

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

Closing prices of selected issues in U.S. currency.				Week's Change			
Name of Stock	Price	Volume	Change	Close	Change	Open	High
Amax	18 1/2	85,000	36 1/2	4.27	+.06	4.21	4.33
Imperial Corp Amer	36 1/2	28,000	20 1/2	4.27	+.06	4.21	4.33
Carter Hawley Hale	20 1/2	30,000	O.T.	4.87	+.10	4.77	4.97
Shell Oil	24 1/2	70,000	11	5.50	+.40	5.10	5.90
White Consol Ind	11	40,000	26 1/2	4.87	+.10	4.77	4.97
Olin Corp	26 1/2	29,000	13 1/2	1.50	+.20	1.30	1.70
Mohawk Data	13 1/2	30,000	31	5.15	+.625	4.525	5.775
Norfolk & Western Ry	30 1/2	60,100	32 1/2	18.875	+.10	18.775	18.975
Howard Johnson	32 1/2	121,800	48 1/2	5.00	+.20	4.80	5.20
Nashua	12 1/2	36,000	34 1/2	7.45	+.05	7.40	7.50
Johns-Manville	49	30,200	44 1/2				
Firestone	34 1/2	33,000	44 1/2				
Polaroid	44 1/2						
Abbott Labs							
Ford Motor							
African Mines							
Friday, Oct. 6, 1978							
Closing prices of selected issues in U.S. currency.							
Name of Stock	Price	Volume	Change	Close	Change	Open	High
Bracken	20 1/2						
Doornfontein	25 1/2						
Durban Deep	26						
East Rand Prop	26 1/2						
Eisburg	24 1/2						
Harmony	35 1/2						
Montein							
Liberal							
Lorraine							
Doornfontein							
Western							
Winkelsaak							
O.T.							
Sears, Roebuck	17 1/2						
Marla Inns	O.T.						
Norfolk & Western Ry	34 1/2	60,000	16 1/2				
Champion Intd	16 1/2	30,000	13 1/2				
Abbott Labs							
Steel							
Olin Corp	18 1/2	25,000	38 1/2				
Allegheny Pwr Sys	39	30,000	15 1/2				
Wheelabrator-Frye							
Kerr Glass M							
Arlen Realty	27,000						
McGraw-Hill	83,500						
Arlen Realty & Dev	34,100						
Katy Ind	55,000						
Katy Ind (pfdB)	45,000						
Martin-Marietta	50,000						
Arlen Realty & Dev	25,000						
Eastern Airlines	31,900						
Digital Equip	35,000						
Skyline	25,000						
Heublein Inc	12 1/2	50,000	29				
Technicare	29	25,000	25 1/2				
Heck's							
Western Bancorp	120,400						
Texasco	42,000						
PS							
Heublein	35,000						
Westinghouse	31 1/2						
ITT	19 1/2						
Occidental Pet	33 1/2	40,000	33 1/2				
Occidental Pet (pfd E)	27 1/2	30,000	28 1/2				
Computer Sci	27 1/2	27,900	28 1/2				
Occidental Pet	34 1/2						
Occidental Pet (pfd E)	21 1/2						
Falcon	28 1/2	29,800	34 1/2				
N.L. Ind	O.T.	50,000	31 1/2				
PepsiCo	O.T.		21 1/2				
Abbott Labs	O.T.		18 1/2				
FNMA							

THE DIVESTITURE STRUGGLE AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
AND BUILDING THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

Chicago Committee for a Free Africa

SELL THE SOUTH AFRICAN STOCK

The Divestiture Struggle at Northwestern University

U.S. OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

by

THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE FOR A FREE AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

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This pamphlet was written to arm movement activists to support African Liberation. It is a case study of the struggle at Northwestern University, and it presents the general line (i.e. political understanding) and orientation of the Chicago Committee for a Free Africa (CCFA). (CCFA was formerly the New Chicago African Liberation Support Committee-NCALSC-and this change is discussed in Section 2.) Our view is that the time is ripe for a new and higher stage of struggle, and this pamphlet is a contribution toward that end.

Africa has increasingly become the center stage of international affairs. The situation in Africa today is one of crisis, a crisis reflecting a trend toward imperialist war on the one hand and a continuation of national democratic revolutionary struggle on the other. Superpower contention and interventionism by other imperialist powers (large and small) have cost more lives in Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa in the last 5 years than in the previous 25 years. At no time have so many armaments been stock-piled in Africa, and at no time since the hey day of the "old" colonialism have so many foreign troops been on African soil. And of course this means more war. On the other hand, throughout Africa, the masses are awakening to deepen their fight for independence to win national sovereignty. In virtually every country revolutionary collectives, student groups, radical trade unionists, and others are taking up the fight against imperialism in all its forms.

