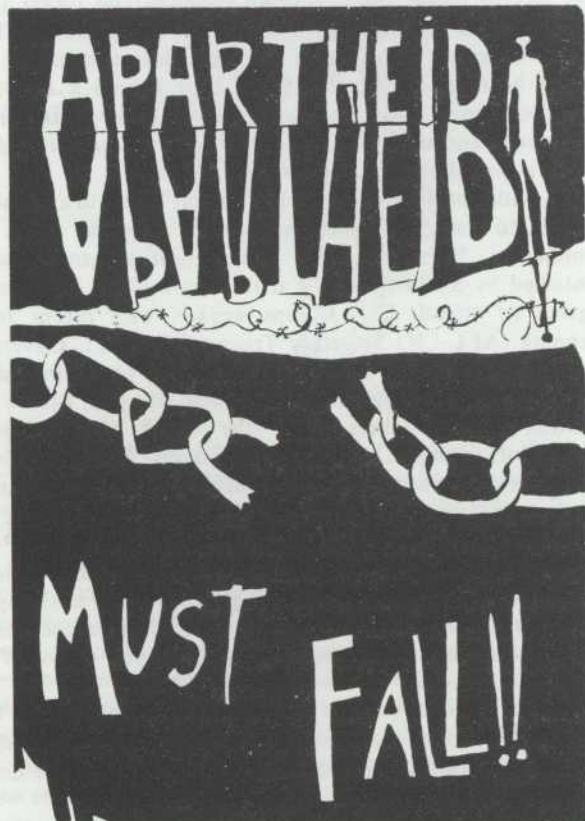
Counter-recruiting and anti-Bank of America work is being planned for the fall. Finally, the trial of the Berkeley 51 and the disciplinary hearings will be part of the SERJ strategy. Mock hearings and trials will be enacted on campus.

Swarthmore Case Study

A small liberal arts college in suburban Philadelphia, Swarthmore dominates the upper middle class bedroom community which shares its name. Although the campus lies only 15 miles from Center City Philadelphia, its country club atmosphere, the strictly residential character of the surrounding community, an enormously demanding workload, and an ivory tower mentality combine to produce an overwhelming sense of isolation. These factors and others produce an atmosphere entirely un conducive to organizing and political activism.

Politics on campus are rather low key. Of those students with any interest in politics, the majority seem fairly liberal. No sectarian organizations are active on the Swarthmore campus, a fact which we believe aided us in the organization of the Anti-Apartheid Committee. The only ideologically based group on campus is the Swarthmore Political Action Committee (SPAC), a small group of Marxist students interested in maintaining a socialist perspective on campus.

The Swarthmore Anti-Apartheid Committee was formed February, 1978 through the initiative of SPAC. The issue of the college's investments in South Africa was first raised in the autumn when the editor of the campus paper published an editorial revealing Swarthmore's investments of almost \$9 million in 7 corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa. need to centralize work around the issue as interest and activity grew together with news of anti-apartheid activities in the Amherst area and of the prospects of a future Northeast Coalition catalysed the formation of a single anti-apartheid committee. The knowledge that Swarthmore's anti-apartheid activities are part of a growing nation-wide movement has been crucial to our success and is a point which we have stressed throughout the campaign.



Andrew Turner/LNS

SAAC was formed following a SPAC sponsored discussion. A two page analysis of the apartheid system and the role of U.S. corporations in it was drawn up by SPAC members. It was the central document of our campaign, serving as the basis for a leaflet used in petitioning and our official statement to the Board of Managers. This statement called for complete divestment by the end of fiscal year 1978-79 and that the college publicly state its reasons for divestment, i.e., opposition to corporate investment in South Africa. This latter point is important because SAAC sees the purpose of divestment in terms of the responsibility of U.S. institutions to take an active role in publicizing and condemning any American support for apartheid. In our statement to the Board we also emphatically denounced the Sullivan Principles and shareholder resolutions as inadequate answers to our demands. SAAC feels that it was important to take strong positions on these two questions in order to more definitively establish the lines of argument.



SAAC then immediately began its divestment campaign with a petition drive, launched in response to news that the upcoming Board meeting (in less than one week) would consider the issue of South Africa investments. We decided to concentrate all our petitioning into a large three day drive in the dining hall. We distributed over 1000 copies of our statement and obtained signatures of over half the student body in nine hours of petitioning. SAAC members met with individual Board members at an informal breakfast and were permitted 15 minutes to present our petitions and explain our demands and arguments to the Board of Managers.

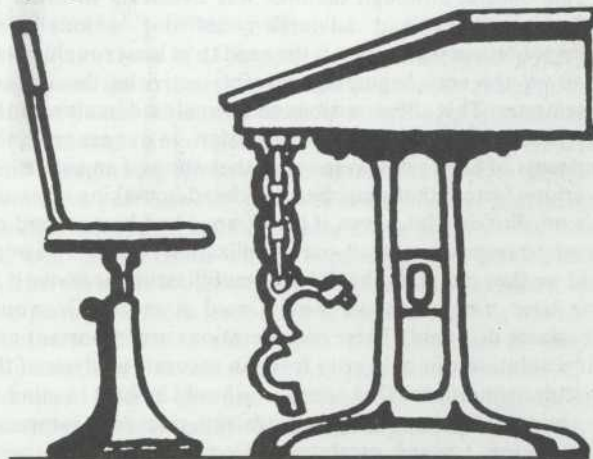
The Board simply ratified support for the Sullivan Principles and set up a sub-committee on the investments committee to study the question and recommend policy to the Board. The three student positions on the sub-committee were filled by SAAC members. True to our expectations the subcommittee meetings were farcical and a waste of time to all involved. Student and faculty members were deprived of any decision making power, with Board members solely responsible for making policy recommendations. Despite the fact that the purpose of such committees is to buy time and create an illusion of willingness to accept student participation, students should not reject participation outright. Refusing to participate, especially at this early stage of our campaign, would have undermined our position in the eyes of the rest of the college community. Anti-apartheid committees cannot afford to isolate themselves by appearing irresponsible; we must demonstrate that we are serious, purposeful and willing to work with others to gain the respect of the college community. Rejection of participation in such a committee must be made only in circumstances of strength, after official channels have been exhausted and only with the assurance that a large proportion of the college stands behind you.

Crucial to the campaign is keeping the college community informed of developments, not only on the campus, but at other schools as well. We utilized the weekly campus newspaper extensively to serve this purpose. We tried to write

articles on a weekly basis reporting on and criticizing the Board's position as well as providing information on events outside Swarthmore. These articles were a major way to keep the issue in the forefront of everyone's attention.

SAAC also built the divestment campaign through obtaining endorsements of divestment from other student groups and through sponsoring an April forum with films and speakers. The campaign culminated in a small demonstration in late April in honor of the Board's final meeting of the year. After extensive discussion within SAAC, we decided to hold a picket to greet Board members as they arrived at the dining hall for lunch. We decided to hold the picket without prior publicity and to have SAAC members with a microphone to talk about the activities of U.S. corporations in South Africa. The event was a great success with the line quickly swelling from the original 30 to 100 students.

During our first year SAAC has been loosely knit with no designated hierarchy or organization. While this loose structure facilitated the democratic character we wished to build, it also encouraged a situation whereby a small group of the people did most of the work. As the semester progressed this situation improved. One person emerged as unofficial chairperson—arranging meetings and drawing up agendas; others began to assume responsibility for other tasks such as leaflets, news articles, etc. This process helped develop organizational structure and alleviate the poor distribution of work. Our experiences demonstrated to us the need to have an elected leadership and to politically educate members and develop their skills. An elected leadership was necessary to permit increased efficiency and to prevent possible discontent arising from sentiments that a few people dominate the committee. Elected leadership also explicitly designates authority, thereby granting leadership more leeway in assigning tasks.



One of SAAC's major goals has been to develop people's political skills and capacity for leadership. As an organizational structure emerged we assumed more freedom in assigning tasks to less experienced members of SAAC, working with them to develop skills needed to carry out a political campaign of any type. By developing everyone's skills we were able to draw in new people, decrease the workload of a small group, increase the sense of participation and dedication among all members, and establish the basis for

continuity in the group. One of the most important organizing lessons we learned is that an important element of leadership is the delegation of responsibility. By assigning a specific task, in accordance with the individual's talents and interests, and then providing aid and guidance in the execution of the task, the individual usually rises to the occasion, educates him/herself and contributes to a more efficient and unified organization. Furthermore, by laying the basis for a new leadership, we ensured a smooth transition from one year to the next—a major concern for sustained student politics.

A major lesson of SAAC is the importance of open and thorough discussion of crucial questions of strategy and tactics. We emphasized democratic discussion by making meetings open and asking everyone present to give their views on important questions. We still felt that the more politically adept members should strongly voice their opinions and not fear dominating the group in this manner. One particular discussion SAAC had on the advisability of holding a demonstration elucidates how thorough discussion can lead to a full consideration of the factors involved in making a tactical decision. Two lines emerged in the debate. One advocated an all-out mobilization, arguing that at least one big action was needed to stir up the campus and that only by having such an action could SAAC gauge its support. The second line felt there should be no action since the campus was not worked up enough over the issue and since SAAC was not well enough established to call an all-out mobilization. This group feared a poor turnout for such a demonstration would reflect our weakness. We engaged in long time-consuming debate before deciding upon a small well-organized picket line in support of divestment.

This debate, although tedious, was necessary in order to weigh the timing and advisability of our actions. One important lesson we learned is the need to at least roughly plan out, from the very beginning, possible activities throughout the semester. This allows actions to be analyzed in view of the larger context and tempo of the campaign. In our example, the arguments of both sides were valid; they showed an awareness of various factors that must be considered in making any such decision. For example, even if the campus had been stirred up enough to respond to an all-out mobilization (which it wasn't), could we then maintain that level of mobilization or revive it at some later time when we would need it more? Or would enthusiasm dissipate? These considerations are important and their resolution can only arise from an accurate analysis of the particular conditions. One approach should be kept in mind to serve as a guideline: in designing strategy, plan your campaign with a view toward escalation. Don't dissipate all your resources in the early stages; always keep some in reserve for later stages of the struggle. At the same time, a tempo that is too slow can be as harmful as one which is too fast. □

The campus case studies were written by individual members of each campus organization. All accounts and views presented in these pieces are those of the authors.

The "I Feel Like I'm Fixin' to Die-Vest" Rag

Now people we got to make a choice,
are we going to listen to freedom's voice?
Our country's on the wrong side again,
our money's helping apartheid win.
As long as there's money to be made
Apartheid's gonna stay.

Chorus

So it's 1-2-3 what are we asking for?
Don't give me no Sullivan plan.
We have some real demands.
And it's 5-6-7 we want freedom now.
There ain't no time for compromise.
Apartheid's got to die.

Now Corporations you can't hide
your money's on oppression's side.
Weak excuses just won't do
we know apartheid depends on you.
So listen to the people's shout
All investments out!

Chorus

Now Trustees we've had enough debate
it's time that you cooperate.
Your stocks won't make South Africa free
we've heard enough hypocrisy.
Don't tell us that it's too complex
You got us into this mess!

Chorus

So come on people take a stand
put pressure on this racist land.
Folks you've got to realize
that "gradual change" is a pack of lies.
The moral stand, as we all know,
is investments have to go!

Chorus

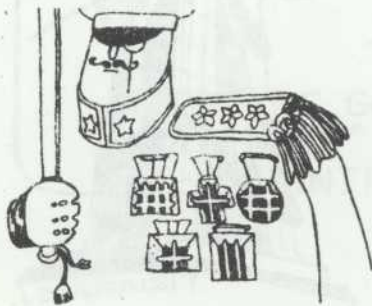
(Sung to the tune of Country Joe's "I Feel Like I'm
Fixin' to Die")

Jim Hansell 11/1/78

Foreign Policy and Legislative Action

Introduction

Most anti-apartheid activities have focused on U.S. corporate support for apartheid. The crucial role American foreign policy plays in sustaining racist rule and/or coopting the transition to majority rule has not been a major area for education and action. This fact is undoubtedly an important problem and weakness of the anti-apartheid movement. If we hope to effectively check U.S. intervention in Southern Africa and support the liberation struggles there, we must increasingly direct our efforts towards unmasking the role of our government in Southern Africa and organize to change it. The importance of focusing on government actions is threefold. First, the American government has continuously provided vital economic, diplomatic, and military support to white minority regimes in Southern Africa. This support has been aimed at both promoting "regional stability" and forging greater economic links between the U.S. and Southern Africa. Secondly, with the growing strength of liberation movements, the American stake in Southern Africa is seriously threatened. Therefore, U.S. initiatives to prevent the victory of the liberation forces and impose its own formula for "peaceful transition to majority rule" have rapidly expanded. Finally, the conservative forces in American politics have been waging an extensive campaign to shape U.S. policy toward Southern Africa. Conservative Republicans and southern Democrats have lobbied hard for support of Rhodesia's internal settlement government. Corporate representatives have also been heavy-handed in attempting to defend trade with and investment in South Africa. In order to organize a movement against U.S. intervention in Southern Africa we must understand the role U.S. foreign policy plays in promoting perceived American interests. We must also become familiar with the extent and type of support the U.S. government provides to minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. Exposing specific forms of support can help educate people about the existence of American assistance to South Africa, and to the potential for American pressure on South Africa to end apartheid.



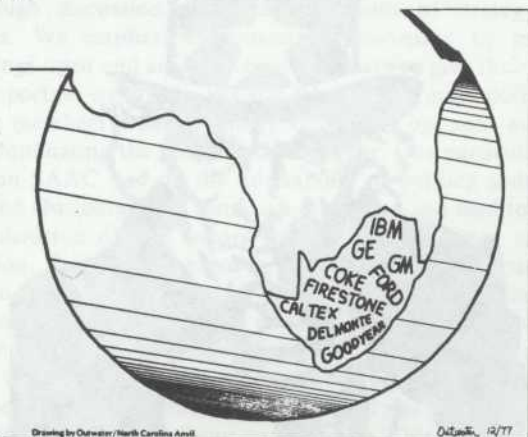
Dollars and Sense



The Role of U.S. Foreign Policy

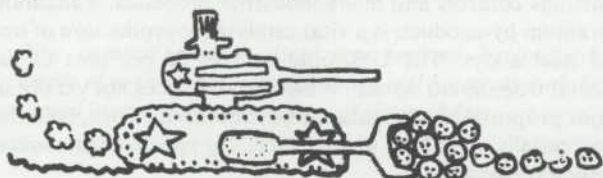
Any analysis of U.S. policy toward Southern Africa must begin with the extensive American economic stake in Southern Africa. South Africa has been a source of profitable investment for some time. Direct U.S. investments total \$1.7 billion with outstanding bank loans estimated at close to \$3 billion. While the post-Soweto years weakened investor confidence in South Africa, a recent Commerce Department survey indicated U.S. corporations will be expanding their stake in South Africa during 1979. Raw material resources in Southern Africa are perhaps a more important economic stake in the region. Southern Africa is the largest U.S. supplier of strategic minerals such as ferro-chrome, platinum, vanadium, and uranium. Ferro-chrome is essential for high-strength, corrosion resistant alloys used in jet engines and power plants. South Africa and Rhodesia are virtually the sole suppliers of this mineral. They are expected to remain so for the next 25-75 years. One third of our platinum supplies come from South Africa. Platinum is used in catalytic converters for auto emissions controls and many industrial processes. Vanadium, a uranium by-product, is a vital catalyst for production of iron and steel alloys. The U.S. obtains over 50 per cent of this mineral from South Africa. While the U.S. does not yet obtain major proportions of uranium from Southern Africa, Namibia is potentially one of the world's largest suppliers of this source of nuclear energy.

U.S. foreign policy has consistently sought to support regional stability in Southern Africa while promoting greater economic ties to Southern Africa. The two goals are intimately linked. Stability provides access to minerals and investment markets while economic support to investors and aid to South Africa directly promote trade and investment. South Africa, with its exceptional economic resources and military potential, has been seen as the lynch-pin of "regional stability." The U.S. government has relied upon extensive military, diplomatic, and economic support of South Africa to achieve these goals. It has done so at the same time it has paid lip-service to supporting black majority rule. The rhetoric should not be allowed to hide the more significant material support for racist regimes.



Military Support

Despite alleged compliance with a voluntary UN arms embargo against South Africa enacted in 1963, the U.S. has permitted extensive trafficking of arms to South Africa. Many of these transfers are secret and indirect. However, they all require State Department licensing and approval. American firms have licensed foreign firms to manufacture arms which are then sold to South Africa. Goods manufactured by U.S. subsidiaries in South Africa are not covered by the embargo. South Africa's military capacity has also been built up through NATO, through allowing South Africa to produce NATO weapons under license. Finally, the Commerce and State Departments continue to license sales of civilian aircraft to South Africa. Aircraft which have considerable military potential. Soon after the Carter Administration supported a mandatory arms embargo in the UN, the State Department authorized the transfer of reconnaissance and light-weight aircraft. All told, U.S. supported arms shipments to South Africa have totaled \$450 million since 1963. These weapons have been vital assets to South Africa's war against liberation. Tanks, armored personnel carriers, and lightweight aircraft are all central components of the South African invasion of Angola and the continuing attacks on guerilla camps in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zambia.



Science for the People

Economic Support

The U.S. government has provided economic assistance to American investors and the South African regime through two institutions: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Export-Import Bank. These institutions have facilitated the expansion of American trade with South Africa, permitting continued importing of strategic goods and technology during economic crises.

The IMF is an organization of 130 nations set up in 1944 to provide balance of payments aid to members whose gold and currency reserves are running short due to trade imbalances. Since 1974, the IMF has extended over \$450 million in loans to South Africa. The U.S. and its Western European allies dominate the IMF, and the U.S. paid 22.1 per cent of the \$227 million in loans provided during fiscal year 1977 alone. These loans, coming at a time of economic crisis and growing international pressure, were an important economic and psychological boost to apartheid.

The Eximbank is a government agency chartered by Congress in 1945 to help business sell overseas. The Eximbank has provided loans to finance imports from the U.S., provided insurance and guarantees for U.S. banks loaning to South Africa, and discounted the interest on such loans. Eximbank authorizations for South Africa have risen from \$43 million in 1974 to \$205 million in 1976. While Congress recently voted to limit Exim authorizations for South Africa, there is still considerable leeway to promote trade between U.S. and South African corporations.

Carter's foreign policy has continued to support greater economic ties between the U.S. and South Africa. His administration has done so largely through helping to establish a Chamber of Commerce in South Africa and supporting continued IMF loans.



Diplomatic Support

The U.S. continues to maintain full diplomatic relations with South Africa. Commercial attaches and consular offices provide full services to American businesses dealing with South Africa. Furthermore, the American military officers maintain liaison with South Africa's military. Besides these traditional diplomatic links, the U.S. has provided diplomatic support to Rhodesia and South Africa by opposing economic sanctions in the UN and deflecting support for the liberation movements. During the dispute over independence for Namibia, the U.S. continually tried to postpone a Security Council vote on sanctions. Instead, it tried to seek a compromise with Pretoria, after South Africa explicitly rejected the UN plan. The net effect has been to support South Africa's "stalling game" aimed at preventing sanctions and support for SWAPO while it establishes a puppet regime under the guise of free elections. In Rhodesia, the U.S. has sought to deflect support for the liberation movements through proposing an all-parties conference aimed at reaching an agreement between the Patriotic Front and Ian Smith's internal settlement government. In the meantime, Rhodesian attacks on guerilla and refugee camps have escalated.

Threat of Growing Intervention

With minority rule becoming increasingly threatened by

stronger liberation movements, the possibility of extensive direct U.S. intervention in Southern Africa has grown. The real possibility of radical nationalist regimes gaining power poses the likelihood that our access to valuable economic resources will be curtailed. Furthermore, such regimes will shift the global balance of power—a central concern of U.S. military and foreign policy leaders. We have already witnessed American and Western European efforts to guide "peaceful transitions to majority rule" in Zimbabwe and Namibia. These initiatives are primarily aimed at implanting moderate black regimes which will guarantee U.S. access to mineral resources and profitable investment.

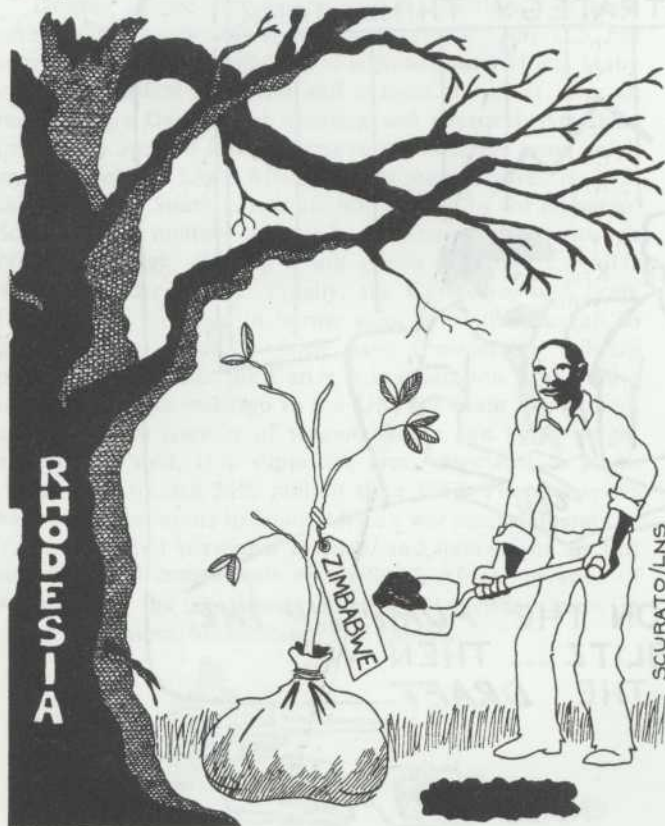
These initiatives, however, are failing miserably. A full-scale guerilla war in Zimbabwe along with African cynicism marginalized the Anglo-American plan. In Namibia, South Africa has clearly rejected the UN plan for independence. The African nations are pressing for sanctions and support of SWAPO. When viewed against the backdrop of years of military and economic support for the minority regimes, the failure of these diplomatic initiatives suggests a strong possibility of growing intervention in support of minority rule or their puppet regimes. The stakes are high and Carter has already evoked the threat of Cuban and Soviet domination which may serve to legitimate military intervention—as was the case in Angola.