Especially in Southern Africa there is a rising tidal wave of revolutionary mass struggle: Zimbabwe is being born in the heat of armed struggle, making Rhodesia gasp for its last few breaths; Namibia refuses to allow South Africa to subvert its movement into a new type of client state for imperialism; and Azania is still in panic after the recent volcanic eruption of revolutionary national youth in actions like the Soweto rebellion in 1976. Yes, nowhere does the torch of freedom burn brighter than it does in the African revolution.

The U.S. ruling class and government continues to be deeply involved in giving political, military, and economic support to white minority rule in Southern Africa. Regarding the case of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the U.S. Congress has recently indicated its intention to break the UN-sanctioned embargo on trade. Moreover, the U.S. State Department has granted the chief Rhodesian Fascist Ian Smith a visa to visit the U.S., while allowing a white pseudo-preacher the opportunity to openly recruit a white mercenary strike force here in Chicago to intervene in Rhodesia and fight against the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front. Jimmy Carter is a continuation of U.S. imperialism, and his human rights campaign is a public relations ploy, an empty and sinister farce. Therefore, we must unite ourselves in struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Of course, the question of African liberation is particularly important in relation to the Black liberation movement in the USA. The history of the African freedom struggle is filled with powerful contributions by Black people in the USA. From the Pan African Congresses organized by W.E.B. Dubois to the Council on African Affairs led by Paul Robeson, to the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) of the early 1970's, Black people have been actively involved in supporting the African freedom struggle. The key basis for this includes both the ancestral linkage Afro-Americans (Black people) have with Africans (Black people), and the common history of racist national oppression and exploitation by imperialism. This is the context for a major theme of the work of the Chicago Committee for a Free Africa (CCFA):

RACISM NO! IMPERIALISM MUST GO! FROM SOWETO TO CHICAGO: BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE FREE!

The overall movement to support African Liberation is growing, particularly on the campus. The fighting spirit of the 1960's is beginning to re-emerge on the campus in both the fights against colleges holding stock in companies that do business in South Africa and against the general attacks and cutbacks like, for example, the vicious honey-covered Bakke decision. Because this is the early phase of this

new period of struggle, it is extremely important that we remember the lessons of the late 1960's and pay attention to summing up our practice now so that we can identify errors early, engage in the necessary struggle to clarify our political views, and implement corrective measures so that as the ground-swell of student participation takes off, the movement will be on solid footing, guided by correct line (political understanding) and led by tested leadership.

One more thing should be said on the issue of summing up our experiences, our practice of struggle. Summation, guided by revolutionary theory and rooted in listening to what the masses of people have to say, is the best and correct method of fighting both the error of left dogmatism as well as the various forms of right opportunism. "Left" dogmatism is the lazy error of relying exclusively on books and generalizations, the "know-it-all-in-the-abstract" position of an educated fool who has only book knowledge. Here the error is to rely on generalizations derived from revolutionary theory and to negate the need to analyze concrete situations. "Right" opportunism is the opposite position of relying on the particulars of the situation so much that the revolutionary essence of our struggle is negated. The fight is a revolutionary one because the fight contributes to the United Front Against Imperialism, and in this fight imperialism will be destroyed. The correct approach is to study concrete cases using revolutionary theory; the only correct method is to unite theory with practice.

The pamphlet is a summation of the struggle at Northwestern University, a major private university located in a northern suburb of Chicago, Ill. The struggle on the Northwestern campus was initiated by students and faculty working as organizers for the Chicago Committee for a Free Africa. The first two sections of this report explain the general orientation of CCFA on the issue of divestiture or what should be called the "Sell the South African Stock" issue, and the organizational history of CCFA. The next two sections, the major part of the pamphlet

are the CCFA analysis of the struggle waged at Northwestern and the documents of that struggle. This analysis is a working tool of struggle. We encourage activists in all local struggles to sum up their work and distribute it widely throughout the movement. If we have victories to report, the rest of the movement needs to learn about them. If we have made mistakes, then we need to know as much as we can so that we can all avoid them. If we have differences between ourselves, then we should argue them out with our views grounded in the practice of the struggle. We should not simply engage in academic disputes that are unrelated to guiding the practice of the movement which often prevent the movement from going forward.

As we will discuss, we have summed up the Northwestern struggle as a limited victory for CCFA and the Coalition to Oppose Northwestern's Investments in South Africa because: (a) people have been educated about imperialism and its role in Africa and about the university as an imperialist institution; (2) numbers of people--students, faculty, staff, and community residents--united and actively supported the struggle against the Northwestern trustees and their policies; (3) as a result of united struggle, the Northwestern trustees were forced, after saying that no action would be taken, to issue a document recognizing our demands and attempting to diffuse our struggle through rhetorical concessions. While these represent victories, there were serious shortcomings and errors in our work which we would like to share so that the entire Sell the Stock Movement and the overall movement to support African Liberation can grow.

WHO IS THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE FOR A FREE AFRICA (CCFA)?

CCFA is a recent development in the African Liberation Support Movement. It is an anti-imperialist mass organization rooted in struggle. CCFA conducts internal education so that its members can grasp the basic nature of imperialism, and understand trends in the international political situation. Also, CCFA initiates mass campaigns and joins others in their campaigns. CCFA is opposed to "left" sectarianism, and struggles to keep its social base broad.

CCFA has gone through three phases in the last year. It started out as the Chicago Chapter of the Organizing Committee for a New ALSC. (See CCFA, First Wave of Struggle, January 1978.) In February 1978, it left the OC/ALSC and became the New Chicago ALSC--NC/ALSC). (See CCFA, Two, Three Many Waves of Struggle, forthcoming.) In September 1978, it dropped the name ALSC (because it had come to be so distorted in the eyes of the masses) and became CCFA. In this report, CCFA, then, is referred to as OC/ALSC for August 1977 - January 1978, and NC/ALSC for February 1978 - September 1978.

The main aspects of CCFA that have led it to be a leading anti-imperialist force in the African liberation movement are:

1. to uphold a consistently anti-imperialist line in concrete campaigns of struggle;
2. to actively join in the actual struggles being waged by others in order to consciously build unity in action;
3. to consistently provide the movement and the masses with an honest summation of our theoretical orientation and practical experience (including of course our many errors).

CCFA welcomes criticism and the possibility of meeting with other groups and individuals to collectively sum up the situation and plan for the future.

Since May 1972, African Liberation Day, the support movement has grown. However, it has risen and fallen within this general increase because of left and right errors of the leading forces. Today the main danger in the support movement comes from the right, and the two line struggle is becoming more and more

clear: are we building an anti-imperialist movement or an anti-apartheid movement?
This document takes up this question in relationship to the "Sell the Stock" struggle at Northwestern University.

CCFA'S BASIC LINE ON THE "SELL THE STOCK" STRUGGLE

Our summation of the struggle at Northwestern must be understood in the context of what theoretical political line guides the practical work. In this way, an analysis of our concrete experience can result in more general political lessons that can serve as a guide to further action. These lessons can be applied in the general sense of building the movement on many fronts, and the specific sense of continuing to fight in support of African liberation on the college campus. So this section is a summation of our general line on supporting the African liberation movements.

A. OUR STRATEGIC ORIENTATION IS TO HELP BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM (UFAI). The African revolution is part of the world revolution because it is opposed to the world-wide system of imperialism in all of its forms. As part of the rise of imperialism, Africa was subjected to the same world-wide system of imperialism that was built on the backs of the working class in capitalist countries and expanded by subjugating the entire third world. There is and can be no middle ground: Africa will remain under the rule of imperialism in one form or the other, or Africa will break these shackles and be free.

Our support for the African liberation struggles must be support for struggles against imperialism. Our strategic orientation is for revolution and not reform, and therefore we are an anti-imperialist movement and not simply an anti-apartheid movement. Otherwise, our efforts would be virtually the same as the liberal democrats, the Congressional Black Caucus, and the National Council of Churches. This is not totally bad, but these efforts are not decisive for achieving our goal of liberation in Africa.

The other reason we must build the United Front Against Imperialism is the most important reason: the best way for people in the USA to support African liberation is to

deepen the fight against U.S. imperialism at home. Building the UFAI in the USA means that we expose how the same U.S. imperialism that exploits and oppresses African people does virtually the same thing against the American people, and we link our fight against the role of U.S. imperialism in Africa with other struggles against U.S. imperialism being waged at home by the American people.