The New Right and Foreign Policy

Conservatives mounted a strong offensive this past summer and fall to lift trade sanctions against Rhodesia and move the government explicitly to support the internal settlement. In June, the Senate came within six votes of suspending sanctions for a year. In July, Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) invited Bishop Muzorewa from the Rhodesian executive council to lobby against sanctions. Congress then voted to force the President to lift sanctions if the Rhodesian government agrees to negotiate at an all-parties conference and if a new government is installed on the basis of free elections. In October, 27 conservative senators invited Ian Smith and Ndabaningi Sithole to the U.S. for a major two-week propaganda blitz. "New right" groups came out in force to help promote Smith and the internal settlement; groups like the Coalition for Peace through Strength and the American Conservative Union wined and dined Smith in New York and Washington.

This campaign to move the government towards support of the internal settlement has serious implications for Namibia and South Africa as well. U.S. actions in Zimbabwe will set a precedent for Namibia and South Africa. Furthermore, dangerous myths about Southern Africa are being perpetuated by their propaganda. If the right wing continually presents the situation in Zimbabwe as a choice between Soviet-controlled terrorist guerillas and a legitimate multi-racial regime, then our task in preventing U.S. intervention in South Africa when the struggle escalates there will be very difficult. It is essential to combat their arguments and provide alternative perspectives clarifying the need to stop U.S. intervention and support African liberation.



Legislation as a Focus for Education and Action

The task before us is admittedly great. The American stake in and commitment to Rhodesia and South Africa are large. The forces pressuring for intervention are powerful and well-organized. While massive demonstrations against U.S. intervention would be the most effective form of action, our capacity to build such actions at this time is limited. Education is the basis for any effective movement, and we must devote considerable efforts toward explaining the American role in Southern Africa to millions of Americans. The link between divestment and foreign policy action is not apparent; the connections must be consciously made through specific work. Legislative action provides an immediate concrete focus for education and organizing. Legislation also has an important effect on government policy. Congressional actions can strengthen our commitments to white minority regimes, laying the basis for future intervention. They can also act as a constraint on U.S. intervention in and support for apartheid. A few examples of recent legislation which has limited U.S. intervention in Southern Africa or support for minority regimes are listed below.

—*Clark Amendment*: In January of 1976, the so-called Clark Amendment (after Senator Dick Clark) was signed into law, stopping money for the CIA's covert aid to UNITA and FNLA during the 1975-76 war in Angola. The CIA's hands were tied, and continue to be, but efforts are being made in Congress to repeal this amendment. President Carter has complained that the Clark amendment ties his hands in the event that he may wish to intervene. *We may have to pressure Congress to prevent CIA covert operations from beginning again.*

—*Byrd Amendment*: In 1977, Congress repealed the Byrd amendment, thus reinstating trade sanctions against the racist Rhodesian government. (The Byrd amendment was passed in 1971, and allowed American importation of Rhodesian raw materials despite the UN embargo enacted in 1966.) *Conservative forces are lobbying strongly for lifting sanctions against Rhodesia. It is likely to be a major issue in Congress during 1979.*

—*Export-Import Bank*: A major campaign to end Export-Import financing of South Africa was waged in the spring of 1978. Several groups, including the American Friends Service Committee, Citizens for Participation in Political Action, Transafrica and the Washington Office on Africa, sponsored a petition, letter-writing and phone-calling campaign to win congressional restriction of all Export-Import bank support of trade and bank loans to South Africa. In October, during the last hours of the 95th Congress, a compromise amendment was passed which prohibited Eximbank financing of the South African government, its agencies, and corporations which haven't endorsed and are not "proceeding toward implementation" of the Sullivan employment code.

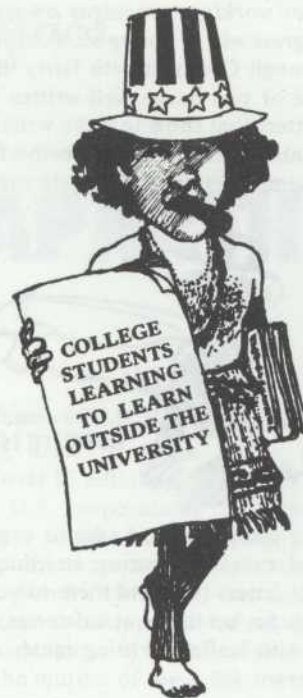
The Eximbank actions indicate that the anti-apartheid movement can effectively pressure Congress to restrict American support for apartheid. In order to have greater impact on Congress, we must focus on foreign policy issues and congressional actions on a regular basis. Regular contact with Congress may increase awareness of the extent and seriousness of the anti-apartheid movement. It can also counter the often defensive nature of the movement's foreign policy work which in the past has consisted only of reacting to conservative initiatives. Finally, it will help develop allies in Congress, who will work with a strong anti-apartheid movement to cut U.S. government and corporate intervention in South Africa.

What the Student Movement Can Do

Keep informed of American foreign policy. It is essential that the movement be well informed, with a solid and factual understanding of the issues. Particularly in foreign policy, it is important to watch carefully the newspaper and other media sources. Do not rely upon one source: read at least the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, as well as the reliable papers in your areas. See the resource list in this section for more sources. Also, there are two offices in Washington that will provide you with the latest information on policy:

—*The Washington Office on Africa*. WOA is a private, church-funded lobbying office in Washington, D.C., which focuses on Southern African affairs. They keep a critical watch on the government, as well as maintaining close ties with the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and South Africa. They mail out legislative action alerts and a quarterly publication, Washington Notes, which you can subscribe to. They also publish a Congressional voting record on Southern African issues. The address: 110 Maryland Ave., Washington, DC 20002 (202) 546-7961.

—*Transafrica*. Transafrica is a lobbying group established by black Americans to monitor American foreign policy towards Africa and the Caribbean. Although it was very recently founded, its staff has accumulated experience in the Washington political process and they promise to become an important voice for progressive African policy and for solidarity with the struggles of black Americans and African liberation. Transafrica also publishes a quarterly newsletter. The address: 1325 18th St., N.W., Suite 202, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 223-9666.



Recognize and encourage the power of community alliances. Members of Congress are concerned about being reelected. They therefore must listen attentively to organizations in your community which influence public opinion, such as churches, unions, the NAACP, and PTA's. Most of these groups (like the members of Congress) don't know much about South Africa, except for the sensational information in the press. If you haven't already done so, you should:

—Establish contact with these groups, and explain your movement and the issues. If possible, form an alliance with them in support of African liberation, e.g. "The D.C. Alliance for Liberation in South Africa."

—Keep these groups informed of the progress of your movement as well as of developments in Africa.

—Urge their support for key votes in the Senate and House. Delegation visits, personal letters, and telegrams from constituents speak loudly, especially when they are thoughtfully done.



Organize letter-working campaigns on specific legislation members of Congress will be voting on. Southern Africa issues still often go through Congress with fairly little constituency attention, so one or two dozen well-written letters can have some impact. Letters that show that the writer knows what he or she is writing about are the most effective form of communication. Provide sample letters that people can use as the basis for their own.



HERE IT IS FOLKS!

Letter-writing campaigns are easy to organize. Hand out plain paper and envelopes during an educational meeting; have people write letters then and there so you can mail them after the meeting. Set up tables at cafeterias, dorms, or other political events with leaflets, writing materials and a sample letter. Mail letters to:

Representative _____
House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
Senator _____
Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

When Congress is about to vote on an important Southern Africa issue, flood your representative's local office with phone calls, if she or he hasn't told you how s/he intends to vote. Call local directory assistance for the number, or call the Washington, D.C. office at (202) 224-3121. Press the staff to tell you how the member of Congress will vote.

Include Congressional offices in your movement. This will depend of course on the political views of your representatives. In any case, you should:

—Send the local and Washington offices of your representatives relevant materials on your movement. Include them on any list you draw up for press releases. Don't send them materials that make it seem that you are zeroing in on their offices for a special attack.

—If possible, seek statements of support. It helps your movement to be endorsed by recognized figures and organizations. There are some members of Congress who support withdrawal and/or divestment—seek yours out and find out her/his opinion.

Publicize your congressperson's political record. This may simply include letters to the editor of your local paper, or go as far as a demonstration at local Congressional offices over the more important issues. This will of course be more effective if you can join in alliance with other community groups. □

Resource List on Foreign Policy

The following periodicals and newspapers are important sources of information on Southern Africa. When reading current news, look for 1) involvement of American corporations through trade and/or political lobbying and 2) bank loans which carry stipulations that influence the behavior of foreign governments.

—*Southern Africa*. A monthly news magazine; excellent reporting and analysis. Published by Southern Africa Committee, 156 5th Ave., New York, NY 10011. Subscriptions: individual (domestic and foreign)/\$10.00, institution/\$18.00

—*Africa News*. A weekly digest of African affairs. Essential reading for keeping up to date. Published by Africa News Service, Inc., P.O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702. Subscriptions: Profit /\$65, non-profit/\$36, individual/\$20.

—*Facts and Reports*. Bi-weekly publication of presscuttings on Southern Africa edited by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa. Includes translations of European articles—excellent information often not found in other sources. Order from Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Da Costastraat 88, 1053 ZR Amsterdam, Holland. Subscriptions: \$26.

South African Publications

Important news on how the South African government is thinking and information on government policy and on American investments which often doesn't make the U.S. press can be found in these sources.

—*The Star*. An international airmail weekly, published in Johannesburg. Most universities or large libraries receive this paper. A "moderate" paper by South African standards.

—*The Rand Daily Mail*. A weekly South African business magazine. Contains current and important information on American investments. It is very expensive so check your library.

—*South Africa Digest*. Published weekly by the South African government. Available by writing to Private Bag X152, Pretoria 0001. It is sent free of charge.



UCSD Disorientation Manual Fall 1977

This fact is made crystal clear in a recent report to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, entitled "U.S. Corporate Interests in Africa." The report documents that at the end of 1976, \$2.2 billion out of South Africa's \$7.6 billion foreign debt was owed to U.S. banks and their foreign branches. The Report later concludes that:

International credit provided the margin of funds needed by South Africa in the 1974-76 period to finance its military build-up, its stockpiling of oil, and its major infrastructure projects in strategic economic sectors such as transportation, communications, energy and steel production, all of which are related to security needs.

The report adds, "The \$2.2 billion of American credit outstanding in 1976 is roughly equivalent to the amount of foreign exchange required to cover South Africa's defense and oil import costs from the same year." U.S. bank loans clearly provide capital which strengthens the white regime's ability to resist internal and international pressure for change. The present flow of capital is particularly important because it comes at a time when the costs of imports are increasing while traditional export revenues are declining. A drop in the price of gold after 1974 and decreasing exports due to the recessed European economies together with high oil prices have created a foreign exchange shortage which adds to Pretoria's economic crisis. The massive influx of foreign loans, led by U.S. banks, has amounted to a virtual bailing out of the South African economy from one of its deepest economic crises.



Southern Africa Magazine

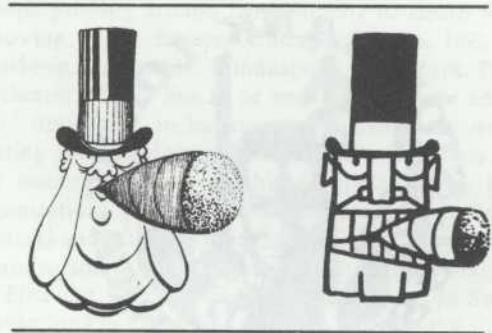
Some 100 American banks are now participating in loans to South Africa. The bulk of these loans have come from a handful of the largest U.S. banks. The New York based banks, including Citicorp, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Chase Manhattan and Morgan Guaranty, have been the largest lenders. These commercial banks have used money deposited with them by bank customers to extend credits to the South African government and businesses. A second major group of lenders to South Africa is investment banks, such as Dean Witter Reynolds, Kidder Peabody, the First Boston Corporation and Merrill Lynch. These banks purchase South African government bonds and resell them to institutional and individual investors. The following table lists the top ten U.S. lenders to South Africa and the total of known loans they participated in as of Spring, 1978.

TABLE 2: Top Ten U.S. Lenders

Institution	Number of Loans	Total	Value of Loans (US\$ mil)			
			Public Bonds	Private Bonds	Credits	Exim Trade
Citicorp	33	1,278.4	266.9	50.0	950	11.5
Manufacturers Hanover	24	945.9	307.9	95.3	540	2.7
Chase Manhattan	10	591.8	—	—	590	1.8
J P Morgan	16	521.8	92.2	—	400	29.6
Kidder Peabody	19	513.2	497.9	15.3	—	—
Smith Barney	8	353.3	151.3	—	202	—
White Weld Holdings	9	232.8	232.8	—	—	—
First Boston	7	202.2	202.2	—	—	—
PEFCO	7	175.8	—	—	—	175.8
London Multinational	6	165.8	135.8	—	30	—

NOTE: The dollar figures in Table 2 represent the total value of all loans in which the parent corporation and/or its subsidiaries participated. With the exception of Exim financing, it is not possible to determine the specific amount which an individual bank contributed to a loan.

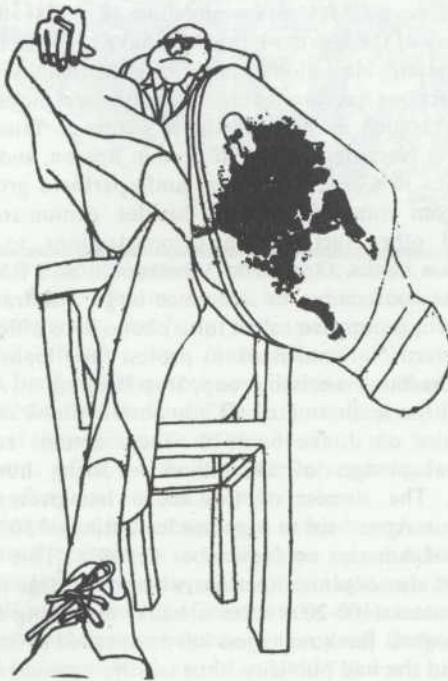
A major recipient of American loans to South Africa has been the South African government itself. This fact indicates that U.S. banks have been a definite participant in the government's strategy of economic self-sufficiency and military build-up. This pattern of lending is changing, however, as increasing domestic pressure has forced some banks to adopt policies prohibiting loans to the South African government and its agencies. While these new policies represent a concession to the anti-apartheid movement, they do not qualitatively alter the role U.S. banks play in financing apartheid. U.S. banks continue to provide strategic capital through loans to South African banks and to South African and American corporations. Increased U.S. loans to South African banks have provided them with more funds to loan to the government. Both American and South African corporations are involved in government financed and planned projects. Citibank has been a major lender to Kennecott Copper which joined the South African government in construction of a new titanium mine. U.S. banks also finance American trade with South Africa—trade which includes military related products such as computers, helicopters and light aircraft. Finally, Citibank—the largest single American lender to South Africa maintains a subsidiary and has branches in South Africa, and must, therefore, keep part of its assets in South African government bonds. The most recent change in bank policies vis-a-vis loans to South Africa simply allows banks to channel money through the back door, rather than directly to the South African government.



The Role of the Export-Import Bank

Another important link in the network of U.S. bank loans to South Africa is the Export-Import Bank—a U.S. government agency. The EXIM Bank was established in 1945 to promote American exports and foreign investment. The EXIM Bank serves this purpose through providing loans to finance foreign purchases of goods from U.S. corporations, through guaranteeing foreign loans by U.S. banks and by discounting these loans by providing low interest rates on U.S. bank loans which finance the purchase of U.S. goods. Since 1964, the EXIM Bank has been prohibited from making direct loans to South African purchasers of U.S. goods. But it has continued to help finance such trade by providing insurance and loan guarantees to U.S. banks for loans to South African purchasers of U.S. goods as well as discounting such loans. South Africa's economic crunch has forced the government to urge South African companies to pay for imports with credit rather than cash. Consequently, the EXIM Bank's underwriting of such trade has doubled between 1974 and 1976, reaching a total of \$215 million by the end of 1976. In this manner the U.S. government has supported bank loans to and trade with South Africa through minimizing the risks of the loans and in turn helping the minority regime maintain a high level of strategic imports when South Africa incurred a large trade deficit.

EXIM Bank financing of apartheid was the focus of a strong lobbying campaign this past spring and summer—a campaign which succeeded in pressuring Congress to restrict EXIM Bank support to South Africa. The lobbying campaign was sponsored and endorsed by numerous groups including the Washington Office on Africa, the American Friends Service Committee, Transafrica and the Congressional Black Caucus. While these efforts were aimed at ending all EXIM financing of trade and loans, Congress passed a compromise provision. This provision, passed in the last hours of the 95th session of Congress on October 15-16, prohibits all EXIM Bank loans guarantees and insurance in support of exports to the South African government, its agencies, and to companies which the State Department judges not to be moving toward implementation of the Sullivan principles. While this legislation will limit a sizeable amount of EXIM financing to South Africa, it will still allow considerable financing of loans and trade to private companies. Therefore this partial victory for anti-apartheid forces will not end the need for continuing to focus anti-apartheid organizing around the EXIM Bank.





The Bank Campaign

Opposition to bank loans to South Africa dates back to a successful campaign organized in 1966 to end a \$40 million consortium loan. A group of community and church organizations in Baltimore and Washington, D.C. also successfully pressured a local bank to terminate a \$2 million loan to the South African government and declare a policy prohibiting such loans in the future. This campaign, organized by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) and the Potomac Association of the United Church of Christ, centered around a loan by the Maryland National Bank. These church groups used a variety of tactics to pressure the bank including the withdrawal of a \$.5 million account by the Baltimore Inter-City Credit Union, meeting with bank officials to urge the bank to issue a clear policy vis-a-vis its present and future involvement with South Africa, and setting up a public hearing to consider withdrawal of Montgomery County's \$.5 million account with the bank.

These previous individual campaigns have laid the basis for a more thorough national campaign. The current bank campaign began in the Spring of 1977 when the American Committee on Africa made a call to organizations and individuals to endorse, support and participate in the formation of a national Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA). Over the past year and a half COBLSA has expanded to encompass local groups and campaigns in some dozen cities across the country. The current campaign has four major goals: 1) to force U.S. banks to stop making new loans and stop renewing old loans to South Africa until the apartheid system is dismantled and majority rule is realized; 2) to force banks to issue clear public statements that they will make no new loans or renew old loans to South Africa until the apartheid system is dismantled and majority rule is realized; 3) to stop U.S. banks from financing U.S. corporate investment in South Africa and to stop facilitating trade with South Africa; and 4) to pressure the U.S. government to end EXIM Bank guarantees, insurance and discounts for loans from U.S. banks to South African firms seeking to buy U.S. products.

The campaign has used many tactics in different cities, but its major strategy has been to pressure banks through an organized campaign of individual and institutional withdrawal of accounts from banks loaning to South Africa and through direct actions such as pickets and demonstrations. There have already been many successes regarding institutional withdrawals. Churches and unions have been the leaders in these actions with a few universities recently committing themselves to withdraw accounts as well. The United Electrical Workers withdrew a \$4 million payroll account from Chase Manhattan and the Furriers Leather and Machinery Workers Joint Council withdrew a \$16 million pension fund from Manufacturers Hanover Trust. District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees is withdrawing a \$236 million pension fund. Most recently, in June 1978 the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers announced that they will withdraw all their funds nationwide from banks loaning to South Africa.

Church organizations that have withdrawn accounts to protest bank loans to South Africa include the National Council of Churches, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Sisters of Charity (New York), the Association of Chicago Priests, and the United Methodist Church. Recently, both the University of Michigan and Columbia University committed themselves to withdrawal of their accounts from banks lending to the South African government.

In addition to a sustained campaign of withdrawal of accounts, COBLSA has pressured banks through coordinated local demonstrations. March 21, 1978—the 18th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre—and June 16, 1978—the second anniversary of the Soweto Uprising—have been the two major days of nationwide actions against targeted banks. The most frequent actions have been demonstrations and pickets around local banks such as Manufacturers Hanover Trust in New York, First National Bank of Boston in Boston, and the Bank of America in California. Local anti-apartheid groups have drawn from numerous tactics besides demonstrations or combined other tactics with demonstrations to heighten pressure on banks. Groups in Minneapolis and Boston have used press conferences to announce large withdrawals. The Minneapolis group also called for a phone-in to officials of the Northwestern National Bank to protest their loans to South Africa. The San Francisco group, Stop Banking on Apartheid, organized the leafletting of 60 branches of Bank of America in 22 cities on June 16, 1978. These actions resulted in withdrawal pledges of \$1 million involving hundreds of accounts. The success of this tactic has prompted Stop Banking on Apartheid to organize leafletting of 500 branches of Bank of America on November 17, 1978. This California group has also organized actions whereby a large number of demonstrators (100-200) enter a bank, leafletting customers and employees. Bank managers have not called in the police so as to avoid the bad publicity, thus leaving demonstrators free to disrupt business and expose the banks racist policies.

In New York City, COBLSA activists have concentrated on linking bank support of apartheid with racist and sexist practice of banks in New York. Open letters to employees were distributed at dozens of branches of Chemical Bank on March 21 and Manufacturers Hanover Trust on June 16. COBLSA also worked with two other groups to put together a report on Manufacturers Hanover's loaning record in two black communities. This report exposed a blatant policy of redlining, and together with demonstrations and cultural events in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant helped connect Manufacturers Hanover's support of racism in South Africa with its racist policies in the U.S.

Organizing Against Bank Loans: Where to Begin

Join the bank campaign in your city. There are now local groups working around bank lending to South Africa in the following cities: Boston, Chicago, Chapel Hill, Cleveland, Charlotte, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Portland and Rochester. If you live in or near one of these cities you can build opposition to banking on apartheid by working with existing groups. Most of these local organizations are listed in the resource section of this pamphlet under local action organizations. For the most current information on local contacts and activities write to the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, 305 E. 46th St., New York, NY 10017.

Find out which local banks make loans to South Africa. Researching bank lending to South Africa is not a simple task. While many lenders have been identified, this has been largely through World Bank and EXIM bank records. Any bank which did not seek EXIM financing or wished to keep its lending to South Africa secret due to its controversial nature will be difficult to identify. The first and best source of information is the *CDE Handbook: U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa*. It lists 100 known banks involved in Southern African financing from 1972 to mid-1978, and details every loan they have participated in. It also lists every known U.S. loan in chronological order.

If your local bank does not appear in this handbook, it may still be involved in loans to South Africa. One way to seek this information is by asking the bank directly (either the bank president or branch manager is the best person to speak to). This should be done both through a formal letter and a personal appointment. Banks will usually respond more seriously and quickly if the questioner is not simply an individual but either a church group, a local union, a college or a group of "concerned persons." There are many important questions one can ask besides the obvious one, "Does this bank participate in loans to South Africa?" Several examples of questions to ask are listed in the appendix of this section.

Another avenue of research which can be followed along with asking the banks is to seek information from newspapers and reports; this can take the form of direct information or clues indicating likely involvement in financing apartheid. Three major sources of information are:

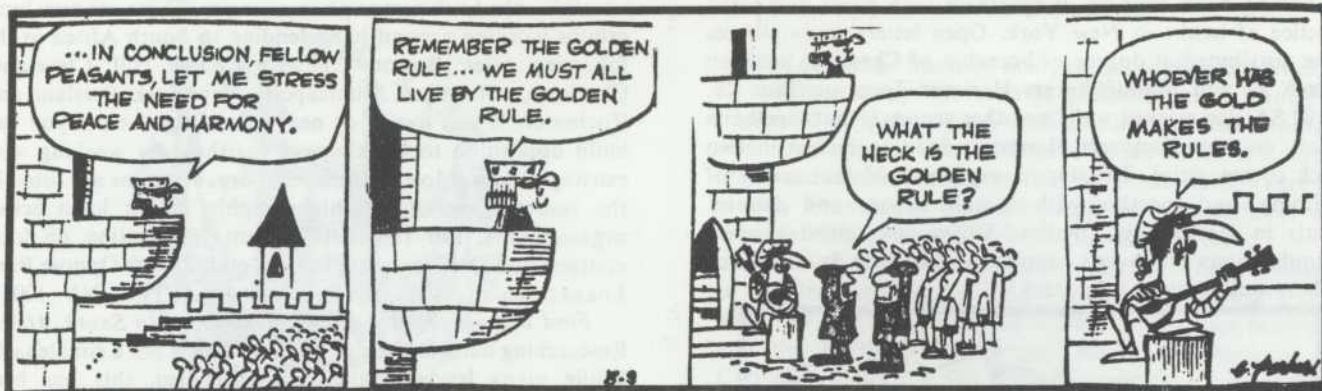
- 1) Read local newspapers and magazines for articles about the lending policies of local banks, lists of recipients of local bank loans, articles about bank officials' travels abroad or about who is visiting these officials.
- 2) Read the bank's annual report to get information on the percentage of overseas loans, lists of overseas subsidiaries, the bank's connections to other banks, its stockholdings in and/or board members with corporations that operate in South Africa.
- 3) Much of the information on bank loans is found in obscure articles in the business sections of newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The Los Angeles Times*. *Business Week* is another good source, as is *The American Banker*, a weekly newspaper found in most major libraries. South African newspapers and periodicals are particularly good sources of information. The major ones are *The Johannesburg Star*, *Financial Mail*, *Rand Daily Mail* and *South Africa Digest*,



Against the Grain

These widespread actions have had a considerable effect on American banks. Many banks have been forced to make public statements clarifying their policies. Banks such as Chemical Bank in New York, Northwestern National Bank in Minnesota and Continental Bank of Illinois and First National Bank of Chicago have all issued statements saying that they will make no new loans to the South African government. Most of these statements have come directly before or after local actions against the bank.

The American bank campaign is but one part of growing international opposition to banking on apartheid. In Canada there were actions in many cities on both March 21 and June 16, as well as withdrawal of accounts by organizations such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Oxfam, and the National Union of Students. March 1, 1978 was a national day of action against Barclays Bank in England. Some 200 branches were picketed. The Nigerian government has also acted against Barclays Bank by ordering its agencies to withdraw all its accounts from Barclays Bank of Nigeria.

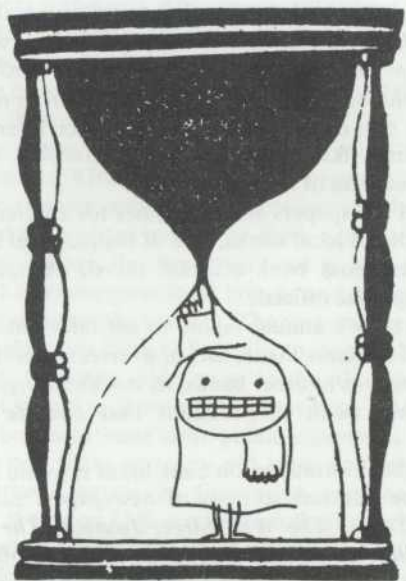


Once You Have Identified a Bank as a Lender to South Africa

The first course of action is to organize withdrawal of accounts from the banks. Withdrawals should neither be made in isolation nor without informing the bank of your intention to close an account. A good approach is to contact local churches, unions, schools or individuals with accounts in the bank and persuade them to withdraw their accounts. Once there are several organizations willing to do so (or if this is not possible, several "concerned people") organize a delegation to meet with bank officials and inform them of your intentions to withdraw unless the bank terminates its loans to South Africa and issues a public statement that it will not participate in any future loans to South Africa. If the bank refuses to do so action should be taken, including withdrawal of these accounts.

It is important to inform other people and organizations of your actions in order to increase other people's awareness of the issue and to encourage them to join you in opposing the bank's policy of lending to South Africa. Write to local newspapers to inform them of your actions, and to local officials and representatives in order to urge them to help end bank loans to South Africa. Finally, keep COBLSA aware of your activities.

After these initial actions it may be possible to get those who joined you earlier to form an on-going group to pressure local banks to stop banking on apartheid. There are many things you can then do including putting together an educational event with a speaker and/or film. There is a list of films and distributors in the resource section of the pamphlet. At an event people should be informed about previous actions and future plans. Leafletting and picketing are both effective actions which a small group of people can do effectively. The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA) and Clergy and Laity Concerned are two organizations which can provide valuable resources, information and advice. They have leaflets and brochures, they can often provide speakers, and they can supply specific information on known loans and lenders to South Africa. □



Borrowed Times/cpf

TIME'S RUNNING OUT
ON VORSTER&SMITH Inc.

Resources and Literature

1. *CDE Handbook: U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa*, available for \$3.00 from CDE, 198 Broadway, Room 706, New York, NY 10038.
2. *U.S. Corporate Interests in Africa*, Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.
3. *U.S. Dollars in South Africa: Context and Consequence* by Jennifer Davis, Feb. 1978. Available for .25 from the Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.
4. *What the Banks Say—On South Africa* by Beate Klein. Available for .50 from ICCR, 475 Riverside Dr., Rm 566, New York, NY 10027 and COBLSA 305 E. 46th St., New York, NY 10017.
5. "U.S. Banks and South Africa; The Campaign for Withdrawal" by Tim Smith and Crais Howard. *Africa Report*, July August 1978.
6. "Banking on Apartheid" by Steve Talbot. Reprint of an article from *International Bulletin*, Sept. 11, 1978. Available from COBLSA.

Questions To Banks

A. Is your bank making loans to South Africa?

1. Does _____ Bank have any loans currently outstanding in South Africa?
What is the current amount? (not the percentage of total loans)
2. Does _____ Bank participate in consortia of banks making loans to South Africa? (domestically and internationally)
3. What is the nature and extent of any such loans? (This would include the amount and description of loans to the government, state-owned institutions, other banks, or to corporations for their operations in South Africa.)
For what purposes were they made?
4. Does _____ Bank have a *written* policy regarding loans to South Africa? If so, obtain a copy.
What are the criteria used in making loans to South Africa?

B. Whom is your bank loaning money to locally?

1. How many branches does _____ Bank have in this community? (Define your community.)
How many loans has _____ Bank made here?
How much money does this represent?
2. How much money in deposits and savings has _____ Bank received from this community?
How does this amount compare with that made in local loans? (Dollar amounts if possible.)
3. How is _____ Bank making known the availability of its loans within this community? (For example, contacting local realtors, public display of the variety of loans offered, or providing low low interest loans to low income residents.)
4. When making loans in this community, what is _____ Bank doing to prevent them from going to speculators?

C. Is your bank giving equal opportunity to women, minorities and students?

1. How many of these loans have been to women, minorities or students?
2. What is _____ Bank's policy on hiring women and minorities to decision-making positions?
3. How many women and minorities does _____ Bank employ in the following wage categories: \$6,000-7,999;
8,000-9,999; 10,000-11,999; 12,000-13,999; 14,000-15,999; 16,000-19,999; 20,000 and
up.

D. Does your bank enable its employees to act on their right to unionize?

1. Are any employees of _____ Bank members of unions? If so, which?
2. What is _____ Bank's policy on the formation of unions amongst its employees?

The Krugerrand

Apartheid on Sale

There is perhaps no more direct way to invest in the oppression and superexploitation of apartheid than to purchase South African gold.

—Paul Irish, American Committee on Africa

The Krugerrand is a South African coin about the size of a half-dollar, containing one troy of pure gold—"an ounce of pure love," the ads say. It is intended mainly for foreign investors, especially American and German, and its value rises and falls with the international price of gold, much as stocks fluctuate. As of August 1978, this price was about \$180 an ounce. The image of the coin is the image South Africans wish to sell of their country: golden, beautiful, profitable, a good investment. There is no mention of the slavlike existence of the black miners, the systematic racism and terror of the government, the Bantustans and the police dogs. There is, however, a picture of a prancing springbok.

The power of South Africa to intimidate Black Africa, ignore U.N. sanctions, and resist all pressures for internal change, is the power of its gold. South Africa has 65 per cent of the world's known gold reserves and accounts for three-fourths of all Western production. Overseas gold sales provide much of the foreign exchange South Africa needs to buy machinery, chemicals, and raw materials for industrial expansion. Such sales also help pay for oil, arms, police and military expansion, all crucial to the white minority regime's continued survival. In the past few years, gold sales have covered about one-third of the total import bill. As imports continue to outpace exports by almost two-to-one, the government will look to gold to bridge the gap.

In the years following the Sharpsville massacre (1960), South Africa enjoyed its "golden years" of accelerating military and industrial development. In 1967 most of the world went off the gold standard which up to then had been controlled by the United States; during this year gold prices began their tremendous climb—from \$35 an ounce in 1967 to nearly \$200 an ounce in 1975. South Africa capitalized on this period of boom, borrowing vast sums of foreign capital, only to see the price of gold plummet to \$110 an ounce in 1976, the year of Soweto. This decline in the price of its chief export shook the South African economy to its foundations, forcing the government to come up with new economic safeguards that would promote a steady demand and good price for its gold. It hit upon the idea of the international marketing of Krugerrands; the more gold sold as Krugerrands, they

reasoned, the less auctioned in Zurich and London, thus driving up the price. They felt Krugerrand sales would also develop a greater interest among individuals in owning gold, creating a more dependable, alternative market to government and industry.

South Africa began marketing gold coins in the U.S. in 1975, when it became legal for individuals to own gold. Intergold, a South African parastatal corporation, retained a New York ad agency at this time to sell gold coins like Kelloggs sells cornflakes. After a successful 15 week test campaign in late 1975 directed at the Los Angeles, Houston and Philadelphia markets, Intergold unleashed a massive marketing campaign involving some \$4 million and 25 major cities. The ads run have been geared not only at selling gold



Jessie Crosson

but also at selling South Africa. By linking the coins with love, security and beauty, these ads have, by inference, attributed these qualities to South Africa as well. They show attractive, white, middle-class people, and they hit hard at the idea that there is no greater security than owning gold. The 1976 effort was followed by a seven week, \$2.5 million campaign during May-June 1977 in 20 cities, focusing on Krugerrands for graduation as well as for investment. Since this time, the marketing budget has been expanded to extend the campaign into several additional cities.



Groups opposed to apartheid have used demonstrations, pickets, and other means of protest to convince the public that by selling or owning Krugerrands they are directly supporting apartheid. Not only have these actions made the public more aware of the story behind the Krugerrand and the media blitz on its behalf; they have raised the level of concern in many communities about conditions in South Africa and the role the U.S. plays there. Protests by church, community and student groups have also resulted in the discontinuation of Krugerrand sales and advertisements by a growing number of institutions, and the passage of governmental resolutions against their purchase.

Banks and currency exchange brokerages are the central distributors of the gold coins in the U.S. and many groups have targeted their protests directly at them, using picketing and leafleting to raise people's consciousness, to attract media, and generally to make the management uptight. Protests in Boston, Cleveland, San Antonio, Los Angeles, Eugene and Portland, Oregon against the nation's largest brokerage firm—Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith, Inc.—led to the firm's discontinuation of gold coin sales as of the end of 1977. The Rev. Stephen Commins of Los Angeles described one such action:

Approximately fifty of us demonstrated in front of Merrill Lynch. We carried a cross of gold and chanted, "You shall not crucify our brothers and sisters on a cross of gold." We also had a young black woman lie on a coffin front ... We paraded in front of her, dropping gold coins in the coffin.

The Merrill Lynch victory came about because of the strong pressure applied by anti-apartheid groups, despite the firm's official statements to the contrary.

Banks which have stopped Krugerrand sales include the black-owned Seaway Bank of Chicago, the Continental Bank of Chicago and the New Jersey National Bank of Princeton (following student-led protests). At First National of Chicago demonstrators exposed the true nature of the Krugerrand,

parading around an apartheid dragon which ate little black baby dolls and shitted out gold coins. In addition, picketing at coin, jewelry and department stores (most recently Deak and Co. in San Francisco, August 5) has resulted in numerous discontinuations of sales.

Intergold's slick multi-million dollar promotion campaign accounts for much of the continuing increase in U.S. Krugerrands sales. A group of people in the Boston media organized an anti-Krugerrand picket at the meeting of the National Association of Broadcasting. Similar actions have resulted in the decision by ABC, CBS, and NBC TV affiliates in New York, Boston and Chicago to stop running advertisement of South African gold. In Michigan, Krugerrand promotion led the United Methodist Church to run an anti-Krugerrand ad in the *Detroit Free Press* in December 1976.

Among the most notable successes of the anti-Krugerrand forces to date have been city and state resolutions condemning Krugerrand sales and urging citizens not to purchase the coin. City Councils in Boston, Denver, Chicago, Portland, Dayton and San Antonio, and the Massachusetts House, have adopted such resolutions over the past few years. The Denver resolution, passed in November 1976, states "That the Council hereby expresses its opposition to and loathing of the racial policies of the so-called Republic of South Africa; and urges the people of Denver not to buy the coins known as Krugerrands, whose sales will help to reinforce the present government of South Africa in pursuing its repugnant and inhuman racial policies."

While the anti-Krugerrand campaign has won several important victories, the sale of the gold coin continues to grow. The 1978 sales pace has been even faster than before: through May 1978 some 2.47 million Krugerrands, or 74 per cent of last year's total, were sold. As an official of Intergold puts it, "People's desire for a good bargain overcame their concern about racial politics."

Yet, the marketing of Krugerrands remains vulnerable to community pressure. As the Krugerrand is sold generally on a local level to the public—at a neighborhood coin shop, at an area department store, through local radio and TV stations and newspapers—the possibilities for generating a campaign are almost limitless. The local focus brings the issue of racism and social injustice home in a direct way, allowing people throughout the community to get involved in a relatively "safe" way (i.e., not as threatening financially as divestment) while at the same time raising everyone's consciousness on apartheid and South Africa. Tactics can vary widely, depending on local conditions; letter-writing campaigns involving specific demands may work in one place while pickets and demonstrations may get sales discontinued elsewhere. Many city councils are open to community pressure as proven in previous anti-Krugerrand efforts.

The value of such work cannot be underestimated. The discontinuation of sales by Merrill Lynch after much pressure by local groups showed that seemingly unapproachable institutions can be moved. In the process, the links between such institutions and the apartheid regime became clear. Through continued community outreach and education, the anti-Krugerrand campaign will increasingly add to the growing sentiment among Americans and the world community that investment in apartheid isn't a "good bargain" after all. □

Material Aid

Although aid is probably a neglected area of support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa, it is nevertheless very much needed to carry on the struggle.

As the struggle intensifies, so does the repression, the displacement of people, and the need for larger amounts of material aid to carry on the fight for freedom. Material aid can be used in a variety of ways. One way is to support refugees. Between January 1, 1975 and February 25, 1977, 1146 South African exiles, the majority students, reportedly entered Botswana. In Mozambique there are a number of Zimbabwean refugee camps—one of which, Doerol, contains 24,000 people, most of whom are between 14 and 20 years of age. In these camps there is a dire need for clothing, blankets, tools, and medicine. Another way material aid can be used is to directly help the liberation movements carry out their struggle. This includes medical supplies for refugee camps and liberated areas (particularly needed because of the increased raids by the Smith regime into Zambia and Mozambique) as well as general funds, print shops and ambulances to maintain the fight against imperialism and white minority rule.

Our material aid can provide invaluable support for the refugees and freedom fighters. It can also enable them to develop more independently of outside interference.

Our solidarity with the people of Southern Africa is important. Material aid is one way of demonstrating our support and in the course of material aid drives we can carry out educational work that generates political support for the liberation struggles and exposes to the American people the role of the U.S.

Examples

Zimbabwe Medical Drive: Bay Area community and political organizations have formed a coalition to help meet the need for medical supplies. The coalition is led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which is part of the Patriotic Front. All money raised will go to ZANU's health department in Mozambique and liberated Zimbabwe. The coalition is committed to raising \$25,000 to buy medicines, medical supplies, and textbooks.

Third World Fund/Zimbabwe Medical Fund
944 Market Street
San Francisco, CA 94102



LNS

The Africa Fund is one of the oldest organizations providing aid. Since 1967 it has, through positive programs of aid and development, supported emerging independent countries and Africans struggling for freedom against the injustices of colonial and white minority domination.

Such aid includes: legal defense for students and others facing severe political repression in South Africa; books and teaching materials for schools for refugee children from Zimbabwe and Namibia; farm tools for cooperative camps set up in Zimbabwe and Mozambique; and medical supplies for Guinea-Bissau. A vital part of the Africa Fund's work is the production and distribution of literature and other resources which interpret current events in Africa to the American public.

Africa Fund
298 Broadway
New York, NY 10038

AFSC Material Aids is a project initiated by the American Friends Service Committee to provide men's and boys' clothing for South African refugees. These donations are seen as a way materially to help the South African people forced to flee and to build links of friendship and compassion with the refugees.

AFSC Material Aids
1515 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102

These are just a sampling of the material aid programs that exist.

Getting Started—Some Questions

Here are a few of the questions a material aid project will have to deal with when developing a program:

—What type of aid is needed? Your best bet is to contact the liberation organizations themselves to obtain a list.

—What section of the American people are you going to be focusing on? For instance, a clothing drive on a campus may not work given that students do not have a lot of extra clothes in their dorms, while it may go in the community. Establishing a funding drive for a print shop, ambulance or school supplies may go very well on campus.

—How to get a campaign going? Whether or not to plug into a national project or establish a local one. What country or liberation organization to send donations to. These questions can only be answered through discussion in your committee.

—Shipping and packaging—how? This is a difficult problem. It's best to send clothing to a church or national organization that has the facilities to pack, fumigate and meet the international UN standards for shipment. Check expiration dates on medicines, especially when sending by surface transportation. All materials must be itemized and listed with their weight, valuation in U.S. dollars, cubic footage (if sent by ship). The UN reimburses for shipment—but only if it meets their requirements and usually a known group providing material aid can be easily reimbursed. □

Sports as a Catalyst For Anti-Apartheid Action

*The field of sport...I think is in the vital interests of society
in that it foreshadows attitudes in other areas.*

—Steve Biko

Exclusion of South African teams from international sport competition on the basis of racist apartheid policies draws worldwide attention to the morally illegitimate system of apartheid within South Africa.

South Africa attempts to counteract its isolation by inviting teams and individuals to South Africa for competition. The only major rugby team recently participating in competition in South was from New Zealand. Note the African boycott of the 1976 Olympics; the protest was directed against New Zealand—South Africa is not allowed to compete in the Olympics.

Action against South African international participation in sports events continues regularly and effectively in Australia, Britain and New Zealand. Recently, Ireland's protest campaign against the participation of the South African team in the World Cup in golf prevented the competition from being held in Ireland in July, 1978, as originally planned. The tournament has been rescheduled for December, 1978, in Hawaii.

Actions in the U.S. have been directed against amateur baseball and professional tennis. Major protests in 1976 were in Los Angeles against Davis Cup (men's tennis) participation, and in Philadelphia against South African and Rhodesian participation in the Federation Cup (women's tennis). Recently, the March, 1978 protest in Nashville led to the expulsion of the South African team from Davis Cup competition.

Many of the sponsors of tournaments in the U.S. are companies with direct involvement in South Africa. The planned World Cup in Hawaii has six major sponsors; one is South African, the other five are American: ITT, Pan American, American Express, Colgate-Palmolive, and Time-Life. All but Time-Life are involved directly with South Africa. The connection is easily drawn between corporate sponsors of tournaments and corporate involvement with South Africa. Protest groups concerned with corporate involvement in South Africa have formed as direct results of sports-related demonstrations; prime examples are the Tennessee Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid which was formed as a result of the March, 1978 events in Nashville, and the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR) which was founded after the protest in Philadelphia in 1976.

Case Study

The Nashville protests serve as an example of and guide for direct action around apartheid in sports. ACCESS (the American Co-ordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society), a coalition of 25 national political, religious, civil rights, and sports groups contacted its member organizations and from these groups obtained names of their individual members in the Nashville area. ACCESS then contacted these people and brought them together to form the Tennessee Coalition Against Racism; student government leaders at local colleges were contacted, and four—Vanderbilt, Fisk, Tennessee State, and Meharry Medical College—became affiliated with the coalition.

ACCESS organizers then furnished materials on apartheid and sports, and on corporate withdrawal from South Africa. They also spoke at the four campuses mentioned above. Several campus newspapers were prompted to publish special editions on apartheid, and the local and national media were saturated with press releases about the issue, plans for the demonstrations, and so forth. The Coalition's first action was a demonstration at a Vanderbilt administration building demanding that the administration not allow Vanderbilt's facilities to be used for the Davis Cup matches. While this action was unsuccessful, it served to help build the Coalition and prepare it for larger actions at the Davis Cup matches themselves. These actions, involving 3000 people the first day and 4000 the next, received wide national coverage both in sports reports and as important political actions in their own right.

Demonstrations and protest such as the above receive front page sports coverage, thereby educating an extensive audience, many of whom otherwise remain ignorant of the institutionalized racism in South Africa.

The international attention and pressure focused on South Africa have a tremendous impact on the situation within that country. According to some observers, white South African interest in sports "borders on a national mania"—to the extent that a position in government has been created for a Minister of Sport. The intense enthusiasm of whites, and the international nature of sports competition, combine to make South Africa extremely vulnerable to sports-related political pressure. Steve Biko was of the opinion that sport was also an arena in which black South Africans, who have little opportunity to exert pressure in any other field, could successfully push the government to change.