Two of the most valuable lessons in the last 10 years concern the anti-Vietnam War movement. The first is a positive lesson of how it was built broadly among the American people, touching hundreds of thousands directly and millions indirectly. The second is a negative lesson of something to avoid: the movement was limited to being against the war, and was not deepened into being a movement against U.S. imperialism and in that way attack the source of war. When the war was over, disorientation set in and the anti-war forces were dispersed. Now, the war mongers are back at it and there is no anti-war movement. We must cherish both of these lessons, and build on our past practice.

B. OUR TACTICAL ORIENTATION IS TO BUILD THE POPULAR FORMS OF STRUGGLE THAT EMERGE IN THE MOVEMENT WITH CONSISTENT ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEADERSHIP. We have the strategic orientation of building the United Front Against Imperialism and therefore we can be flexible in our tactics. Moreover, the popular forms of struggle that emerge in the movement must be united with and transformed into anti-imperialist forces. This is to be contrasted with a common Trotskyite plot to intervene and split popular forms, the sectarian ultra-left position of ignoring "impure" mass forms, and the right opportunist approach of uniting with the popular form of struggle and liquidating the need for anti-imperialist leadership.

The African Liberation Support Movement has developed over the past few years by concrete political struggle:

(1) The Fight at the Docks--Down with the Byrd Amendment: During 1972, we saw concrete struggles on the docks at Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Bay area, and at

Burnside, Louisiana. Three important lessons were learned: (a) our fight against U.S. imperialism's support for white minority rule is against the same enemy we fight right here against national oppression and economic exploitation; (2) the struggle on the docks especially at Burnside, represented a valuable lesson on how to correctly link student activists with workers struggling against U.S. imperialism in support of African liberation; (3) when white workers put their jobs on the line in support of African liberation, the support movement learned a vital lesson in proletarian internationalism.

(2) The Polaroid Struggle: During the early 1970's, the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement led a struggle against Polaroid for unity with South Africa. We learned more about how the U.S. government and U.S. corporations play a leading role in building and sustaining the repressive state apparatus in South Africa.

(3) BOYCOTT GULF CAMPAIGN: Also during the early 1970's, we saw a broad based groundswell of resistance to the role played by Gulf particularly in the Cabinda province of Angola. We learned the importance of making broad based appeals using dramatic propaganda and agitational materials--especially posters.

(4) BAN THE KRUGERRAND! In 1978, we reaffirmed the important lesson of selecting a target of struggle that enables us to unfold in a concrete way what imperialism is doing in Africa because it was a concrete struggle in which we could win some limited victories. The importance of coordinated local, national, and regional demonstrations was also reaffirmed. The three main lessons emerging from this struggle were: (a) political line is decisive; (2) to rely on mobilizing the masses to strike blows against imperialism; and (3) concentrating our forces around a correct political line in struggle can make a big battle.

Moreover, a calendar of struggle is developing for an intensification of the fight to build support for the African liberation struggles:

FEBRUARY	BLACK LIBERATION MONTH	MAY 25 (1963)	AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY
MARCH 21 (1961)	SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE	JUNE 16 (1976)	SOWETO UPRISING
	OCTOBER (1977)	BIKO MURDERED	

C. THE UNIVERSITY IN THE U.S. IS DOMINATED BY IMPERIALISM AND THEREFORE MUST BE FOUGHT AGAINST. David N. Smith in WHO RULES THE UNIVERSITY? clearly demonstrates how imperialism grabbed control of higher education in the USA:

THE GENESIS OF RULING-CLASS CONTROL

The developing American ruling class of industrial capitalists and bankers first asserted haphazard control over the universities during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the subsequent ten decades, as capitalism in the United States underwent a succession of developmental changes, finally ripening into mature monopoly capitalism, the nature of ruling-class control of the universities underwent a parallel development and transformation.

Three stages in this process can be distinguished and analyzed. The first consists of the rough-and-tumble early period of competitive capitalism following the bloody conclusion of the Civil War. In this period, while the American wilderness was tamed and the last of the Native American tribes were forced onto reservations, the robber barons of early capitalism were amassing huge fortunes east of the Mississippi. Men like Andrew Carnegie, Jim Hill, Jay Gould, John D. Rockefeller, Diamond Jim Fisk, and Commodore Vanderbilt were growing wealthy in the steel, oil, and railroad industries at the expense of their half-starved workers and broken competitors. Recognizing an increasingly urgent need to develop new kinds of administrative and technical skills for their industries, and hoping to immortalize their names, the robber barons began to reinvest some of their giant profits into higher education, on a small scale at first but in larger and larger amounts as the century drew to a close.