South Africa's laws regarding sport are extremely confused. In some cases interracial competition is legal, as long as whites and blacks do not play on the same team; in

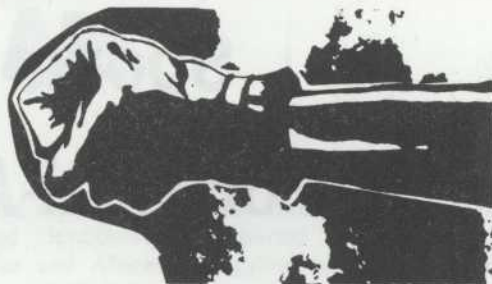
international competition teams can be interracial; but under another law, blacks can be imprisoned for playing tennis with whites.

The confusion in these laws reflects the move toward the "new" policy of integrated sport, instituted in 1976 in response to international and internal pressure. In fact, by their own admission, sports at the club level, where almost all of the competition takes place, is still segregated. A year after the "new" policy was announced, Minister of Sport Koornhof told National Party members that the government was 99.9955 per cent successful in applying the apartheid sports policy at the club level. Furthermore, the last budget allocates 180 times more per capita for white athletes than for blacks. The "new" policy was announced in an attempt to defuse, through cosmetic changes in sport, the international outrage toward South Africa's overall apartheid system. But as long as international attention focuses on the issue of apartheid, rather than on the integration of sports teams, this ploy will not succeed. □

Organizations

SAN-ROC (South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) is the principal organization for action against apartheid sport, and is related to other organizations, including ICARIS and ARENA. Members are all exiles of South Africa. SAN-ROC works with and follows the decision of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), a non-racial body within South Africa. SACOS is affiliated with the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (CSSA); CSSA is in good standing with the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Dennis Brutus, President
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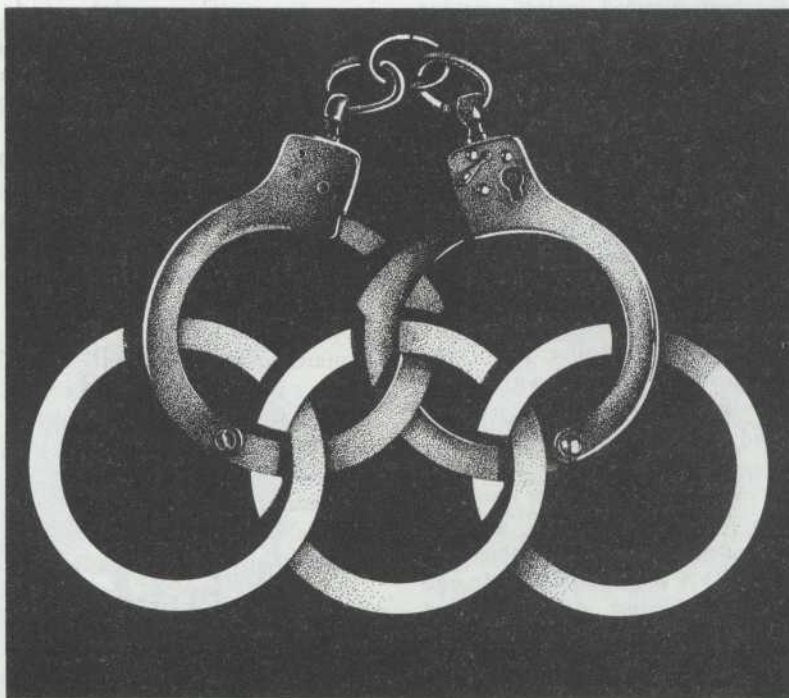


ICARIS (International Campaign Against Racism in Sport) acts as a coordinating body; it has international membership and welcomes new members. Past achievements include initiating and co-sponsoring the demonstration in Nashville, March, 1978.

Dennis Brutus, Chairperson (see address above)
Robert Baker, Honorary Secretary
741 Franklin Street
Santa Clara, CA 95050

ACCESS (American Co-ordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society) is a coalition of 25 national political, religious, civil rights, and sports groups; write to the address below for affiliates in your area. ACCESS was responsible for the protests at Newport Beach, California in March, 1977, at Forest Hills in September, 1977, and at Nashville in March, 1978, as described above. ACCESS and ICARIS will be coordinating demonstrations at the New York headquarters of the sponsors of the World Cup golf tournament scheduled for December, 1978 in Hawaii.

Richard Lapchick, Chairperson
ACCESS
c/o Methodist Office to the UN
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017



Media and Social Change

Political organizations and movements working for social change must consider the role of media in their society, the ways it can promote social change and the ways it reproduces old ideas and structures. Practically speaking, activists must develop their own media which speak to organizers as well as the general public to counter the reporting of the mainstream media. The mainstream media can be relied upon to systematically distort reality and warp, belittle or black out much of what people do, but its role can not be opposed with alternatives alone. The guise of objectivity in which we see the news media masquerading must be exploited to the fullest. The established media, wealthy, powerful, and well-read, must be pushed to the limits of its usefulness. It can be an unwitting and sometimes unwilling co-conspirator in the movement to build a new society.

Will Channel Seven Like It?

To get media coverage, especially favorable and frequent coverage, increases your power significantly. It is naive not to consider how to make your campaign and your tactics as interesting as possible to the media. There is no reason that what is good politically and what is effective practically can't also be dramatic and appealing to the media. The powerful impact of people trying to change things and acting together can be clarified to make it accessible and translatable by the press. A lot of commonly used protest tactics (vigils, pickets, sit-ins, and disruptions) are designed, in part, to do that.

In one campaign, activists at Corness gave a gigantic Krugerrand to a visiting New York banker whose bank loaned money to South Africa. The students presenting the award wore KKK outfits. To honor him and his bank for his services to racism and apartheid they sang several cheerful choruses of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." Good theater, large effigies, militant confrontations, arrests and famous people attract the press.

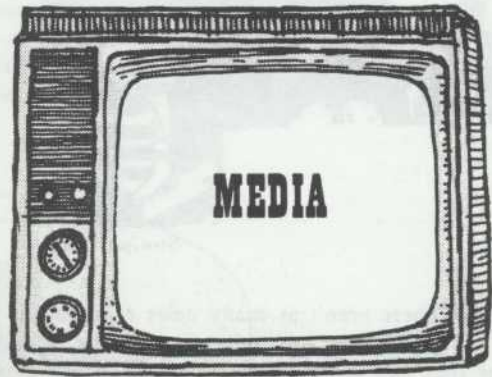
Cultivating the Media

It isn't enough to have "media appeal." Your very first step should be to generate a media contact sheet for your local area and the nearest major media market (e.g., West Coast—Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, San Diego, Sacramento). It is from this list that you should seek coverage of your event.

It is important to be accurate. Incorrect information will destroy your credibility. Timing is also important. When a local or national new story appears that is relevant to your

organization's activities, issue a press release immediately. The release should explain your related work or quote a public statement (pro or con) made by a member of your organization on the initial news item. Tie actions to your statements when you can.

In the long run good contacts and even friendships with members of the press are crucial to continued success. Keep them informed and they will appreciate it. It is also useful to seek advice on handling press relations from friendly media people in your area.

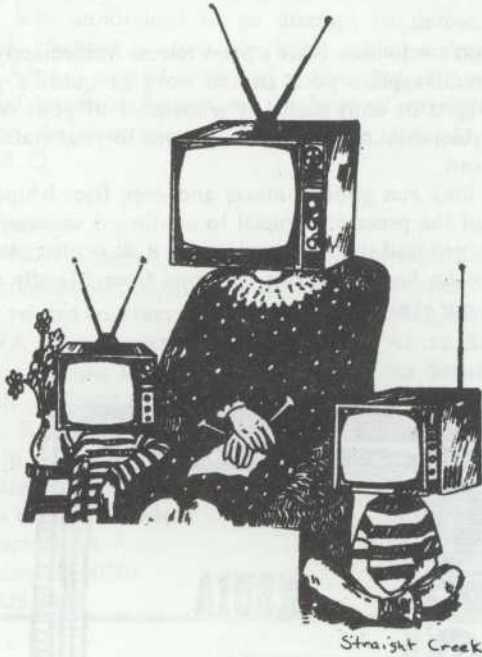


Spokespeople

In developing contacts with the media, you will have to ask yourselves a difficult political question: Who will be the spokesperson(person)? The media tends to orient its coverage around individuals, experts and "stars". While this can be resisted to some extent, totally to resist it will damage your coverage a great deal. The press won't know how to relate to you. When choosing your spokesperson and deciding how they will relate to the press, various factors have to be considered: the appearance of the spokesperson, how they will describe their role, how much latitude they have to answer questions. Not everyone makes a good spokesperson, but with training and practice a large number of people can easily handle it. In order to minimize the "star" tendency, some groups have used multiple spokespersons and systematic rotation of spokespersons.

Different Media Forms

TV The electronic media is the primary source of information, ideas and politics for the majority of the population, so understanding them and using them is essential. TV news directors usually assign film crews, but the networks have correspondents who have some say in what gets covered. TV stations should be informed of an event through press releases, and on the morning before the event the news director should be telephoned as soon as she or he gets to work. This is usually between six and nine. The director makes the final daily assignments in the morning.



RADIO There aren't as many news reporters as in television. Many stations just rely on the wire services and whatever they can get over the phone. You can usually do radio interviews over the phone and provide all the necessary information. No need to invite them to your press conferences. Disc jockeys and "personalities" can often put in a plug for something political, but when you call don't get blocked by the station secretaries or administrators; keep calling back till you get on-the-air people.

Radio stations are often open to interviewing your spokesperson over the phone after an event. Have a ten second summary of what went on prepared for this. They'll ask several minutes of questions, but they'll eventually edit it down for a very short spot. Don't be nervous. They will warn you before they start the tape and edit out any false starts or sneezes.

Finally, don't ignore public service announcements. Both TV and radio will make them for events or even just to let you comment on an issue. It takes advance planning, but they are free and can be effective.

Stations should be approached personally: learn the name of the person handling PSA's, call for an appointment to deliver your announcement—never mail it or leave it with a

receptionist. If you succeed in convincing the station to use your PSA, find out the play date, and then call the station on the day before to find out the time slots. Then express your appreciation.

For the television, time your copy to run 10 seconds (about 20 words), 20 seconds (40 words), or 60 seconds (125 words). Provide one slide or photo for every ten seconds of air time. Slides are preferable.

For radio, time spot announcements to run 10 seconds (25 words), 20 seconds (50 words), 60 seconds (150 words). Use simple descriptive words that form pictures, give dimension and color.

NEWSPAPERS Communication with papers is made through press releases, directly on the phone, or with a reporter at the event itself. Be persistent when contacting a newspaper to get them to cover an event. Even a local paper may have a circulation of 150,000.

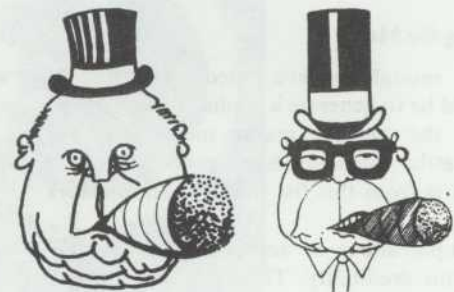
Newspapers are something like lemmings. If one paper gives you coverage, others are likely to follow. Save clippings and give them to papers that refuse to cover your events or issues. Complain about inaccurate coverage, too. If you watch your tone, this is a way to build a relationship with editors and reporters.

Use the "Letters to the Editor" columns. They are one of the best read features. Also, newspapers will sometimes support worthy projects in editorial form if the organization is seen as a benefit to the community or if the paper is an alternative or opposition paper.

NEWS SERVICES Every major city has a news service on a daily budget that comes from the AP or UPI. It runs down all the news events every day, and on Friday there's a weekend budget. Almost everyone in the news business gets his or her information on what to cover from the budget. Find out who does it for your local media and make it your first priority to contact them for every event.

It is desirable to get AP, UPI, or Reuters correspondents to your events, because they send news out beyond the locality. Small services like LNS (Liberation News Service), UPS (Underground Press Syndicate), and Zodiac News are worth contacting. They release news to mainstream press as well as alternative media.

MAGAZINES Getting articles printed or even coverage involves a fair amount of work and talking to editors. It's good to have the local stringer on your contact list. Letters to the editor and announcements of upcoming events are the easiest to get in magazines. Finally, remember that the production deadlines of magazines are earlier than other media.



Press Releases

A news or press release is a news story written by you rather than a reporter and disseminated to the media. The release should be written in inverted pyramid style with all of the important information in the lead (first sentence or two). This format enables the editor to pick up the important facts in the first few lines and to edit from the bottom if there is not enough space for the entire release.

Since you are writing the story, make sure that it includes all of the important elements with their proper emphasis. If you want to reflect an ideological point of view, quote a statement by the group or an individual to make the point. Nonquoted material should be straight, factual reporting of events.

The news release should be brief—never more than two double-spaced typewritten pages. Use short words, short sentences, and short paragraphs. Never use a word in a news release that you would not use in everyday language.

Body of Release

- Type double or triple spaced on one side of the paper only.
- Indent each paragraph.
- If the story is more than one page, write "MORE" at the bottom of each page except the last.
- When release runs more than one page, type organization name at the top of each succeeding page.
- Type "###" under final paragraph of news release.
- Check your news release for absolute accuracy in typing. Make sure that all names, dates, places, etc. are correct.
- If there are unusual names, put a check over each one to let the editor know that you have checked them for accuracy.

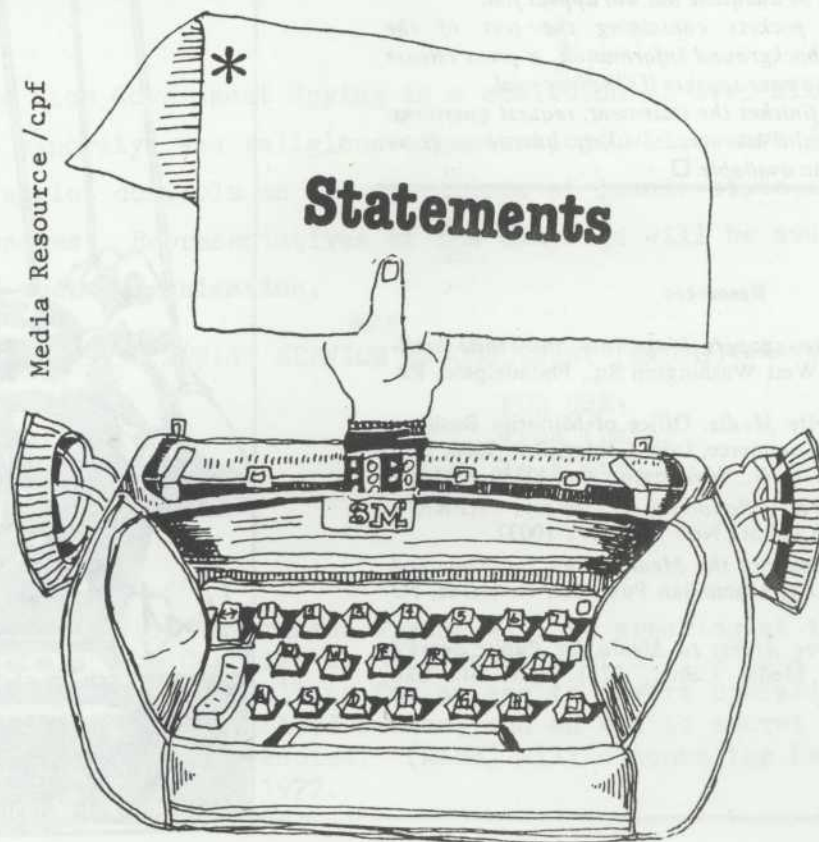
Typing News Release

- Use 8 1/2 by 11 white paper with organization's name at top. Never use carbon copies. Keep a copy of every release that you send out.
- Leave ample margins on each side of the paper.
- Give full reference date in upper left hand corner of first page (FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Press Secretary's name and day and evening phone numbers).
- Type release date in upper right hand corner. Stipulate FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE. If you must ask for a specific publication date, it should read FOR RELEASE AFTER—date and time. Avoid hold releases wherever possible.
- Always start copy 1/3 of the way down the page. The editor needs this space left open to write a head for the story and give other instructions.
- Headline, dateline (date release is printed) and body of the story follow.

Dissemination of Press Releases

All press releases should be distributed to the editor at small papers, the city editor at large papers, the assignment editor at radio and television stations and specific editors and beat reporters who are relevant to the story's content, e.g., the political editor, city hall columnist, etc.

Releases should be sent to all local papers and broadcast stations. For lists of media in your area, see *The Working Press of the Nation* and *Ayer's Dictionary* at the library and the listings in the Yellow Pages under "Newspapers" and "Radio Stations."



Press conferences

Press conferences are not as easy to pull off as one might think. In fact, unless you have a special reason to think you can draw press to a conference (through close contacts with reporters, by having a star of some kind, by having the conference at an event that has drawn the press, or by having something incredibly newsworthy) you'll be better off with press releases and phone calls.

The form of a press conference can range from a statement read to reporters on the steps of city hall to a full-scale production in a rented hall with TV lights, multiple speakers, etc. You should have a press release that repeats what will be said at the conference. The media will want individual interviews with your spokespeople after the formal conference. Every media person should be welcomed by press monitors and offered information and help in arranging interviews. This personal touch is vital.

Some important points to consider

- Use press conferences for major news only.
- Schedule conferences early in the day so that reporters can make their deadlines. Tuesday through Thursday are best days.
- Learn deadlines for local media and plan your releases accordingly.
- Send competent and newsworthy releases to reporters.
- Notify the media 24 hours in advance by a short press release.
- Call editors and reporters a few hours before the press conference to remind them about it.
- Start on time.
- Use space that will be adequate but will appear full.
- Distribute press packets containing the text of the statement, relevant background information, a press release summary, and data on your speaker if s/he is special.
- After the speaker finishes the statement, request questions. Be prepared with solid answers to likely questions. Have factual documentation available. □

Resources

Publications:

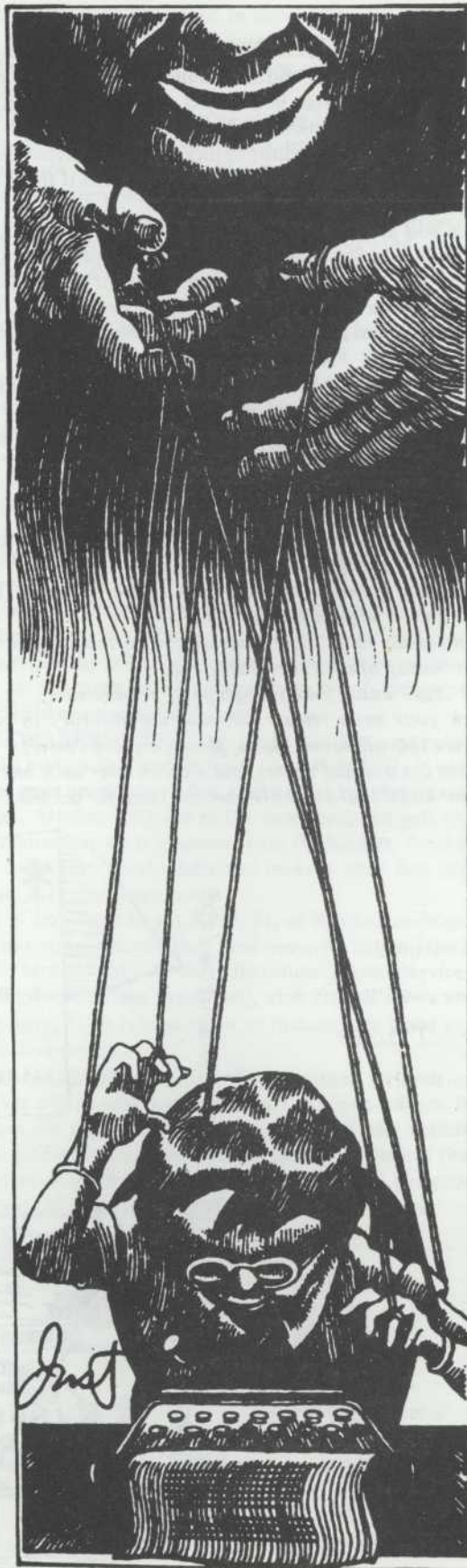
Ayer Directory of Newspapers, Magazines, and Trade Publications, Ayer Press, West Washington Sq., Philadelphia, PA 19106.

Directory of Minority Media, Office of Minority Business Enterprise, Dept. of Commerce, Info. Center, Rm. 5600, 14th and Constitution Ave. N.W., Washington, DC 20230, FREE.

National Black Press Periodical Directory, AFRAM Associates, 68-72 East 131 St., New York, NY 10037.

How to Be Heard: Making the Media Work for You, Ted Klein and Fred Danzig, Macmillan Pub. Co., Riverside, NJ 08075.

A Handbook on Free Access to Media for Public Service Advertising, Public Media Center, 2751 Hyde St., San Francisco, CA 94109.



World Magazine/cpf

Alternative News Media:

Seven Days, 206 5th Ave., New York, NY 10016
In These Times, 1509 North Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622
WIN Magazine, 503 Atlantic Ave., 5th Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11217
Mother Jones Magazine, 607 Market St. San Francisco, CA 94105

The Guardian, 33 West 17th St., New York, NY 10011
Politics and Education, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, CT 06457
Liberation News Service, 17 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10017
Zodiac News Service, 950 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103
Earth News Service, 210 Calif. St., San Francisco, CA 94111

*****SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE*****

Campaign to Stop Government Spying
FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: (NAME)
(DAYTIME PHONE NUMBER)
(EVENING PHONE NUMBER-OPTIONAL)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DATE

(NAME), of the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, announced today that the Campaign will sponsor a Conference on Controlling the Intelligence Agencies at the Georgetown Law Center, 600 New Jersey, NW, on Saturday, March 12, from noon to 5:00 p.m.

(NAME) will lead a panel discussion on legislative remedies, including an analysis of the Federal Intelligence Control Act of 1977. Other conference participants will include: (list names of participants and their organizational affiliations).

The Campaign to Stop Government Spying is a coalition of over sixty civic, educational, labor, minority, and religious organizations which have joined together to call for strict controls on the operations of local, state and national intelligence agencies. Representatives of the Campaign will be available to discuss the work of their organization.