This kind of random and uncoordinated "philanthropy" was an important stimulus to the growing system of higher education in America, but it produced a chaotic and unbalanced growth allowing universities to sprout like weeds across the country. Then, around the turn of the century, as the process of industrial concentration and monopoly formation quickened, and as the technological need of capitalism grew more complex (with, among other things, the emergence of large chemical and electrical industries), two of the most important capitalists--Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller--established giant foundations designed to impose order on the chaotic universe of American higher education. With the power of vast quantities of money behind them, these two foundations were able to systematically shape and restructure the university system in America in the forty years before World War II. By tailoring the universities to meet the needs of an increasingly powerful but unstable capitalism, Carnegie and Rockefeller transformed higher education into an invaluable instrument of capitalist rule.

The purpose of higher education at this juncture of history was to provide society with an elite of talented investment bankers, lawyers, and government officials. Prior to World War II, the production of an educated stratum of the wage-labor force was only a secondary and small-scale facet of university operations. After World War II, for social and economic reasons...capitalism was faced with two primary and imperative needs, both of which had existed prior to the war but on a much smaller

scale: (1) the need for an educated labor force capable of coping with sophisticated administrative and research demands of modern, war-oriented capitalism; and (2) the need for the new technical and social knowledge necessary to keep capitalism expansive, stable, and vital. The universities were the ideal institutions for the fulfillment of these goals.

Thus, beginning with the passage of the first G.I. Bill in 1946, a new era in the history of capitalist control of the universities was ushered in. Acting in concert, the state and the corporations thoroughly altered the direction and focus of the university system. Needing huge numbers of a new kind of worker, the ruling class channeled a large flow of potential blue-collar and traditional service workers through a university system reconstituted to socialize a technical and administrative work force. Requiring steadily increasing quantities of social and technological knowledge, the ruling class converted the universities into high-powered research and development centers. The state, financing its expenditures with tax money taken from the working class, has been the key agent in this process, but the large corporations have played a significant role as well. The central fact to remember is that throughout this process, the state and the corporations have functioned together as a whole--for this is the period of state monopoly capitalism, still in progress. During this period, the class identity of the bulk of students has been transformed into its opposite, from ruling class to working class, while the nature of higher education has been altered radically in every sphere.

What is important for us to note here is the continuity in the different stages in the evolution of rulingclass control of the universities. For although the methods of control may have grown more subtle and the specific ends may have altered with the changes in capitalism, the general motivation and nature of the control has remained essentially the same: the desire to use the universities to serve the needs of growing capitalism. It is this which differentiates the emergence of capitalist higher education in particular from the education inspired by the needs of industrialism in general--for capitalism, as a system based on production for profit, has worked to build a system of higher education corresponding not to the logic of industrial production per se but to the logic of capital accumulation underlying industrial production in capitalist society.

How has this difference manifested itself? In several ways. First of all, the governing structures of the universities have been dictated in their general outlines by the need of capitalists to exercise their power in matters of university policy through various forms of trusteeship patterned after the board-of-directors model established in business. Second, the needs of capitalist industry have dictated the priorities of instruction (leading, for example, to the emergence of business studies--"business administration" with a profit-making orientation--as a key field of inquiry). Third, business control of the universities has led to the development of social sciences imbued with the ideology and worldview of the oppressing class. And fourth, from the moment the production of an educated stratum of the wage-labor force emerged as one of the key functions of the university system, business control of the universities resulted in the training of workers schooled in all the arts necessary

to ensure continued and expanding profits for business itself. The basic class relationship between capitalists and workers, in other words, has become strongly embedded within the system of higher education. Businessmen are training workers to produce profits. Viewed in this light, the specifically capitalist character of the contemporary university system becomes glaringly evident. For a system of higher education flexibly adapted to the needs of industrial production is unquestionably necessary and desirable; but such a system can take many forms, of which the capitalist model is only one.