###

*****SAMPLE PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT (RADIO)*****

FROM:
(Organization Name and Address)
Media Liaison: (Name)
Telephone

FOR USE:
From (Date)
To (Date)

Time: 30 seconds
Words: 72

(Name) of the Campaign to Stop Government Spying will be speaking at the City Club luncheon on (date). The Campaign to Stop Government Spying is a coalition of over 60 national organizations calling for an end to covert operations abroad, an end to political spying in the United States, and an end to secret budgets and charters of the intelligence agencies. (Name) will discuss the Federal Intelligence Agencies Control Act of 1977.

ResourcesResourcesResourcesResource

Resources are vital assets to any organized campaign. They can greatly expand the capacity to reach, convince, and move people. A vivid film can affect people where facts and figures will ring hollow. Similarly, an authoritative speaker may convince students by answering their questions and pointing out the holes in the arguments of trustees. Providing a continual flow of information on Southern Africa is necessary to keep the issue in front of your constituency, establish your legitimacy, and counter media misinformation. This listing of resources, which is by no means complete, is designed to increase activists' knowledge of and access to the wide range of resources on Southern Africa. This resource list also provides a wealth of experience which can save you considerable work as well as revealing past errors. Many organizations have already conducted extensive research, sponsored events, and organized campaigns. By seeking out their experiences, both new and old activists will find much of value to their work. Resources, however, are only as good as how you use them. They are one set of tools in a movement. Their effectiveness will depend on the enthusiasm, planning, and creativity with which you apply them to a comprehensive organizing strategy.

Organizations

The following list and description of organizations covers the major groups involved in each area of work. The list is in no way complete. It aims at listing the most active and most important groups across the country which can provide advice, contacts, information and resources to support anti-apartheid activities on your campus or in your community. This list is subdivided into six categories. The first one is "Information, Research and Resource Organizations;" these groups are the best places to go for general information on the situation in Southern Africa as well as news about anti-apartheid activities in North America. Many of these organizations can also provide considerable resources to increase the effectiveness of local action, including literature, films, and speakers. The next three categories classify organizations according to the major focus of their work and are thus good sources of information and advice on these specific types of organizing. The three categories are "Material Aid Organizations," "Human Rights and Political Prisoner Organizations," and "Legislative and Legal Organizations." The next to last category is "Action Organizations," which lists the major national, regional and locally based organizations that are regularly involved in specific campaigns and activities. The final category is "Liberation Movements." This refers to the American representatives of the Southern African political organizations that are carrying on the day-to-day direct struggle against apartheid. They are vitally important as spokespeople for the black population in Southern Africa. The Liberation Movements can provide speakers, literature and information on the nature and progress of the struggle in Southern Africa. They are also important contacts for facilitating the transfer of material aid to Southern Africa.

Information, Research and Resource Organizations

1. **African Studies Association**, 218 Shiffman Humanities Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02154. The largest academic organization on Africa in the U.S. They publish several periodicals including *African Studies Newsletter*, *African Studies Review* and *Issue: A Quarterly Journal of Opinion*. ASA has also compiled and distributes a filmography listing over 1300 films on Africa.

2. **American Committee on Africa/Africa Fund**, 198 Broadway, New York, NY, (212) 962-1210. ACOA was founded in 1953 to help support African struggles for independence and self-determination. They have a good collection of short leaflets and pamphlets providing information on many aspects of apartheid and the role of U.S. corporations. ACOA also has extensive contacts with the African Liberation Movements, international anti-apartheid groups, and student, church and union activists in the U.S. Write for their Literature List, Film List and List of Liberation Movement Representatives.

3. **American Friends Service Committee—Southern Africa Program**, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7168. With regional offices in over ten cities, the AFSC is an important source of information nationwide. They sponsor many educational programs, distribute films and tour AFSC activists and South African black leaders. Write for their listing of resources entitled "Southern Africa Must Be Free: Resources for Education and Action."

4. **Association of Concerned African Scholars**, P.O. Box 791, East Lansing, MN 48823. ACAS is a new organization of scholars aimed at developing information and analysis which helps promote an alternative U.S. foreign policy. They are also forming a network of African scholars which can mobilize support on important issues and support educational campaigns. The two most prominent committees are Political Action Committee, Willard R. Johnson, MIT, Dept. of Political Science, Cambridge, MA 02139, and Research Committee, Ann Seidman, Dept. of Sociology, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912

5. **Black Liberation Press**, P.O. Box 955, Harlem, NY 10027. Black Liberation Press is a publishing house dedicated to bringing people inexpensive and informative works to aid the struggle against oppression. Its publications include pamphlets on the relationship of the struggle in Southern Africa to black struggle in the U.S. and several pamphlets from the Black Peoples Convention of South Africa.

6. **California Newsreel Southern Africa Media Center**, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-6196. California Newsreel has an extensive library of films, slide-shows and photographs on Southern Africa. They distribute many films and are presently expanding the center to include a variety of resources needed for anti-apartheid organizing.

7. **Corporate Data Exchange**, 198 Broadway, Room 706, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-2980. CDE specializes in researching and uncovering the intricacies of corporate investment. They are a major source of information on bank loans to South Africa, pension funds and stock ownership. Their handbook on U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa is a particularly valuable tool.

8. **Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility**, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 566, New York, NY 10027, (212) 870-2294. ICCR is concerned with the social consequences of church investments. A major focus of their work is corporations operating in South Africa. Their resources include many publications on U.S. corporate activities in South Africa, current information on shareholders actions and resolutions against business in South Africa, and current information on church, student and union actions vis-a-vis their stocks in corporations operating in South Africa. ICCR also publishes a monthly newsletter, *The Corporate Examiner*, covering many issues involving U.S. corporations; subscriptions are \$25/year.

9. **Institute for Policy Studies**, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 234-9382. IPS is a radical institute involved in research and analysis on a variety of U.S. policy issues. Together with its affiliate, the Transnational Institute, it publishes a number of studies on Southern Africa including U.S. military support for apartheid, U.S. corporate investments and the Soweto uprisings.

10. **International Defense and Aid Fund**, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138; 2 Amen Court, London EC 4, England. IDAF publishes and distributes numerous pamphlets and books on various aspects of apartheid. They also distribute a slide show on the Soweto Uprising and films on apartheid.



UCSD Disorientation Manual Fall 1977

11. **Liberation Support Movement, LSM Information Center**, P.O. Box 2077, Oakland, CA 95604. LSM is aimed at supporting anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles through research and education in North America. They focus largely on Southern Africa. LSM publishes and distributes books and pamphlets on Southern Africa as well as distributing records, films, posters and calendars. LSM News, their quarterly journal, is available for \$2/year.

12. **South Africa Catalyst Project**, Chris Gray, Kathleen McTigue, Dregon House, 3470 Middlefield, Palo Alto, CA 94306, (415) 494-0355; Josh Nessen, Karl Seidman, P.O. Box 177, Amherst, MA 01002. The Catalyst Project was formed in 1977 as an outgrowth of the Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy in order to do organizing and resource development for the student movement. It has written pamphlets on organizing and U.S. investments in South Africa. Catalyst also publishes a montly newsletter on national anti-apartheid activities and has contacts on campuses across the country.

13. **Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa**, 121 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M7R 2G3, (416) 967-5562. TCLSAC does educational work and organizing to support the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. It publishes and distributes literature on apartheid. It also distributes slide-shows and films and can provide speakers. TCLSAC also has a library with a collection of books and periodicals. TCLSAC Reports, their monthly newsletter, is available for \$12/year regular, \$6/year students, unemployed and senior citizens.

14. **United Nations Unit on Apartheid**, UN Secretariat Room 3580, United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Publishes *Notes and Documents*, a series of reports on various aspects of apartheid including political prisoners, apartheid in sports, activities of multinational corporations and a current list of foreign investors in South Africa.

African National Congress



Material Aid Organizations

1. **The Africa Fund**, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-1210. A major source of material support, the Africa Fund channels tens of thousands of dollars to Southern Africa each year through legal aid, educational, medical and agricultural projects.
2. **American Friends Service Committee**, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7168. The AFSC has sponsored clothing and medical supply drives which have aided refugees in Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.
3. **Committee for Medical Aid to Southern Africa**, Duke University Medical Center, P.O. Box 3501, Durham, NC 27702.
4. **Medical Aid to Zimbabwe**, Box 181, Bronx, NY 10453.
4. **South African Freedom Committee**, 310 East 44th Street, New York NY 10017, (212) 490-3487. SAFCO was formed in 1978 to raise money for building hospitals and schools for South African refugees in neighboring countries. Their major form of fundraising has been through benefit concerts.
6. **Zimbabwe Relief Coalition/Zimbabwe Medical Fund**, 944 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102. A Bay Area coalition, led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), to send clothing and medical supplies to ZANU's health department in Mozambique and liberated Zimbabwe.

Political Prisoners and Human Rights Organizations

1. **Amnesty International**, 2112 Broadway, New York, NY 10023, (212) 787-8906. Provides in-depth briefing reports on human rights violations in individual countries including South Africa.
2. **Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa**, 14 West 11th Street, New York, NY 10011, (212) 477-0066. Provides good information on political prisoners through regular mailings and news bulletins. A valuable source of information on Namibia.
3. **International Defense and Aid Fund**, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138; 2 Amen Court, London EC 4 England. IDAF was established to provide legal defense to victims of oppressive

legislation and procedures in Southern Africa. They also provide humanitarian aid to support the families of apartheid victims. IDAF publishes a bi-monthly newsletter *Focus*, covering political trials and prisoners in Southern Africa. Available for \$10/year, \$7/year students.

4. **Lawyers Commission for International Human Rights**, 236 East 46th Streets, New York, NY 10017.

5. **The South African Military Refugees Aid Fund**, 138 Berkeley Place, Brooklyn, NY 11217, (212) 789-8543. A new organization supporting military refugees from South Africa through seeking asylum for deserters and providing assistance to military dissenters.

Legislative and Legal Organizations

1. **Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**, 120 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002, (202) 546-8400. This group seeks to alter U.S. foreign policy toward Southern Africa. They have lobbied for such measures as an end to Export-Import Bank loans to South Africa. They also have a good short resource and action guide for Southern Africa.

2. **National Lawyers Guild—Southern Africa Project**, San Francisco Bay Area Chapter, 558 Capp Street, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 285-5066. The Guild is publishing a handbook on legal issues involved in anti-apartheid organizing. They can also provide legal advice as well as observers at demonstrations.

3. **South Africa Project—Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law**, 733 15th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005.

4. **Transafrica**, 1325 18th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20063, (202) 223-9666. A black lobbying organization which provides current information on legislative and policy developments on Southern Africa through their regular mailings and bulletins.

5. **Washington Office on Africa**, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington DC 20002, (202) 546-7961. A church-sponsored organization which develops legislative action around Southern Africa. They also provide news about legislation and U.S. policy through their quarterly publication *Washington Notes on Africa*.



Southern Africa Magazine

Action Organizations—National

1. **African Liberation Support Committee/National Committee to Support African Liberation**, National Office: Box 21, Ikan Ent., 115 Essex Street, New York, NY 10002, (212) 473-6339. ALS/C/NCSAL is an anti-imperialist organization under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Workers Viewpoint Organization. They have chapters nationwide involved in many anti-apartheid activities including campus divestment campaigns and krugerrand campaigns.

2. **American Co-ordinating Committee for Equality in Sports and Society**, c/o Methodist Center to the U.N., 777 United Nations plaza, New York, NY 10017. ACCESS is a coalition of over 20 national civil rights, political, religious and sports groups working to oppose all sports contacts with South Africa.

3. **American Friends Service Committee**, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia PA 19102, (215) 241-7168. The AFSC has local and regional offices across the nation involved in anti-apartheid actions such as opposition to bank loans, lobbying and petitioning for an end to EXIM financing of apartheid.

4. **Clergy and Laity Concerned**, National Office: 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, (212) 964-6730. CALC has over 40 chapters nationwide, many of whom are active on the national bank campaign.

5. **Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa**, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038. (212) 962-1210. National organization coordinating opposition to U.S. bank loans to South Africa. COBSA can provide information and resources to support local organizing around the issue of bank loans.

6. **International Committee Against Racism in Sports**, 624 Clark Street Evanston, IL 60680. ICARIS is an international coordinating body working to exclude South Africa from international sports events.

Action Organizations—Local and Regional

East

1. **Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa**, P.O. Box 101, Boston, MA 02123. A very active group involved in a campaign to end First National Bank of Boston's loans to South Africa. BCLSA also publishes a newsletter covering Boston anti-apartheid actions.

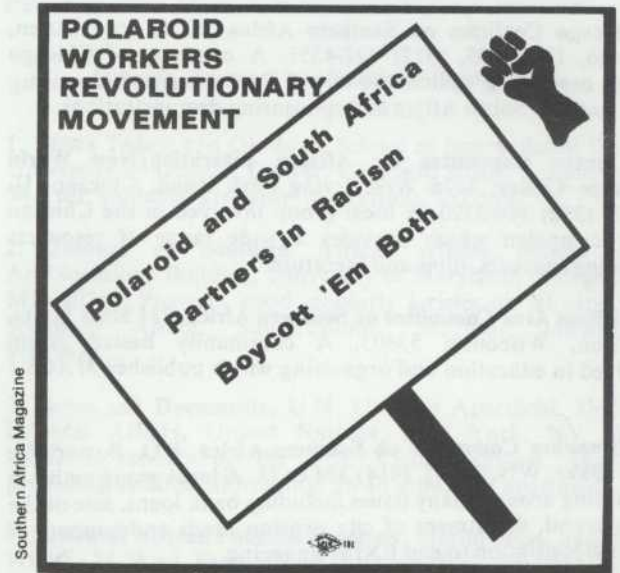
2. **Citizens for Participation in Political Action**, 35 Kingston Street, Boston, MA 02111, (617) 426-3040. A multi-issue political group that is involved in anti-apartheid activities such as organizing demonstrations, opposing EXIM financing and opposing bank loans to South Africa.

3. **Committee to End Apartheid**, c/o AFSC, 3 Langworthy Road, Northampton, MA 01060, (413) 584-8975. A local group involved in education, material aid and community organizing around bank loans.

4. **Lancaster Southern Africa Support Committee**, P.O. Box 683, Lancaster, PA 17604. A local group involved in education, material aid and fundraising to support the liberation movements.

5. **Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa**, c/o South Africa Catalyst Project, P.O. Box 177, Amherst, MA 01002. Coalition of campus groups which coordinates regional campus actions, puts out a monthly newsletter and sponsors regional conferences on anti-apartheid organizing.

6. **New England Committee on Southern Africa**, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 661-6130. This committee is a regional network of anti-apartheid activists involved in supporting congressional legislation to end U.S. economic and military support to South Africa, supporting divestment campaigns and opposing bank loans to South Africa. They also have considerable resources such as films, slide-shows and speakers.



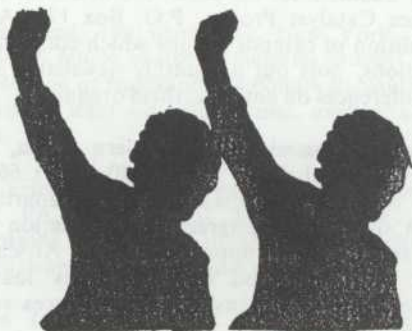
7. **New Haven Namibia Committee**, c/o Mike Greene, 333 Munson Street, New Haven, CT 06511. A local group formed to produce a fund-raising event for SWAPO. The Namibia Committee continues to do educational work, fundraising and political action in support of the liberation movement in Namibia.

8. **Philadelphia Namibia Action Group**, 5021 Cedar Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 (215) 474-9592. A local collective doing educational work around Namibia, providing books requested by the Namibian people and organizing a boycott of Del Monte sardines.

9. **Rochester Ad Hoc Committee Against Bank Loans to South Africa**, 713 Monroe Ave., Rochester, NY 14607.

10. **Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa**, 121 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5R 2G3, (416) 967-5562. An active Canadian organization organizing around bank loans to South Africa and other issues. TCLSAC also publishes a monthly bulletin, *TCLSAC Reports*.

11. **New York Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa**, c/o Simcich, 313 W. 78th Street, #4R, New York, NY 10024.



UC Berkeley Disorientation Fall 1977

Midwest

1. **Chicago Coalition on Southern Africa**, 22 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605, (312) 427-4351. A coalition of Chicago groups organizing against the sale of the krugerrand, opposing bank loans to South Africa and sponsoring demonstrations.

2. **Chicago Committee for African Liberation/New World Resource Center**, 1476 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, IL 60613, (312) 348-3370. A local group involved in the Chicago bank campaign which provides a wide range of resources including speakers, films and literature.

3. **Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa**, 731 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53603. A community based group involved in education and organizing which publishes *MACSA News*.

4. **Milwaukee Committee on Southern Africa**, P.O. Box 05146, Milwaukee, WI, 53205, (414) 344-0625. A local group active in organizing around many issues including bank loans, sale of the Kruggerand, divestment of city pension funds and support of national legislation to end EXIM financing.

5. **Minnesota Clergy and Laity Concerned**, 122 W. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404. Active organizing against bank loans to South Africa.

South

1. **Charlotte Southern Africa Committee**, 719 Templeton Ave., Charlotte NC 28203. Pressuring North Carolina National Bank to end its loans to South Africa.

2. **Coalition Against Corporate Involvement in Southern Africa**, 108 Purefoy Road, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. Statewide coalition opposing North Carolina National Bank's loans to South Africa.

3. **Committee Against Mercenary Recruitment and U.S. Intervention in Foreign Countries**, P.O. Box 893, San Antonio, TX 78293.

4. **Duke Southern Africa Coalition**, 917 Lancaster Street, Durham, NC 27701, (919) 286-3016. Organizing a campus divestment campaign at Duke University and sponsored southern regional conference on universities and Southern Africa.

5. **Tennessee Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid**, c/o Huet-Vaughn, 1503 Ashwood, Nashville, TN 37212. Coalition formed to organize the demonstrations and boycott of 1978 Davis Cup.

7. **Texas Coalition on Southern Africa**, c/o AFSC, 600 W. 28th Street, No. 102, Austin, TX 78705.

West

1. **Bay Area Southern Africa Coalition**, c/o South Africa Catalyst Project, 3470 Middlefield, Palo Alto, CA 94306, (415) 494-0355. Coalition of student, union and church groups working to end Bank of America's loans to South Africa and organizing other opposition to U.S. involvement in Southern Africa.

2. **Campuses United Against Apartheid**, c/o South Africa Catalyst Project, 3470 Middlefield, Palo Alto, CA 94306, (415) 494-0355. Coalition of student groups which coordinates actions and plans other activities.

3. **Davis Coalition on Southern Africa**, 643 Leslie Place, Davis, CA 95616.

4. **People for South Africa Freedom**, c/o CALC 1414 Kincaid, Eugene, ORE 97401, (503) 484-1755. Local group involved in various actions aimed at exposing the role of the U.S. government and U.S. corporations in Southern Africa.

5. **Portland Citizens Against Racism**, Box 12262, Portland, ORE 97212. Involved in pressuring local banks to end loans to South Africa.

6. **Stop Banking on Apartheid**, 2160 Lake Street, San Francisco, CA 94121 (415) 752-7761. Local group opposing bank loans to South Africa and distributing resources on apartheid and U.S. bank involvement.

7. **South Africa Action Coalition**, 1811 W. 16th Ave., Room 201, Vancouver, B.C. V6S 2M3, Canada. An active group working on many issues including bank loans and political prisoners.

8. **Southern Africa Committee, ILWU—Local 10**, c/o Leo Robinson, 861 54th Street, Oakland, CA 94608. A trade union group which does educational work on Southern Africa among workers.

9. **Southern Africa Solidarity Committee**, P.O. Box 3452 Pasadena, CA 91103. (415) 684-1892. SASC has several branches in California involved in educational work, material aid and the boycott of Del Monte.

10. **Southern California Southern Africa Coalition**, c/o SASC, P.O. Box 3452, Pasadena, CA 91103. Southern California sister of BASAC, uniting students, unions and churches in actions against U.S. economic and political support for apartheid.

11. **Trade Union Conference on Southern Africa Continuities Committee**, 255 9th Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-7326. An alliance of sixty bay area unions working to pressure U.S. corporations to withdrawal from South Africa, change U.S. foreign policy and divest pension funds.

12. **Working Committee on Southern Africa**, 3685 Vermont, San Diego, CA 92103, (714) 295-2421.

Southern African Liberation Movement Representatives

Namibia:

Theo Ben Gurirab, SWAPO Observer Mission to the UN, 801 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017, (212) 986-7863.

South Africa:

J.M. Makatini (acting), African National Congress of South Africa, 310 East 44th Street, New York, NY 10017, (212) 490-3487.

David Sibeko, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, 211 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017, (212) 986-7378.

Zimbabwe:

Tirivafi Kangai, ZANU (The Patriotic Front), 211 East 43rd Street, No. 902, New York, NY 10017, (212) 697-7910.

Callistus Ndlovu, ZAPU (The Patriotic Front), 104 East 41st Street, No. 401, New York, NY 10017, (212) 682-8481.

Journals, Newspapers and Periodicals

News and General Information

1. **Africa News**, Box 2831, Durham, N.C. 27702. A weekly news digest covering all of Africa with emphasis on Southern Africa. One of the best sources of continual, up-to-date news on Africa. Individual subscription, \$20/year; institutions, \$36/year.

2. **Africa Confidential**, 5/33 Rutland Gate, London SW7, England. A bi-weekly news summary providing good current information on Africa. Subscriptions: overseas airmail, \$50/year; students, \$16/year.

3. **Facts and Reports**, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Da Costastratt 88, Amsterdam, Holland. A biweekly compilation of the international press on Southern Africa. Subscriptions, overseas airmail, 65 guilders (\$32 approx.).

4. **Internews**, P.O. Box 4400, Berkeley, CA 94704. Internews publishes the biweekly *International Bulletin* covering international news events with much attention to Southern Africa. Subscriptions, \$8/year.

5. **Johannesburg Star, International Weekly Edition**, Argus South African Newspapers, 1501 Broadway, New York, NY 10036. An excellent source of information of developments in Southern Africa. Subscriptions, \$12.71/3 months.

6. **Guardian**, 33 West 17th Street, New York, NY 10011. An independent Marxist-Leninist weekly newspaper which has comprehensive coverage of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and support activities in the U.S. Subscriptions, \$17/year.

7. **LSM News**, LSM Information Center, P.O. Box 2077, Oakland, CA 94604. A quarterly publication providing information and analysis of Africa and liberation support work in North America. Subscriptions, \$2/year, libraries and institutions, \$4/year.

8. **Politics and Education**, Wesleyan Station, Fisk Hall, Middletown, CT 06457. A bimonthly magazine featuring on-going coverage of the student anti-apartheid movement. Subscriptions: students and unemployed, \$5/year; employed, \$6/year; institutions, \$7.50/year.

9. **Southern Africa Magazine**, 156 5th Ave., New York, NY 10010. An excellent monthly survey of news and opinion on Southern Africa focusing on U.S. involvement, the liberation movements and American support activities. Subscriptions, individuals, \$10/year; institutions, \$18/year; sustaining, \$25 or \$50/year.

10. **Washington Notes on Africa**, Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, DC 20007. A quarterly survey of developments relating to U.S. foreign policy and legislation vis-a-vis Africa. Subscriptions, \$5/year donation.

Journals, Research and Scholarly Publications

1. **Africa Today**, c/o Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80208. Subscriptions: \$8/year; students, \$16/year; institutions, \$11/year.

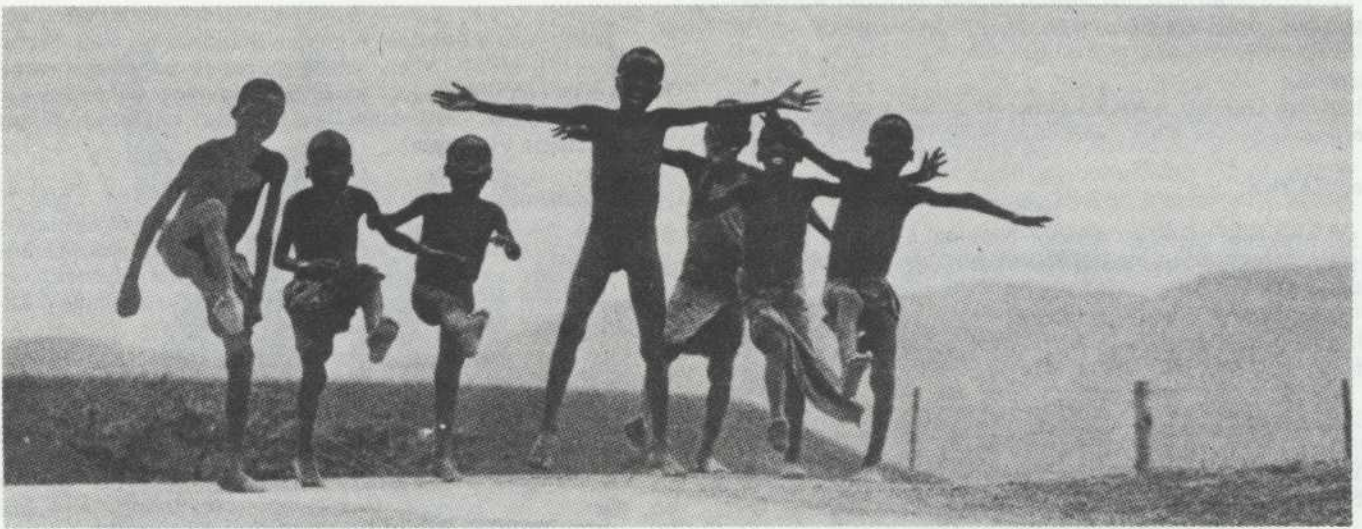
2. **Journal of Southern African Affairs**, Room 4133, Art/Sociology Building, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Provides good scholarly articles on all aspects of Southern Africa. Subscriptions: \$12/year; institutions, \$16/year.

3. **Notes and Documents**, U.N. Unit on Apartheid, Dept. of Political Affairs, United Nations, New York, NY 10017. Research reports by the U.N. Center Against Apartheid providing detailed information on all aspects of apartheid.

4. **Review of African Political Economy**, Merlin Press, Sufferance Wharf, 24 West Ferry Road, London E14, England. Issued three times yearly offering a radical class analysis of African history, politics and economics. Subscriptions: \$10/year; students, \$3/year.

5. **UFAHAMU**, African Activists Association, African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024. Issued three times yearly providing good research and analysis on African culture, history and politics.





Tony McGrath

Publications of the Liberation Movements

All the liberation movements publish bulletins reporting on the struggle in their nation. The availability and regularity of these publications vary as events and resources dictate. The best way to obtain these publications is to inquire through the respective movement's representative in New York. The LSM also distributes the ANC and ZAPU periodicals as well as reprinting back issues. The respective publications of the different movements are:

African National Congress publishes *SECHABA* four times yearly.

Pan Africanist Congress publishes *Azania News and Azania Combat*.

Southwest African Peoples Organization publishes *Namibia News*.

Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union publishes *Zimbabwe Review*.

Zimbabwe African National Union publishes *The Zimbabwe News*.

The South African Council of Trade Unions publishes *Workers Unity*. (SACTU, 28 Penton Street, London N1, England)

Bibliographies and Listings of Films on Southern Africa

1. **Africa from Real to Reel: An African Filmography** (1976, 144 pp., paper, \$10). A filmography listing over 1300 16mm films on Africa available from the African Studies Association, 218 Shiffman Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02154.

2. **A Filmography of the Third World**. An annual directory of 16 mm films available for sale or rental in North America. Scarecrow Press, 52 Liberty Street, Metuchen, NY 08840.

3. **Films on Africa: An Educators Guide to 16mm Films Available in the Midwest** (1974, 68 pp., \$1, individuals; \$2, institutions). Available from African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1450 Van Hise Hall, Madison WI 53706.

4. **The International Film Guide**. An annual directory of international films available for \$5.95 from A.S. Barnes and Co., Forsgate Dr., Cranbury, NJ 08512.

5. **Southern Africa Films: A Selected Listing of 16mm Socio-Political Films in Circulation in 1976**. An excellent annotated list of films prepared by the African Studies Program of the University of Wisconsin. Available for .25 from the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, DC 20002.

Films and Slide-shows

Angola

Angola: Second War of Liberation (also released as **Angola: The People have Chosen** and **Angola Report**)
50 minutes, color, 1976, \$50 rental

Filmed by an Austrian-French crew, this film depicts events from August to November, 1975, immediately before independence. The film illustrates the problems the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) anticipates in building a nation from a land torn by internal strife and continued opposition by two other nationalist movements..

Distributors: CAN-2; CA-2; CA-3; NY-1

Simbizanga

102 minutes, color, 1972, \$110 rental

A fictional, yet realistic account of the terrors of secret police, the immorality of servitude and the struggle for independence in Angola. A woman searches for her missing husband who is taken away, jailed, tortured and eventually killed by Portuguese authorities. Portuguese dialogue with English subtitles, the film was shot in Congo-Brazzaville with MPLA militants as actors. Directed by Sarah Maldoror and centered on the wife's search, this film is suited for women's groups interested in southern African women's concerns.

Distributors: NY-6

Victoria E Certa: The Story of Angola
Slide show or filmstrip, 45 minutes

This slide show, which includes music from Angola, covers the history of Angola and the liberation movement. It also discusses the years prior to the 1975-76 "second war of liberation" and policies of the MPLA.

Distributors: CA-3; IL-3

Mozambique

A Luta Continua

32 minutes, color, 1975, \$50 rental

A documentary on FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) formerly the national liberation movement and the governing party after independence in 1975. The film presents historical background to Portuguese colonialism in Africa and a critique of the Western economic interests which supported the Portuguese. It also presents FRELIMO's efforts to initiate social change, including programs to provide educational, medical, and social services to people in the areas under its control during the liberation struggle. Made by a New York Afro-American film team and directed by Robert van Lierop.

Distributors: CAN-1; CAN-3; CA-1; CA-2; IL-3; NY-1; NY-2; NY-10; OH-2

O Povo Organizado

68 minutes, color 1975, \$75-100 rental

A sequel to *A Luta Continua*, this film deals with events in Mozambique since FRELIMO assumed power after independence in 1975. Presents a brief historical overview of the colonial period and the liberation struggle, but focuses on FRELIMO's efforts to deal with the difficulties of transforming a revolutionary movement into an established government. Made by Robert van Lierop as the second part of a trilogy.

Distributors: CA-2; NY-1; NY-2

Behind the Lines

32 minutes, color 1971, \$35 rental

A television documentary filmed before independence illustrating the new society FRELIMO was developing "behind the lines" of the liberation struggle.

Distributors: CA-3

Namibia

Colonialism: A Case Study, Namibia (also released as **Namibia: A Trust Betrayed**)

23 minutes, color, 1975, \$8 rental

Reviews the period of German conquest and African resistance that led to the near elimination of the Herero, Nama and Ovambo peoples. Artful use of old photographs helps tell the story of early German oppression. The film succinctly explains how Namibia became a League of Nation Mandate and a United Nations Trust Territory under South African oc-

cupation. The last part of the film deals with the country under Southern African domination and the efforts of the Namibian people to free themselves.

Distributors: CA-3; IL-4; NY-5 NY-9; WI-1

Liberation Struggle in Namibia

40 minutes, color, 1975, \$30 rental

This Swedish documentary describes the labor, homeland reserve, and social conditions experienced by Africans in Namibia. The first part surveys the history of German colonialism and South African occupation. The second half reviews the guerilla struggle led by SWAPO and presents their social program.

Distributors: NY-9

South Africa

Last Grave at Dimbaza

58 minutes, color, 1974, \$5-\$75 rental

This film is one of the best introductions to South Africa and its apartheid policies. Shot secretly inside South Africa, it reviews the full range of the racial policy, pass system, military might, segregation and inequality in industry, housing, health care, education and the effects on family life. Critical of the Western role in supporting apartheid. Leaves viewer overwhelmed with the brutality of apartheid.

Distributors: CAN-3; CAN-4; CA-1; CA-2; CA-3; CA-4; DE-1; IL-5; IN-1; MA-2; MA-3; MA-5; MN-1; MN-2; NY-1; NY-3; NY-4; NY-5; NY-11; PA-1; PA-2; PA-3; PA-4; TN-1; WI-2

The Rising Tide

44 minutes, color, 1977, \$60 rental

Completed in October, 1977 this film is the most recent film to come out of the turmoil in South Africa. The film uses rare historical footage to trace the source of today's events to their colonial roots, emphasizing the persistent black resistance to each new white incursion, from the formation of the African National Congress to the Soweto uprisings.

Distributors: CA-3; IL-1; IL-2; NY-3; NY-8

There is No Crisis

30 minutes, color, 1976, \$15 rental

A powerful documentary which documents the Soweto uprisings and their aftermath. The film includes exclusive documentary footage of the events and clandestine interviews with the young black student leaders.

Distributors: CAN-1; CA-3; NY-7; NY-12; PA-2

Banking on South Africa

Slide-show or filmstrip, 18 minutes, color, \$10 rental

This slide show exposes the role that banks play in financing the apartheid system. The slideshow covers the oppressive system of apartheid, the resistance to it and how Americans can take action to end "banking on apartheid."

Distributors: CAN-1; CA-3; CA-4; MA-1; MA-4; PA-2

South Africa Freedom Rising

Slide-show, 18 minutes, color \$20 rental

Set to a background of African freedom music and narration, this collection of slides depicts the history and everyday life of apartheid. The slide-show also exposes the U.S. role in South Africa and suggests what can be done to change it.

DISTRIBUTORS: MA-3; MA-5; OH-1; OH-3

Six Days in Soweto

55 minutes, color, 1978, \$75 rental

This new film provides a moving and in-depth look at the Sowet Uprisings, its causes and its aftermath. Employing news footage, interviews with participants and their families, and photographs, **Six Days in Soweto** is an excellent study of the daily lives and consciousness of the people of Soweto which gave rise to the historic protest. The film also shows how the brutal attacks on demonstrators were instigated and manipulated by the South African police.

Distributors: CA-3



California Newsreel

Canada

CAN-1: Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, 121 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, (416) 967-5562. Canada only.

CAN-2: Development Education Center, 121 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, (416) 964-6901. Canada only.

CAN-3: IDERA, Development Education, Resource Center of British Columbia, 2524 Cypress Street, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, (604) 738-8815.

CAN-4: Presbyterian Church of Canada, Board of World Missions, 50 Wynford Street, Don Mills, Ontario, M3C 1j7 Canada, (416) 429-0010.

California

CA-1: Lifelong Learning, Media Extension Center, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, (415) 642-0460.

CA-2: Tricontinental Film Center, P.O. Box 4430, Berkeley, CA 94704, (415) 548-3204.

CA-3: California Newsreel, Southern Africa Media Center, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-6196.

CA-4: South Africa Catalyst Project, 3470 Middlefield, Palo Alto, CA 94306, (415) 494-0355.

Delaware

DE-1: Mrs. Susanne Lange, Penninsula Conference, A-V Dept., United Methodist Church, 139 North State Street, Dover, DE 19901, (412) 621-6196.

Illinois

IL-1: Ellen Mark, 6719 North Lakewood Ave., #3S, Chicago, IL 60626, (312) 465-5041.

IL-2: Steve Biko Memorial Committee, 39 S. LaSalle, Suite 825, Chicago, IL 60603, (312) 263-5095.

IL-3: Chicago Committee for African Liberation, 1476 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, IL 60613, (312) 348-3370.

IL-4: Journal Films, Inc., 930 Pitner Ave., Evanston, IL 60602, (312) 328-6700.

IL-5: AFSC, 407 South Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605, (312) 427-2533.

Indiana

IN-1: Audio-Visual Services Library, Christian Church, P.O. Box 1986, Indianapolis, IN 46206, (317) 353-1491.

Massachusetts

MA-1: Packard Manse Media Project, Box 450, Stoughton, MA 02072, (617) 344-9634.

MA-2: Task Force on Southern Africa, Massachusetts Conference, United Church of Christ, 6 Ferndale Road, Needham, MA 02192.

MA-3: New England Committee on Southern Africa, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 661-6130.

MA-4: Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, P.O. Box 101, Boston, MA 02123.

MA-5: Committee to End Apartheid, c/o AFSC, 3 Langworthy Road, Northampton, MA 01060, (413) 584-8975.

Michigan

MI-1: IMC/MSU, Educational Films, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48912, (517) 353-4473.

Minnesota

MN-1: Augsburg Publishing House, 426 South Fifth Street, Minneapolis, MN 55415, (612) 332-4561.

MN-2: Dr. Alten L. Haldorsen, American Lutheran Church, 422 South 5th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55415.

New York

NY-1: Tricontinental Film Center, 333 Ave. of the Americas, New York, NY 10014, (212) 989-33330.

NY-2: Mozambique Film Project, c/o Robert Van Lierop, 240 East 23rd Street, New York, NY 10010, (212) 686-0394.

NY-3: United Methodist Office to the UN, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, (212) 682-3633.

NY-4: United Federation of Teachers Local 2, AFT, 260 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10010, (212) 243-2310.

NY-5: Lutheran Film Associates, 360 Park Ave., South, New York, NY 10010, (212) 532-6350.

NY-6: New Yorker Films, 43 West 61st Street, New York, NY 10023, (212) 247-6110.

NY-7: Union Theological Seminary, Audio-Visual Resource Center, 3041 Broadway, New York, NY 10027, (212) 662-7100.

NY-8: Prexy Nesbitt, c/o COBLSA, 305 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017, (212) 838-5030.

NY-9: South West African People's Organization, 801 Second Ave., Room 1401, New York, NY 10017, (212) 986-7863.

NY-10: Third World Newsreel, 26 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011, (212) 243-2310.

NY-11: Bruno Lansing Associates, 2 Park Ave., New York, NY 10016, (212) 683-3143.

NY-12: Africa Office, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Dr. Room 612, New York, NY 10027, (212) 870-2645.

Ohio

OH-1: Dayton Community Media Workshop, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45406, (513) 222-0170.

OH-2: United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries, Service Center, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati, OH 45237, (513) 761-2100.

OH-3: Congregation for Reconciliation, Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406, (513) 276-4077.

Pennsylvania

PA-1: American Baptist Churches, USA, Film Library, Valley Forge, PA 19481, (215) 768-2306.

PA-2: American Friends Service Committee—Peach Education, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7168.

PA-3: Office for Audio Visuals, United Church of Christ, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA, (215) 568-5750.

PA-4: Lutheran Church in America, Board of Publications, Film Dept., 2900 Queen Lane, Philadelphia, PA 19129.

TN-1: Africa Office, World Division, Board of Global Ministers, United Methodist Film Service, 1525 McGavock St., Nashville, TN 37203, (618) 327-0911.

Wisconsin

WI-1: Lutheran Campus Center, 1025 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53715, (608) 257-7178.

WI-2: University of Wisconsin—Ex-tension, Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction, 1327 University Avenue, P.O. Box 2093, Madison, WI 53706, (608) 262-1644.

Rents to Wisconsin and contiguous states only.

BibliographyBibliographyBibliography

The following bibliography on Southern Africa, we believe, is quite valuable. No one is likely to read or want to read all the books and pamphlets compiled here. Nonetheless, by presenting an extensive bibliography we hope to meet two essential needs of the movement—research and education. Research is crucial for any campaign. It must provide facts and analysis to support our position and it must refute opponents arguments. The growing anti-apartheid movement has growing research needs. We must not only conduct research into the role of U.S. investments in South Africa, but must be prepared to discuss the potential impact of economic sanctions and the history and legitimacy of the Southern Africa liberation struggles. Activists must not simply be concerned with mastering facts and arguments to support their positions; they must seek to educate themselves to obtain a deeper understanding of Southern Africa and how it relates to their work in the U.S. Internal education, through strengthening our understanding, strengthens our commitment. The educational needs of different individuals and groups vary considerably. Some may wish to obtain a basic history of Southern Africa and black resistance there while others may desire a deeper analysis of economic development and how it relates to the expansion of Western capitalism. This bibliography will help meet these broad needs by informing people of available literature on Southern Africa while also providing annotations that indicate which books may best meet specific research and education interests.

I. U.S. and Western Corporate Investments in Southern Africa

1. Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christabel Gurney, *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid*, New York: Harper and Row, 1973 (250 pages).

Outlines impact of South Africa's Western-backed industrialization on non-white population. Presents overview of South African development since late 19th century, with focus on manufacturing "boom" of the 1960's. In-depth info on British investment plus analyses of American, West German, French and Japanese corporate involvement. Demonstrates that foreign investment has not aided South African Blacks, with data on impoverishment throughout economic "boom". Shows how recent modifications in apartheid (decentralization of industry, flexibility in color bar) preserve basic structure of labor control and inequality.

2. Barbara Rogers, *White Wealth and Black Poverty: American Investments in Southern Africa*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976 (300 pp).

Useful review, country by country, of U.S. corporate stake in Southern Africa. Deals with link between regional impoverishment of Blacks and rising corporate profits. Also analyzes sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa and demonstrates their effectiveness despite Western violations.

3. Ann and Neva Seidman, *South Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations*, Westport: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1977 (225 pp).

Useful, fairly up-to-date information on U.S. economic involvement in South Africa. Breaks down investment by industry with good information on banking and nuclear cooperation. Detailed analysis of South Africa's regional economic expansion and role as a "sub-imperialist" center. Also discusses importance of State in South African economy.

4. Ann Seidman and Neva Makgetla, *Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa*, U.N. Center Against Apartheid, 1978 (93 pp).

Comprehensive and most up-to-date information on Western economic support of apartheid. First traces overall pattern and then does detailed sectoral analysis (especially good

on nuclear support). Constant reference to role of Western capital in South African economic plans, with useful discussion of different roles of each Western power.

5. Lawrence Litvak, Kathleen McTigue and Bob DeGrasse, *South Africa: Foreign Investment and Apartheid*, Institute for Policy Studies, 1978 (formerly entitled United States Investments in South Africa), 80 pp.

Well-documented analysis geared to the needs of the campus divestment movement. First part refutes the "Progressive Impact" argument used to justify continued U.S. investment in South Africa. Gives good historical summary of South African development since 19th century. Second part does sector-by-sector study of U.S. investments, with very current and useful data on their importance.



DisorientationUC Berkeley Disorientation Fall 1977

6. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on African Affairs (headed by Sen. Dick Clark), *U.S. Corporate Interests in Africa*, Report of 95th Congress 1st Session, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978 (write Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington DC 20510, or call Sen. Dick Clark (202) 224-3121).

Known as the "Clark Report," this study presents an excellent macroview of U.S. corporate presence in South Africa. Most important information concerns dramatic rise in U.S. bank loans (which covered the South African Government's oil and military imports) and slow-down in direct corporate investment since 1976. Has useful data on South Africa's current economic crisis and vulnerability to international sanctions. First government report to recommend discouragement of further U.S. investment, thus a good source to counter trustee claims.

7. *U.S. Bank Loans to South Africa—CDE Handbook*, Corporate Data Exchange Inc. (Beate Klein, Research Director), 1978 (50 pp). Write to: Room 707, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, or call: (212) 962-2980.

Most complete and up-to-date information on U.S. bank loans to South Africa (direct credit, bond marketing and export-import financing). Contains low-down on 20 banks never before revealed as apartheid supporters. Essential—get a hold of it now.

8. *Church Investments, Corporations and Southern Africa*, Corporate Information Center (CIC), 1973.

Presents good analysis of U.S. corporate practices in Southern Africa. Though some data are dated, information on wages and hiring practices is pertinent. Useful case studies of largest investors plus summary of arguments for and against corporate withdrawal.

9. Washington Office on Africa, *Export-Import Financing of Apartheid* (pamphlet), Washington: 1978 (write to: 110 Maryland Ave., Washington, DC 20002, or call: (202) 546-7961).

Given instability of apartheid regime, U.S. banks are less willing than previously to make *long-term* loans. In the face of this situation the U.S. Government through the Eximbank has provided guarantees for loans to South Africa. Since Congress has been moving to end such guarantees, it is important that anti-apartheid forces learn about and mobilize around this issue.

Additional Readings:

- U.S. House of Representatives, *U.S. Business Investment in Southern Africa*, 1972-3 (3 volumes).
- U.N. Center Against Apartheid, *Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa*, 1973.
- Sean Gervasi (U.N. Center Against Apartheid), *Industrialization, Foreign Capital and Forced Labor*, 1970.
- Barbara Rogers, *South Africa's Stake in Britain*, London: Africa Bureau, 1971.
- Rodney Morison, "Apartheid and International Monetary Reform," in *Review of Politics*, Vol. 32 #3, July 1970.
- Ian Mackler, *Pattern For Profit in Southern Africa*.
- John Suckling, et al., *The Economic Factor*, London: Africa Publications Trust, 1975.



II. U.S. Foreign Policy

General Background

1. Harry Magdoff, *The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of U.S. Foreign Policy*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966.