In sum, there are 4 major functions performed by or in the University that serve the interests of the ruling class:

1. WHO DECIDES--The social composition of University and college trustees clearly demonstrates who really runs the universities. In 1917, Scott Nearing concluded that "college and university boards are almost completely dominated by merchants, manufacturers, capitalists, corporation officials, bankers, doctors, lawyers, educators, and ministers. A new term must be coined to suggest the idea of an education process system owned and largely supported by the people, but dominated by the business world." In 1923, another study stated that, "We have allowed the education of our youth to fall into the absolute control of a group of men who represent not only a minority of the total population, but have, at the same time, enormous economic and business stake in what kind of an education it shall be." A study in the 1920's showed that, "Together, bankers, industrialists, and miscellaneous businessmen constituted 41.5 percent of the total number of trustees studied. Lawyers and judges comprised another 25 percent...and 50 percent of all lawyers and other professionals were also officers or directors of business enterprises...."

"66 percent of the seven hundred trustees held at least one leading business office or directorship, over half held at least two such positions, and fully 40 percent held three or more....All told, the seven hundred trustees held 2,656 leading business positions, an average of almost four per trustee." This study concluded: "The numerous high positions of power in industry, commerce, and finance held by at least two-thirds of the members of the governing boards of these 30 leading universities would appear to give a decisive majority [of trustees] more than ample

grounds for identifying their personal interests with those of business."

2. WHOSE IDEAS RULE--Writing in THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY (1845) Karl Marx and Frederick Engels observed: "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material [i.e., economic] force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production..."

This is illustrated in many ways, but it is nowhere better indicated than in the role of foundations in financing higher education. In THE BIG FOUNDATIONS, Nielsen observed that "the boards of the big foundations are controlled by members of the American business elite." Thus, foundations are logical choices to carry out such missions as those outlined by the chairman of U.S. steel.

Capitalism and free enterprise owe their survival in no small degree to the existence of our private, independent universities. Both are not only important to each other--they are dependent upon each other....I want to say emphatically that--in my opinion--every American business has a direct obligation to support the free, independent, privately endowed colleges and universities of this country to the limit of its financial ability and legal authority.
(From an address at Yale University, October 19, 1951)

McGeorge Bundy, former Harvard Professor, Kennedy's National Security advisor, and now President of the Ford Foundation (the largest in the U.S.), has eloquently stated the interest of the ruling class in American higher education.

The oldest and strongest ties that connect this foundation to other parts of society are those that bind us to the world of education. We depend on learned men for advice and special study on nearly every subject we take up. More deeply still, we have supposed, from our very beginning, that the health and strength of American education was in and of itself an area of central importance to the national well-being.

This interest in education is not confined to Ford Foundation, according to Nielsen:

Ford is not alone at putting education at the top of its priorities. Education is by far the field receiving the largest amount of money from foundations. It has been

estimated that about one-third of all annual grants go to education, particularly colleges and universities.

3. REPRODUCTION OF CLASS STRUCTURE-One of the popular myths about the American educational system is that it is the path to greater "equality"; that it will mitigate the exploited/exploiter relationship for the masses of Blacks and whites within the American capitalist system. But there is a growing recognition that the educational system in the U.S. is not part of the solution, but part of the problem. Samuel Bowles argues this point in "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Hierarchical Division of Labor," (in The Capitalist System, 1972). He states:

(1) that schools have evolved in the U.S. not as part of a pursuit of equality, but rather to meet the needs of capitalist employers for a disciplined and skilled labor force, and to provide a mechanism for social control in the interests of political stability; (2) that as the economic importance of skilled and well educated labor has grown, inequalities in the school system have become increasingly important in reproducing the class structure from one generation to the next; (3) that the U.S. school system is pervaded by class inequalities, which have shown little sign of diminishing over the last half century; and (4) that the evidently unequal control over school boards and other decision-making bodies in education does not provide a sufficient explanation of the persistence and pervasiveness of inequalities in the school system. Although the unequal distribution of political power serves to maintain inequalities in education, their origins are to be found outside the political sphere in the class structure itself and in the class subcultures typical of capitalist societies. Thus unequal education has its roots in the very class structure which it serves to legitimize and reproduce. Inequalities in education are a part of the web of capitalist society, and likely to persist as long as capitalism survives.

These points can be easily demonstrated but here only a few examples must suffice. Historically, the public school movement was initiated in such states as Massachusetts where the industry was expanding most rapidly, especially textiles. The rise of public school education and higher education for Afro-Americans did not occur until the demand for training ex-slaves and Black community administrators after

the Civil War. Moreover, college attendance in the U.S. reinforces the existing class structure. For example, among high school graduates from families with an income between \$3,000 and \$4,000, 67% did not attend college. The comparable figure among families with incomes above \$15,000 is 13.3%. Thus, children of working people and poor people do not get whatever assistance a college education would provide in breaking the cycle of poverty. In addition, class stratification within the school system exists and such mechanisms as tracking and teacher attitudes operate to channel students into the occupations of their parents.