Analysis of U.S. overseas economic expansion and rise to world power in the 20th century. Demonstrates importance of overseas economic activity to domestic economy and U.S. foreign policy. Presents theory of imperialism in which worldwide corporate competition for raw materials and markets is main force behind U.S. expansion and counter-revolutionary policies. Enables one to grasp the political/economic role of Southern Africa in a competitive capitalist order.

2. Michael T. Klare, *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams*, New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

Superb book on growth of U.S. military establishment and strategy since early 1960's with emphasis on Vietnam War. Presents explanation for Vietnam presence stressing economic importance of the Pacific region and role of Vietnam as a counter-insurgency "laboratory". Bulk of book is examination of military agencies which proliferated during the Sixties and their links with academia. Contains invaluable analysis of U.S. post-Vietnam planning with its reliance on regional powers (i.e., Brazil, Iran, *South Africa*). Relevant to Carter's shenanigans.

3. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Current Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*.

Carter's key foreign policy adviser outlines the general strategy of the Trilateral Commission in the face of the capitalist crisis of the 1970's. Given the dominance of "Trilateralists" in current Administration, this paper affords invaluable insight into what Carter's policy is all about (and it isn't "human rights").

Additional Readings

- Fann and Donald L. Hodges, *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*, Boston, MA: Poster Sargent, 1971.
- Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader*, edited by Robert I. Rhodes, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970.

Policy in Southern Africa

1. Stewart Smith, *U.S. Neocolonialism in Africa*, New York: International Publishers, 1974.

Systematic analysis of U.S. links to Africa. Traces the *interrelation* between economic, political, military and ideological factors in U.S. policy towards Africa. Analyzes Southern and South Africa in an African context, both politically and economically. Imperialism seen as a complex economic-political-ideological phenomenon. Avoids reducing foreign policy to simple reflection of corporate interests.

2. William Pomeroy, *Apartheid Axis: The United States and South Africa*, New York: International Publishers, 1972.

Concise analysis of U.S.-South Africa links in economic, military, and diplomatic realms. Most useful section is on U.S. support for South Africa's outward expansion.

3. The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa: *National Security Memorandum 39 (NISSEM 39)*, edited by Mohammed El-Khawas and Barry Cohen, Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1976.

This 1969 memorandum on Southern Africa laid basis for U.S. policy during the Nixon-Ford years. Stressed importance of supporting white minority regimes—in part through relaxing military and economic embargoes. Editors' introduction gives excellent summary of U.S. policy towards Southern Africa, specifically importance of corporate ties in considerations. In many ways *NISSEM 39* remains basis of U.S. policy.

4. *U.S. Military Involvement in Southern Africa*, edited by Western Massachusetts Association of Concerned African Scholars, Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1978.

Most recent information on U.S. military support of apartheid, both covert and overt. Contains analysis of strategic importance of South Africa, as well as data on arms shipments. With U.S. intervention escalating, a vital contribution.

5. Immanuel Wallerstein, "South Africa and Liberal Interventionism: Yankee Stay Home!" *The Nation*, Nov. 12, 1977.

Good succinct analysis of U.S. policy under Carter. Outlines reasons for possible intervention and points to clear danger of it.

6. Barbara Rogers, *The Nuclear Axis*, Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1978.

Timely book on way in which Western powers have built up South Africa's nuclear capacity. Shows that South Africa has capability to build the Bomb, and that this fits in with Western strategy in Southern Africa.

7. Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas, *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*, New York: Pathfinder Press Inc., 1976.

Summary of 1975 Angolan war and events leading up to the fall of the Portuguese empire. Presents good chronology of events, notably: Cuban troops came to the aid of MPLA only after major South African invasion of Angola, and FNLA chief Holden Roberto (Mobuto's brother-in-law) has been a CIA agent since 1962. Good on Congressional moves to restrict U.S. involvement.

8. William Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972.

Best book on Portuguese colonialism in Africa and supportive role of Western powers. Outlines U.S. Africa policy under Kennedy and Johnson. Shows that "liberal" mask hid massive U.S. military and economic aid to Portugal.

9. Susan Rogers and Kenneth Vickery, *The Soviets in Africa: Fiction and Fact*, New York: Africa Fund, 1976.

Analyzes military strength of Soviets in Africa and dispels U.S. propaganda about threat. Data shows overwhelming military superiority of U.S. and NATO forces in Africa. Implies that U.S. policy not so much to counter Soviets as to prevent triumph of radical liberation movements.



George Knowlton/LNS

Additional Readings

- Stephen Talbot, "U.S. Intervention in South Africa: The New Era," *Socialist Revolution*, #34.
- *Southern Africa and the U.S.*, edited by William Hance, 1968.
- George Kennan, "Hazardous Courses in Southern Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 49 #2 (January 1971).
- J.E. Spence, *The Strategic Significance of Southern Africa*, London: 1971.
- Africa Fund Pamphlets:
 - George Houser, *U.S. Policy in Southern Africa*, 1977.
 - Sean Gervasi, *Arms For Apartheid*, 1977.
 - Jennifer Davis, *The U.S. Role in South Africa's Military Build-up*.
 - Edward Lockwood, *NISSEM 39 and The Future of United States Policy Toward Southern Africa*, 1974.
- Joshua Nessen, *The Relation of U.S. Foreign Policy to South African Development Since World War II*, Unpublished Thesis, 1978 (write to: Box 177, Amherst, MA 01002).
- Larry Bowman, "Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean," in *The Indian Ocean: Its Political, Economic and Military Significance*, edited by Cottrell and Burrell.

III Anthologies: On African and Southern African Political Economy

1. Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973, (350 pp).

Series of articles covering all aspects of African political economy. Provides useful framework for understanding Southern Africa and exploitative nature of Western presence in Africa. Essay on nationalism in Sub-Saharan Africa shows that Western economic ties have strengthened South Africa and perpetuated underdevelopment of entire region. Discussion of Liberation movements and peasantry is first rate. Includes following articles:

- “Nationalism and Revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa”
- “Labor Supplies in Historical Perspective: A study of the Proletarianization of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia”
- “Political Economy of Rhodesia”
- “African Socialism in One Country: Tanzania”

2. *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, edited by Peter C.W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1976.

Excellent analyses of African development from a Marxist perspective. Initial articles deal with general stages of African development and later ones focus on particular problems. Includes good bibliographical guide on African political economy. Among selections are:

- Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World Economy”
- Lionel Cliffe, “Rural Political Economy of Africa”
- Bernard Magubane, “The Evolution of Class Structure in Africa”
- Turok and Maxey, “Southern Africa: White Power in Crisis” (This is a superb article.)

3. Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen, *The Development of an African Working Class: Studies in Class Formation and Action*, Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Thorough and much-needed selection of articles. First section has articles on “formation” of working class, next deals with nature of working class organization, and last looks at “Contemporary Working Class Action” in a number of countries. Manages to integrate high-level analysis with good empirical data. Especially useful on relation between working class and peasantry. Select bibliography is helpful. Here are a few of the articles:

- “Workers and Progressive Change in Underdeveloped Countries”
- “The Growth of Railway Unionism in the Rhodesias, 1944-55”
- “Case Studies in African Labor Action in South Africa and Namibia”



4. *African Social Studies: A Radical Reader*, edited by Peter Gutkind and Peter Waterman, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977.

Comprehensive anthology from the radical point of view. Readings grouped under six primary headings: Methodology, History, Economy, Social Structure, Ideology, and Politics. Contributions from principal radical Africanists (Basil Davidson) as well as key activist-theorists (Cabral and Fanon). Bibliographical guide is superb.



IV South Africa

A. General Readings: Social Conditions and History

Social Conditions

1. Julian Freedman (U.N. Center Against Apartheid), *Basic Facts on Republic of South Africa and Policy of Apartheid*, October 1976.

Good compilation of data on nature of apartheid. Covers all aspects of South African society with short sections on foreign investment and trade as well.

2. Julian Freedman and Diana Ellis (U.N. Center Against Apartheid), *The Depressed State of the African Population Under Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa*.

Strong and well-documented indictment.

3. *Area Handbook for the Republic of South Africa*, edited by Kaplan, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971.

The fact book on South Africa; evident biases, draws no conclusions.

4. Barbara Rogers, *Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1976 (available from ACOA).

100-page excellent analysis of Bantustans: their history, and political, economic and ideological functions. Shows in detail way in which Bantustans serve as mechanisms of labor control and devastating impact on black population.

5. Muriel Horrel, *The African Homelands of South Africa*, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1973.

Thorough factual work, homeland by homeland.



6. William Minter, "South Africa's Bantustans and Their Leaders: What Role in South African Crisis?" in *Southern Africa*, October 1976.

Short, good introduction to subject. Points out cooptation of chieftains (i.e., Gatsha Buthelezi), who are expected to help "defuse" explosive situation.

7. David Davis, *African Workers and Apartheid*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1978 (available from ACOA).

Good summary of basic laws and institutions of labor control in South Africa. Contains useful data on wages and discussion of worker militancy in the 1970's.

8. Hilda Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs and Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1975.

Looks at special oppression of black women under apartheid, as well as ways they combat it.

9. Allen Cook, *South Africa: The Imprisoned Society*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1974.

Pamphlet deals with South African repressive apparatus (police, militia, etc.) and nature of its prison system. Sobering.

10. Freda Troup, *Forbidden Pastures: Education Under Apartheid*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1976.

Thorough analysis of dual "educational" system which trains blacks for their "place" in society. Shows that conditions are getting worse and not better as economy has grown.

11. Alex Hepple, *Press Under Apartheid*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1974.

Outlines major laws governing press in South Africa. Also looks at role of government-controlled press organs and differences between Afrikaner- and English-language press.

12. Joyce Sikane, *A Window on Soweto*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1977.

Poetry and photography convey nature of life for blacks in Soweto. Medium expresses aspects of South African life that political and economic analyses cannot capture.

History

1. Freda Troup, *South Africa: An Historical Introduction*, London: Penguin Books, 1972.

Best brief survey available.

2. *Oxford History of South Africa*, edited by Wilson, Thompson and Thompson, New York: Oxford University Press.

Volume I (to 1870), 1969.

Volume II (to 1970), 1971.

Massive compilation of articles on South African history. Mostly liberal perspective. Useful information.

3. Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, London: Penguin Books, 1964.

Has all details on growth of Afrikaner power, both before and after 1948 electoral victory of Nationalists. Best "inner" history of racist core.

4. Moodie and Dunbar, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom—Power, Apartheid, and Afrikaner Civil Religion*, University of California Press, 1975.

Less detailed than Bunting (above), but very good analysis right up to the Seventies.

5. Herbert Adam, *Modernizing Racial Domination: South Africa's Political Dynamics*, University of California Press, 1971.

Good analysis of Afrikaner (and English capital's) use of state apparatus to enforce exploitation of non-white population.

6. *Change in Contemporary South Africa*, edited by Leonard Thompson and Jeremy Butler, University of California Press, 1975.

Useful, liberal anthology with sections on white oligarchy, Africans, intercaste relations, and external factors.

7. Hobart Houghton, *The South African Economy*, 1976.

Liberal economist presents good summary of economic development. Much useful historical data.

Additional Readings

• *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism By South Africans*, edited by Alex Laguma, International Publishers, 1971.

• Mboth Mokgatle, *The Autobiography of an Unknown South African*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971.

• South African Institute of Race Relations publications:
Muriel Horrell, *Legislation and Race Relations: A summary of South African Laws Which Affect Race Relations*, 1966.

Michael Whisson, *The Fairest Cape?: An account of the Coloured People in the District of Simonstown*, 1972.

A.L. Meller, *Minority Interests: The Political Economy of Coloured and Indian Communities of South Africa*, 1968.

Hellman, *Soweto: Johannesburg's African City*, 1968.

•Cosmos Desmond, *The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1971.

•Ernest Cole, *House of Bondage*, New York: Random House, 1967.

•A. Asheron, "Race and Politics in South Africa," *New Left Review*, Jan/Feb 1969.

•Herbert Adam, *South Africa: Sociological Perspectives*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

•Jan J. Loubser, "Calvinism, Equality, and Inclusion: The Case of Afrikaner Nationalism," in *The Protestant Ethic and Modernization*, edited by Eisenstadt, New York: Basic Books, 1968.

•Legassick and Shingler, "Students in South Africa," in *Students and Politics in Developing Nations*, edited by D.K. Emerson, New York: Praeger, 1968.

•Jennifer Davis, *Prosperity For Whites Only: The Paradox of Economic Growth in South Africa*, Africa Fund, 1976.

•John Selby, *A Short History of South Africa*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1973.

•Leonard Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa (1902-10)*, Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1960.

B. Political Economy

1. R.W. Johnson, *How Long Will South Africa Survive?* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977 (350 pp).

Analysis of current crisis of South Africa and its development since early 1960's (Sharpeville Massacre). Crisis presented in several contexts: place of South Africa in world economy, rise of regional liberation movements, and growing internal opposition to apartheid. Book's strength is analysis of impact of global political-economic crises on South African development (recession of 1970's, U.S. defeat in Vietnam, 1974 oil crisis, British decline). Contains discussion of relation between South Africa's defeat in Angola and Soweto Rebellion. Book concludes by assessing prospects for apartheid's survival within context of global capitalist development.

2. Review of African Political Economy (RAPE), *Special Issue on South Africa*, Vol. 7, September/December 1976.

Special issue with 8 excellent articles on South African political-economic development from a Marxist perspective. Several analyze relation of South Africa's development to global accumulation of capital, stressing its dependence on West despite high level of industrialization. Others look at central role of the state in capitalist development, and assess impact on black population and white workers. See especially "Bantustans and Capital Accumulation" and "Industrial Relations Legislation: One of Capital's Defenses."

3. Martin Legassick, "South Africa: Forced Labor, Industrialization and Racial Differentiation" (40 pp), in *The Political Economy of Africa*, edited by Richard Harris, Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1975.

Superb analysis of South African political, economic and social development since early 19th century. Concentrates on the early era of gold mining (1875-1910) and post-World War II manufacturing boom. Analyzes link between capitalist accumulation and "segregationist" labor control directed by the state.

Shows that apartheid was not "irrational" creation of Afrikaners in 1948, but the logical continuation of labor control structures introduced by the British in late 19th century.

Additional articles by Legassick:

"South Africa: Capital Accumulation and Violence," in *Economy and Society* #3, August 1974.

"The Dynamics of Modernization in South Africa," in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 13 #1, 1972.

"Legislation, Ideology, and Economy in Post-1948 South Africa," in *Economy and Society*.

4. Articles by Harold Wolpe:

"Industrialization and Race in South Africa," in *Race and Racism*, edited by Zubaida, 1970.

"Capitalism and Cheap Labor/Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid," in *Economy and Society*, Nov 1976.

"The 'White Working Class' in South Africa," in *Economy and Society*, May 1976.

c Succinct analyses from the best writer on South African political economy. Traces in each article close interrelation of class and race in South Africa. Dispels argument that apartheid is product of "reformable" white "attitudes", and shows its class basis and role in South African development. Brilliant!

5. Colin Bundy, "The Emergence and Decline of a South African Peasantry," in *African Affairs* #71, 1972.

Excellent, on the origin of the black labor supply and smashing of peasant production.

6. Robert Molteno, *Africa and South Africa: The Implications of South Africa's "Outward-Looking" Policy*, London: Africa Bureau, 1971 (get through ACOA).

Article discusses South Africa's economic expansion into Africa, which has been accompanied by "friendly" overtures to black Africa. Demonstrates that reason for "friendly" expansion has been to make black Africa dependent on South Africa, and thus undermine its support of liberation movements.

7. Andrew Lukele, *South Africa's Outward Expansion: An Appraisal from the Standpoint of National Liberation*, can obtain through ACOA.

Pamphlet written by South African activist, traces South African expansion to requirements and contradictions of its economic and social development. Given black starvation wages, there are insufficient domestic markets for manufactured goods. Thus, sales must be increased to black Africa. Diplomatic "detente" with Africa has been aimed at facilitating this expansion and undermining Western criticism of apartheid. This discussion integrated with superb analysis of growing mass liberation movement in South Africa.

8. Abdul Minty, *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace*, London: The Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1976 (15 pp).

Analyzes military component of South Africa's "outward-looking" policy which facilitated its economic expansion. Documents South Africa's integration into NATO planning and communications networks.

9. *BOSS: The First Five Years*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1975 (25 pp, obtain through ACOA).

Examination of South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) which coordinates all South African "internal" and "external" security. Contains useful information about South Africa's counter-intelligence operations throughout Africa.

10. Julian Burgess, Barbara Rogers, et al., *The Great White Hoax: South Africa's International Propaganda Machine*, London: Africa Bureau, 1977 (available from ACOA).

South Africa's propoganda network spreads myths about the relative well-being of blacks, the Soviet threat to the Cape, and progressive impact of foreign investment. Booklet traces this network with useful details of operations in United States. The counterattack against movement is beginning, be prepared.

Additional Readings

•Michael Scheber, "Apartheid Under Pressure: South Africa's Military Strength in a Changing Political Context," in *Africa Today* #1, Jan-Mar 1976.

•James Barber, *South Africa's Foreign Policy (1945-1970)*, Oxford University Press, 1973.

•Colin Legum, *Vorster's Gamble For Africa*, 1976.

•Sam Mhlongo, "An Analysis of Classes in South Africa," in *Race and Class* #16, January 1975.

•H.J. Simons, *Class and Color in South Africa: 1850-1950*, Harmondsworth, 1969.

•Francis Wilson, *Labor in the South African Gold Mines (1911-69)*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

•Francis Wilson, *Migrant Labor in South Africa*.

•F.A. Johnstone, "Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa," in *International Library of Sociology*.

•Adrian Leftwich, *South African Economic Growth and Political Change*, St. Martin's Press, 1974.

•Trevor Bell, *Industrial Decentralization in South Africa*, 1973.

Robert Davies, "White Working Class in South Africa," in *New Left Review* #82, 1973.



Southern Africa Magazine

C. Resistance and Liberation Struggle

1. *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*, edited by Davidson, Slavo and Wilkinson, 1976.

Excellent collection of writings on situation in Southern Africa since fall of Portuguese empire. Slavo's article ("South Africa: No Middle Road") shows that "reformist" strategy is not going to topple apartheid, and assesses prospects for revolutionary change. Get a hold of this.

2. Ben Turok, *Strategic Problems in South Africa's Liberation Struggles*, LSM: 1976.

History of the struggle; reason for shift to armed struggle by a participant.

3. Turok and Maxey, "Southern Africa: White Power in Crisis," in *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, edited by Gutkind and Wallerstein, Sage Publications, 1976.

Analyzes many dimensions of crisis with focus on South Africa as the key regional power. Useful overview.

4. Gail Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*, University of California Press, 1976.

Analyzes the development of black nationalist ideology in post-war South Africa. Covers the African National Congress Youth League, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement through focusing on the political ideologies of the major black leaders of each movement.

5. Stephen Biko and Siphon Buthelezi, *The Quest for a True Humanity*, New York: Black Liberation Press, 1977.

Summary of black liberation struggle in South Africa by two former leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement. Demonstrates that current struggle is not only against apartheid regime, but also the Western capitalist nations that sustain it. Needed antidote to Western misinformation about struggle against apartheid.

6. Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, London: Heineman Press, 1965.

Powerful work by imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC). Personal and political account of life under apartheid and immense struggle needed to win liberty. Not at all dated.

7. *The Black People's Convention of South Africa: Historical Development and Basic Documents*, LSM Press: 1977.

Useful discussion of BPC, which was founded in early 1970's. Points out that BPC filled "vacuum" created by PAC and ANC exile, and grew out of renewed militancy of the 1970's. Also speaks of links with ANC and PAC.

8. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa (1882-1964 and 1972-74)*, edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolyn Carter.

Thorough overview of African resistance to white supremacy. Useful articles from both African leaders and observers of struggle.

9. *The Sun Will Rise: Statements from the Dock by Southern African Political Prisoners*, edited by Mary Benson, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1974.

Dramatic testimony that gives a concrete sense of repression in Southern Africa and those leading the struggle it. Additional writings by Benson:

The African Patriots: The Story of the African National Congress, 1963.

South Africa: Struggle for a Birthright, London: Penguin Books, 1966.

10. Two publications from LSM Press:

Alfred Nzo, *Interviews in Depth: South Africa's ANC*, 1974.

Gives good sense of history of ANC, which was founded in 1912. Also speaks to difficult situation following Sharpeville and decision to pursue course of armed struggle.

From Shantytown to Forest: Story of Norman Buka, 1974.

Transcript of interview with ANC militant.

11. *Black South Africa Explodes*, edited by Transnational Institute (TNI), 1977 (available from ACOA).

Excellent series of articles on Soweto Rebellion and Western military and economic aid in wake of crisis. Very up-to-date.

12. *Southern Africa Magazine*, c/o Africa Fund, 305 E. 46th Street, New York, NY, (212) 838-5030.

Best and most up-to-date coverage of liberation movements. A monthly magazine. Subscribe now.

Additional Readings

•Peter Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in Southern Africa: The ANC 1912-52*, University of California Press, 1971.

•Denis Brutus, *A Simple Lust: Collected Poems of South African Jail and Exile*, 1963.

•K. Jordaan, "Trade Unionism versus Revolution in South Africa," in *New Left Review* #83, Jan-Feb 1974.

•Sam Mhlongo, "Black Workers' Strikes in Southern Africa," *New Left Review* #83, Jan-Feb 1974.

•K. Jordaan, "Trade Unionism versus Revolution in South Africa," in *Race Today*, 1974.

•Johns and Sheridan, "Obstacles to Guerrilla Warfare: A South African Case Study," in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. II #2, June 1973.

•Martin Legassick, "Guerrilla Warfare in Southern Africa," in *The African Reader: Independent Africa*, edited by Corty and Kilson, 1970.

•Ben Magubane, "African Opposition in South Africa," in *Africa Review*, Vol. 2 #3, 1972.

•*Race, Class and Power: Ideology and Revolutionary Change in Plural Societies*, edited by Leo Kuper, 1974.

•South African Institute for Race Relations publications:

Muries Horrell, *Action, Reaction and Counter-action: A Brief Review of Non-Political Movements in South Africa*, 1971.

Action, Reaction and Counteraction: A Brief Review of Non-White Opposition to Apartheid Policy, Counter-measures by the Government and Eruption of New Waves of Unrest, 1963.

•Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, Wisconsin University Press, 1964.

•Three works by Edward Feit:

"Urban Revolt in South Africa: A case study," in *Journal of Modern African Studies* #8.

African Opposition in South Africa: The Failure of Passive Resistance, Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute, 1967.

South Africa: The Dynamics of the African National Congress, 1962.

•Goran Mbeki, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress (1912-52)*, University of California Press, 1971.

•D. Williams, "African Nationalism in South Africa: Origins and Problems," in *Journal of African History*.

Medisch Komitee Angola



The Former Portuguese Colonies

A. Overviews

1. Africa Research Group, *Race to Power: The Struggle for Southern Africa*, New York: Progress Publishers, 1973 (250 pp).

Presents overview of stakes in Southern Africa and Western role in region. Concentrates on former Portuguese colonies with excellent summary of liberation struggles. Also contains useful annotated bibliography.

2. Basil Davidson, "The Politics of Armed Struggle and National Liberation in the African Colonies of Portugal," in *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*, edited by Davidson, Slavo and Wilkinson, 1976.

Perhaps best summary of struggle against Portuguese Colonialism.

3. Arrighi and Saul, "Nationalism and Revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Essays on Political Economy of Africa*, edited by Arrighi and Saul, Monthly Review Press: 1973.

Comprehensive analysis of liberation movements as well as role of Western powers in Southern Africa. Shows how West has fostered underdevelopment of region and that struggle is for economic self-determination as well as political freedom.

4. *After Angola: The War Over Southern Africa*, edited by Colin Legum, 1976.

Many good articles on Portuguese colonies, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. Most up-to-date information.

5. T.H. Hendrickson, "People's War in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau," in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 14 #3, 1976.

Traces similarities and differences in struggles, and way they reinforced each other.



6. *Southern Africa in Transition*, edited by Davis and Baker, London: Pall Mall Press, 1966.

Fairly comprehensive, if slightly dated, anthology of regional struggles.

7. William Minter, *Portuguese Africa and The West*, Monthly Review Press, 1972.

Best analysis of nature of Portuguese colonialism and backing by NATO powers. Has information on liberation struggle.

B. Angola

1. William Minter, *Imperial Network and External Dependency: The Case of Angola*.

Good overview of pre-revolutionary political economy.

2. Basil Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1972.

History of struggle; good analysis of political economy of Angola.

3. Jennifer Davis and George Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain: Angola and the MPLA*, Africa Fund, 1976.

Very good analysis, provides historical background as well as useful chronology of events in 1975-6. Shows that MPLA enjoyed most grass-roots support.

4. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Luanda Is Madrid," in *The Nation*, January 3-10, 1976.

Article written at height of Angolan crisis, when Kissinger was trying to get Congressional approval for renewed U.S. commitment.

5. Clark Kissinger and John Saul, "Angola, China and Southern Africa," in *Monthly Review*, May 1976.

Good debate on role of MPLA and Chinese foreign policy. Saul wins it with more concrete analysis.

Additional Readings

• Selections from: *After Angola: The War Over Southern Africa*, edited by Colin Legum, 1976.

Colin Legum, "A Study of Foreign Intervention in Angola."

Tony Hodges, "How the MPLA Won in Angola."

• *Angola—A Chronology*, Africa Fund, 1977 (indispensable).

• Gerald Bender, *Portuguese Rule in Angola: A Study in Racial Domination*, 1977.

• John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978.

• John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*, MIT Press—Vol. I, 1969, Vol. II, 1978.

C. Mozambique

1. Samora Machel, *Establishing People's Power to Serve the Masses*, available from ACOA (48 pp).

Pamphlet by current president of Mozambique on nature of political and economic development since the FRELIMO triumph. Shows that despite its backwardness and Rhodesian attacks, significant progress has occurred since independence.

2. E. Mondlane, *The Struggle of Mozambique*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin books, 1968.

History of struggle by its assassinated leader.

3. Samora Machel, "The Struggle Continues," in *Review of African Political Economy (RAPE)*, #4, 1975.

Complete reprint of Machel's first presidential speech, delivered Independence Day. This is one of the most important speeches ever given by an African leader.

4. Articles by John Saul:

"FRELIMO and the Mozambique Revolution," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, edited by Arrighi and Saul, Monthly Review Press, 1973.

"Free Mozambique," in *Monthly Review*, December 1975.

"Portugal and Mozambique Revolution," in *Monthly Review*, Vol. 26 #4, 1974.

Excellent articles on Mozambique Revolution and its aftermath. To obtain, write: Monthly Review Press, 64 West 14th Street, New York, NY 10011.

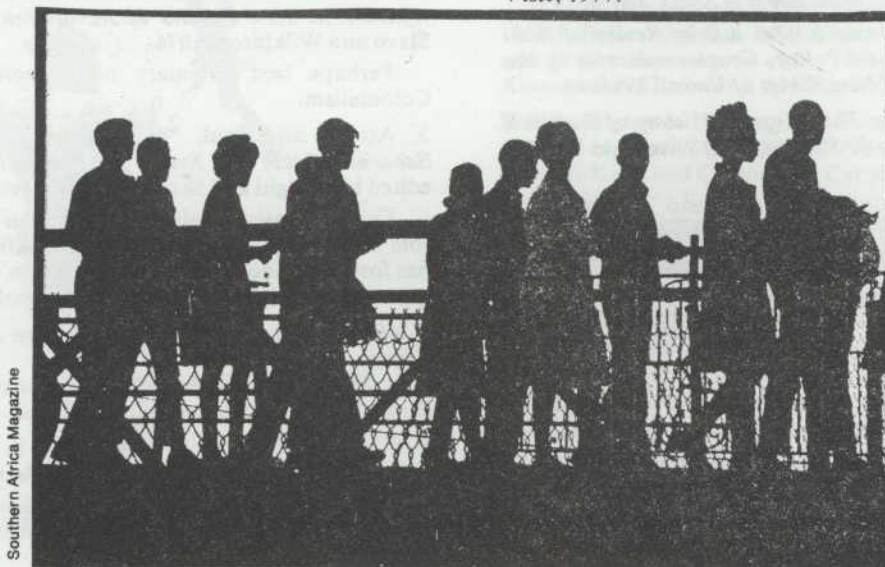
Additional Readings

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• Africa Fund pamphlets (available from ACOA):

George Houser and H. Shore, *Mozambique: Dream the Size of Freedom*, 1974.

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Southern Africa Magazine

D. Guinea-Bissau

1. Amilcar Cabral:

Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral, Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Revolution in Guinea, Monthly Review Press, 1975.

Best anthologies of speeches and writings by founder of Guinea-Bissau liberation movement (PAIGC) and major theoretician of African revolution. Many insights into colonialism and new-colonialism and building mass movement necessary to end foreign domination. Essential reading. Here are a few selections:

"The Weapon of Theory"

"National Liberation and Culture"

"Analysis of the Social Structures of Guinea"

"Identity and Dignity in the Context of the National Liberation Struggle"

2. Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guinea*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1969.

Good account of history and practice of the struggle.

4. Stephanie Urdang, *A Revolution Within a Revolution: Women in Guinea-Bissau*, New England Free Press, 1975 (available from ACOA).

¢ Pamphlet analyzes an important aspect of struggle against Portuguese colonialism, with implications for other revolutionary movements. Shows that revolution is not just "the seizure of state power" but a process involving fundamental changes in social relations.

Additional Reading

•Lare Rudebeck, *Guinea-Bissau: A Study in Political Mobilization*.

VI Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

1. Kees Maxey, *The Fight for Zimbabwe: Armed Conflict Since UDI*, London: Rex-Coins Ltd., 1976 (215 pp).

Best account of the liberation struggle yet written. Provides needed historical perspective and analysis of strength and weaknesses of movement. If we are to effectively support the Popular Front such rhetoric-free information is essential.

2. John Saul, "Transforming the Struggle in Zimbabwe," in *Southern Africa Magazine*, Jan/Feb 1977.

Politics and conflicts of liberation movement. Careful and specific.

3. J. Sprack, *Rhodesia: South Africa's Sixth Province*, Africa Fund, 1974.

Excellent analysis of South African domination of Rhodesian economy.

4. Giovanni Arrighi, "Labor Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianization of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, edited by Arrighi and Saul, Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Superb article on initial stage of capitalist development in Rhodesia. A must.

5. M. Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books.

Better on white than black politics: good but spotty analysis; excellent on British negotiations.

6. Monthly Review articles:

January 1966 (special issue).

—"Rhodesia: The Crisis"

—"Historical Background"

Subtle analysis of reasons for Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI from British. Important to understanding of current situation and dangers of British/American intervention.

March 1969.

Mwana Wevu and Davis Mugabe, "Exploitation and Revolution."

Analysis of liberation struggle by two of its key leaders.

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•Giovanni Arrighi, "The Political Economy of Rhodesia," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, edited by Arrighi and Saul, Monthly Review Press, 1973.

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•International Commission of Jurists, *Racial Discrimination and Repression in Southern Rhodesia*, 1976.

•L.H. Garm, *A Short History of Southern Rhodesia*, 1965.

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•George Houser, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: A Chronology 1830-1976*, available from ACOA.

•International Defense and Aid Fund, *Zimbabwe: The Facts About Rhodesia*, 1977, available from ACOA.

#*Zimbabwe: The Last Advance, Interviews with Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo*, LSM Press, 1978.

VII Namibia/South West Africa

1. Peter Fraenkel, *The Namibians of South-West Africa*, 1974 (48 pp). Available from ACOA.

In light of intensified struggle and Western maneuvering, it is important to understand history and political economy of Namibia. This analysis is good start, and shows that SWAPO's battle against illegal South African occupation is also against forces sustaining it (notably U.S. mining companies and government that has vetoed economic sanctions against South Africa).

2. Dekker, Hemson, et al, "Case Studies in African Labor Action in South Africa and Namibia," in *The Development of an African Working Class*, edited by Sandbrook and Cohen, Toronto University Press, 1975.

Solid analysis of labor action in the 1970's. Looks at conditions that sparked action, and relation between developments in Namibia and South Africa.

3. Marcelle Kooy, "The Contract Labor System and the Ovambo Crisis of 1971 in South-West Africa," in *African Studies Review* #1, April 1973.

Analysis of strike that signalled new era of worker militancy in Namibia and South Africa.

Additional Readings

- LSM Press, *Breaking Contract: The Story of Vinnie Udadi*, 1974 (available from ACOA).
- Murray, Morris, Dugard and Rubin, *The Role of Foreign Firms in Namibia*, 1974.
- Jennifer Davis and W. Courtney, *Namibia: U.S. Corporate Involvement*, 1972.
- Van Der Merwe, "South Africa and South-West Africa," in *Southern Africa in Perspective*, edited by Potholm and Dale.
- *Namibia: SWAPO Fights for Freedom*, LSM Press, 1978.
- Solomon Slonim, *South-West Africa and the U.N.: An International Mandate in Dispute*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- *Southwest Africa: Travesty of Trust*, edited by Ronald Segal and Ruth First.
- Charles A.W. Manning, *The U.N. and S.W. Africa*, London: S.A. Society, 1970.
- Ruth First, *South-West Africa*.
- Helmut Bley, *South-West Africa Under German Rule (1894-1914)*, 1972.
- Michael Scott, *The Orphan's Heritage: The Story of the South-West Africa Mandate*, 1958.
- *The Southwest Africa-Namibia Dispute: Documents and Scholarly Writings on the Controversy between South Africa and the United Nations*, edited by John Dugard, University of California, 1973.

All Our Trials (Sung to the tune of "Hurricane")

The campus phallic was radically dressed	Am F
Berkeley students gathered they did their best	Am F
In Sproul this "80" lined upon the floor	Am F
Said to their regents they would take no more	Am F
With perseverance on the last day of school	CF
They neatly cracked academic rule	CF
And put the regents to the test	Dm C
Seven came but the rest	Dm C
Stayed home to be the champions of the world	CF C G

The police came over in order to say
 If you want to be arrested "just step this way"
 But how could we be breaking the law?
 If we were fighting the injustice that we saw
 We decided not to play their game
 And got arrested in freedom's name
 The brutality that we saw
 And the chaos of the law
 With them trying to be the protectors of the world

51 in all were arbitrarily arrested
 They voted for trial their decision was deflected
 Their group at large hotly contested
 But in the closeness of the vote disunity reflected
 And in the ashes of afterwards
 When more measured words were heard
 We talked of what it would entail
 A trial would only fail
 If unity did not prevail....

United we stand or wither in faction
 Either take a blade of grass or a field for our action
 Trial would not have to be a distraction
 Where *trust* prevails there is no traction
 We are not glued to Robert's rules
 We are not riding on a "ship of fools"
 We are tools for change
 We are sunlight on the grange
 And will rearrange the shadows of the world

—Karen Poverny 7/13/1978



Appendix I

Partial List of American Firms Operating in South Africa

AAF-International
ABS Worldwide Technical Services, Inc.
Abbott Laboratories
AFIA Worldwide Insurance
Allied Chemical Corporation
Amchem Products Inc.
American Airlines Inc.
American Bureau of Shipping
American Can Company
American Cyanamid Company
American Home Products Corp.
American Hospital Supply Corp.
American International Group.
American Motors Corporation
Ampex International Operations
Arthur Andersen & Co.
Anderson Clayton & Co.
Applied Power Inc.
Armco Steel Corporation
Automated Building Components Inc.
Avis Incorporated
Ayerst International Inc.
Baxter Laboratories Inc.
Bristol-Myers International Corp.
Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.
Bechtel Corporation
Bechman Instruments Inc.
Berkshire International Corp.
The Black Clawson
The Black and Decker Manufacturing Co.
Blue Bell Inc.
Boeing International Corporation
Borden Inc.
Borg-Warner Corporation
Buckman Laboratories Inc.
Bucyrus-Erie Company
Bulova Watch Co. Inc.
Bundy Corporation
Burroughs Corporation
Caltex Petroleum Corporation
The Carborundum Company
Carnation International
Cascade Corporation
J.I. Case International
Caterpillar Tractor Company
CBS International
Celanese Corporation
C.G.S. Scientific Corp.
Champion Spark Plug Company
Cheeseborough-Pond's Inc.
The Coca-Cola Export Corporation
Colgate-Palmolive Company
Collier Macmillan International
Computer Sciences Corporation
Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company
Columbus McKinnon Corp.
Control Data Corporation
CPC International Inc.
Crown Cork & Seal Co.
Cutler-Hammer Incorporated
Cyanamid International
Dames & Moore
Dart Industries Inc.
Deere & Company
Del Monte Corporation
Deloitte Haskins & Sells
DeWitt International Corporation
D.H.J. Industries Inc.
Diners Club Inc.
The Diversy Corporation
Dobbs-Life Savers International
Donaldson Company Inc.
The Dow Chemical Company
Dresser Industries Inc.
DuBois International
Dun & Bradstreet Inc.
E.I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co.
Eastman-Kodak Company
The Echlin Manufacturing Company
Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.
Engelhard Minerals & Chemicals Corporation
Envirotech Corporation
Exxon Corporation
J.A. Ewing & McDonald Inc.
Farrell Lines Inc.
Federal-Mogul Corporation
Fiat-Allis Construction Machinery Inc.
Firestone Tire & Rubber Company
FMC Corporation
F & M Systems Company
Ford Motor Company
Fram Corporation
Franklin Electric
Gardner-Denver Company

The Gates Rubber Company
General Electric Company
General Motors Corporation
General Tire and Rubber Company
Geosource Inc.
J. Gerber & Company
Gilbert & Barker Manufacturing Co.
The Gillette Company
The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company
W.R. Grace & Company
Grolier International Inc.
Hammond Corporation
Heinemann Electric Company
Helena Rubinstein Inc.
Walter E. Heller International Corporation
Heublein International
Hewlett Packard International
Holiday Inn International
Honeywell Inc.
The Hoover Company
Hussman Refrigerators Company
Hydro-Air International Limited
Hyster Company
IBM World Trade Corporation
Ingersoll-Rand Company
Inmont Corporation
Insurance Company of North America
International Flavors & Fragrance Incorporated
International Harvester Company
International Minerals and Chemical Corp.
Interpace Corporation
The Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc.
International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation
Johns-Manville Corp.
Johnson & Johnson
S.C. Johnson & Son Inc.
Joy Manufacturing Company
Kellogg Company
Kelly-Springfield Tire Company
The Kendall Company
Kennecott Copper Corporation
Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc.
King Resources
Eli Lilly and Company
The Lubrizol Corporation
Lykes Lines Agency Inc.
P.R. Mallory & Co.
Maremont Corporation
Masonite Corporation

Max Factor and Company Inc.
McGraw-Hill International Book Co.
MDS Executive Headquarters
Measurex Corporation
Merck & Co., Inc.
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer International Inc.
George J. Meyer Manufacturing
Middle West Services Corp.
Miles Laboratories
Mine Safety Appliances Company
Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.
Mobil Oil Corporation
Monsanto Company
Moore-McCormack Lines Inc.
Motorola Inc.
M & T Chemicals Inc.
Muller & Phipps International Corp.
Nabisco, Inc.
Nalco Chemical Corporation
Nashua Corporation
NCR Corporation
National Chemsearch Corporation
National Standard Company
Newmont Mining Corporation
A.C. Nielsen International Inc.
Norton Company
Norton Simon, Inc.
Oak Industries Inc.
Olin Corporation
Oshkosh Truck Corporation
Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corporation
Pacific Oilseeds Inc.
Pan American World Airways, Inc.
Parke, Davis & Company
Parker-Hannifin Corporation
The Parker Pen Company
PepsiCo Inc.
Perkin-Elmer Corporation
Permatex Corporation
Pfizer International Inc.
Phelps Dodge Corporation
Phillips Petroleum Company
Pizza Inn Inc.
Placid Oil Company
International Playtex Inc.
Plough Inc.
Precision Value Corporation
Preformed Line Products Co.
Preload Engineering Corp.
Price Waterhouse & Co.
Ramsey Engineering Company
Rath & Strong Ltd.

Raytheon
Readers Digest Assn. Inc.
Revlon Inc.
Rexnord, Inc.
Rheem International
Richardson-Merrell Inc.
A.H. Robins Co. Inc.
The Robbins Co.
H.H. Roberston Company
Rockwell International Corp.
Rohm and Haas/Philadelphia
Samincorp Inc.
Schering-Plough Corporation
Scholl Inc.
Scripto Incorporated
G.D. Searle Co.
U.S. Shulton Inc.
Simplicity Pattern Co. Inc.
The Singer Company
Smith, Kline & French Laboratories
Sperry Rand Corporation
Standard Brands Inc.
Standard Oil Company of California
Standard Pressed Steel Company
The Stanley Works
Sterling Drug, Inc.
Sterling Products Inc.
Stowe-Woodward Company
Square D Company
E.R. Squibb & Sons Inc.
Sybrnon Corporation
Tampax Inc.
Tanatex Chemical Corporation
Taylor Instrument Companies

Technicon Corporation
Tenneco International Inc.
Texaco Inc.
Texasgulf Inc.
The Timken Company
Titan Industrial Corporation
Tokheim Corporation
The Trane Company
TransWorld Airlines Inc.
TRW Inc.
20th Century-Fox Films Corp.
Twin Disc Incorporated
Union Carbide Corp.
Uniroyal Inc.
United Artists Corp.
United States Filter Corp.
United States Gypsum Co.
United States Industries
United States Steel Corporation
The Upjohn Company
Valvoline Oil Company
The Valeron Corporation
Van Dusen Air Incorporated
Warner Bros. Inc.
Warner-Lambert Company
Western Airlines Inc.
Westinghouse Electric Corp.
West Point Pepperell Inc.
Whinney Murray Ernst and Ernst
White Motor Corporation
Wilbur-Ellis Company
Wyeth International Limited
Xerox Corporation
Arthur Young & Company

Appendix II

Bank Loans to South Africa

American Express International Banking Corp.
American National Bank & Trust Co. (Chicago)
The Arizona Bank
Bank of America
Bank of Boston International
Bank of New York
Bankers Trust New York Corp.
Central Cleveland International Bank
Central Merchant Bank
Central National Bank of Chicago
Central National Bank of Cleveland
Chartered Bank
Chase Manhattan
Chemical Bank (New York)

Citibank (New York)
Citibank International (Chicago)
Citizens & Southern National Bank (Atlanta)
City National Bank of Detroit
Cleveland Trust Co.
Continental Bank International (Houston)
Continental Bank International (New York)
Continental Illinois
Crocker Bank International (Chicago)
Crocker National Bank (Los Angeles, San Francisco)
European American Banking Corp.
European American Bank & Trust Co.
Fidelity International Bank (New York)
First Boston Corp.

First Chicago Corp.
 First City National Bank (Houston)
 First National Bank of Atlanta
 First National Bank of Boston
 First National Bank of Chicago
 First National Bank (Dallas)
 First National Bank (Louisville)
 First National Bank of Minneapolis
 First National Citibank International (Los Angeles)
 First Pennsylvania Bank NA
 First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee
 French Bank of California
 Harris Bank International Corp. (New York)
 Harris Trust & Savings Bank (Chicago)
 Houston National Bank
 Huntington National Bank (Columbus, Ohio)
 Irving Trust Co. (New York)
 Manufacturers Hanover (New York)
 Manufacturers & Traders Trust Co.
 Marine Midland Bank (Buffalo)
 Maryland National Bank
 Mellon Bank International (New York)
 Mellon Bank NA (Pittsburgh)
 Merchants National Bank (Cedar Rapids, Iowa)
 Merchants National Bank & Trust Co. (Indianapolis)
 Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. (New York)
 National Citybank (Cleveland)
 National Bank of Detroit
 New Jersey Bank NA (Paterson)
 North Carolina National Bank
 Northern Trust Bank
 Northern Trust International Banking Co. (New York)
 Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis

Northwestern National Bank (Omaha)
 Philadelphia International Bank (New York)
 Philadelphia National Bank
 Pittsburgh National Bank
 Provident National Bank (Philadelphia)
 Republic National Bank of Dallas
 Security Pacific National Bank
 Society National Bank of Cleveland
 Trust Company of Georgia (Atlanta)
 United California Bank International
 United Virginia Bank
 Wells Fargo Bank (Los Angeles, San Francisco)
 Winters National Bank & Trust Co. (Dayton)

Investment Banks

Blyth Eastman Dillon & Co.
 Brown Bros. Harriman & Co.
 Dean Witter Reynolds Org.
 Dillon Read & Co. Inc.
 First Boston Inc.
 Goldman Sachs & Co.
 Kidder Peabody & Co. Inc.
 Lazard Freres & Co.
 Lehman Brothers Inc.
 Loeb Rhoades & Co.
 Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc.
 Morgan Stanley & Co. Inc.
 Paine Webber Inc.
 Salomon Brothers
 Smith Barney Harris Upham & Co. Inc.

The lists of Appendix I and Appendix II were taken from South Africa: Foreign Investment and Apartheid (Institute For Policy Studies, 1978).

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