4.RELATION TO THE STATE--The government is the prime vehicle which oversees the interest of the U.S. ruling class. In 1961, the former President of Michigan State University (who also chaired the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and the Agency for International Development) made clear the relation of education to the essential military function of the U.S. government. As one writer described:

'Our colleges and universities must be regarded as bastions of our defense, as essential to preservation of our country and our way of life as super-sonic bombers, nuclear-powered submarines and intercontinental ballistic missiles.' The fact that none of the three weapons systems Hannah mentioned could have been designed, constructed, or operated without college-educated men proves that this is not just Fourth of July rhetoric.

These sentiments were later elaborated in a speech entitled "The School's Responsibility and National Defense."

I believe the primary and secondary schools can make education serve the individual and national interest by preparing youngsters for military service and life under conditions of stress as well as preparing them for college, or for a job or profession... I would not even shrink from putting the word "indoctrination" to the kind of education I have in mind. If we do not hesitate to indoctrinate our children with a love of truth, a love of home, and a love of God, then I see no justification for balking at teaching them love of country and love of what this country means.

As a result of this important role that colleges and universities play in maintaining the existing social order, the U.S. government yearly allocates \$8 - \$10 billion to higher education alone and its total allocation to education is over \$20 billion.

D. SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT TO SELL THE SOUTH AFRICAN STOCK BY BUILDING IT AS PART OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Students have risen up to fight the imperialist control over colleges and universities, particularly focusing on university investments in the stocks and bonds of corporations and banks doing business in Southern Africa. Beginning with the Spring 1977 offensive in Northern California (Stanford and Berkeley), the "Sell the Stock" movement has risen to be the key issue on the campus today. The "Sell the Stock" or "Divestiture" movement is a popular form of struggle that must be supported and every effort must be made to build this movement. However, our strategic orientation requires that we clarify several key aspects of our approach:

(1) The "Sell the Stock" demand is a demand for reform, a demand that must be supported, fought for, and won. The demand allows for the possibility of a university actually selling all stock connected to South Africa, and therefore it allows for imperialism to remain and our demand to be met. Of course, the movement can accomplish a major educational task of exposing the overall imperialist domination of the university. In fact, there is a clear similarity between the tactics that corporations have devised and the response of universities to our demands. In 1972, Leon Sullivan (a Black member of the General Motors Board) initiated a "behavior code" for U.S. corporations doing business in Southern Africa. This ridiculous plan poses a scenario for a morality play instead of removing imperialism. In order to support the thrust of this plan, Harry Oppenheimer (the main capitalist of white South Africa) hosted Andrew Young in South Africa. Now university trustees are declaring that they will respond to the "Sell the Stock" demands by pushing the Sullivan plan of ending discrimination in toilet facilities and taking down all "whites only" signs on toilets. The issues in South Africa are much more fundamental than this.

(2) The social base of the "Sell the Stock" movement includes students,

and secondly, academic faculty, campus workers, and community forces. The broad base of support and the popularity of the issue often set the conditions for a right opportunist error, that is, lowering the politics to the lowest common denominator. Our view (at this time) is that the struggle should be waged so that the broadest level of support can be mobilized (e.g. coalition) while a clear anti-imperialist line is put out in that context by a smaller group.

(3) The leadership of the "Sell the Stock" movement must form broad-based coalitions, and uphold the right for groups to maintain their independence and initiative. Anti-imperialist leadership requires that there is (a) deep and thorough-going political exposure of the imperialist nature of the university (boards of trustees, university investments, ideological orientation, relationship to the U.S. government, etc.) (b) linkage of the "Sell the Stock" issue with the revolutionary African liberation struggles and (c) linkage of the "Sell the Stock" struggle with other struggles of the American people pointing all struggle at one ruling class which maintains overall imperialist rule.

E. THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT SHOULD DEEPEN AND SPREAD AS THE WINDS OF REVOLUTION BLOW TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA

Today we stand on the verge of liberation in Zimbabwe, and Namibia is clearly a contested zone. The bottom line is the fight for South Africa. We must gird ourselves for the protracted struggle for the liberation of Azania (South Africa). No matter what concrete struggles emerge we should at some point raise two demands in order to maintain our strategic orientation:

U.S. OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA! SUPERPOWERS HANDS OFF!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

In sum, a FRELIMO (Mozambique) battle cry sums up our immediate future:

A LUTA CONTINUA! (The struggle continues)

4

NORTHWESTERN IS AN IMPERIALIST UNIVERSITY

Northwestern University was started as an independent institution of higher education in 1851. Its growth as a leading educational center in the midwest "paralleled the dynamic rise of Chicago " as a center of capitalist industry and finance. Its founding was a conscious attempt to create an "Ivy League" school in the midwest. Its major rival, the University of Chicago, did not become firmly established until it was endowed with \$600,000 by John David Rockefeller in 1888. In fact, one of Northwestern University's founders commented that it would be much cheaper to send their sons to their own Ivy League school than off to Harvard or Yale.

Today, Northwestern ranks as one of the main educational centers in the U.S.: 11th in endowments, with many of its graduate programs ranked in the top 10 or 15. The table on the following page compares Northwestern with other universities.

One of the fundamental features of imperialism is monopoly--a relatively few giant corporations dominating the sphere of production as do a few banks in finance (and the two are closely intertwined). Thus, Fortune (May/June, 1978) shows that 10 industrial corporations control 29 % of all the profits, 27 % of the sales, and 24% of the assets of the top 500 corporations. Similarly, the 10 largest banks control 61% of the assets and 60 % of the total deposits of the top 50 banks.

A parallel situation is found in higher education. Of the total endowments of 148 colleges and universities compiled by The Chronicle of Higher Education, (July 31, 1978), the top 10 schools (adding Massachusetts Institute of Technology and University of Rochester to the top 8 on the list above) control 47% and the top 20 controlled 65% of the total \$10.4 billion.

The parallel between the monopoly in industry and finance and monopoly in

A Comparison Of Northwestern With Other Universities

Rank	School	Year Started	Endowment (Millions)	Annual Revenues		Faculty	Undergrad. Students		Black Students	% Blacks	
				1977	1970		1974	1974		1974	1974
1	Harvard	1636	1,456	193	5617	4579	94	2.1			
2	Yale	1703	562	131	2129	4736	267	5.6			
3	Columbia	1758	460	159	3837	4477	322	7.2			
4	Stanford	1885	456	190	1262	6528	304	4.7			
5	Princeton	1746	434	74	772	4336	329	7.6			
6	U of California	1868	367	1089	6000	82623	3148	3.8			
9	U of Chicago	1857	279	240	1192	2280	129	5.7			
11	NORTHWESTERN	1851	248	84	1396	6947	559	8.0			
13	Rice (Texas)	1891	224	23	398	2570	86	3.3			
18	Vanderbilt (Tenn.)	1872	129	69	1184	3060	117	3.8			

Data from American Council on Education, American Universities and Colleges (1971); National Center for Education Statistics, Education Directory: Colleges and Universities (1977-1978); and Office of Civil Rights, Dept of Health Health, Education and Welfare, Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data, 1974; Chronicle of Higher Education.

education is no accident. Directly and indirectly (i.e., through foundations and government) leading imperialist corporations and banks give money to leading universities because these are the major centers in which the key intellectual tasks needed to sustain imperialism are carried out. Thus, the student newspaper Daily Northwestern was correct when it observed: "Northwestern is the house that IBM help built. And Illiniois Bell, Bethlehem Steel, Honeywell, and other corporate donors." The Daily's evidence pointed to the role of large imperialist corporations in financing Northwestern. In fact, Northwestern ranks among the top 10 in the U.S. in corporate gifts, getting some \$3.5 million in 1976-77. And corporate contributors are quite blunt as to why this money is given: "Northwestern turns out trained, skilled manpower, not just to our company, but to our industries." However, most corporations prefer to cover their motivations with a discussion of "social obligations."

Foundations are another conduit of corporate gifts. During the tenure of Northwestern President J. Roscoe Miller (1949-1974), the Ford Foundations gave almost \$17 million for international legal studies, inter-societal issues, urban affairs, a criminal law and police advisory program, African Studies, urban journalism, medical instruction, and faculty salaries.

The U.S. government is the third conduit through which U.S. imperialism funnels money to leading universities. In 1949, outside research funds at NU totalled only \$2.1 million. By 1973-74, this had grown to \$31.3 million with \$27.7 million coming from the U.S. government (up from \$19.4 million in 1970-71).

Analysis of the Northwestern Board of Trustees

A 1977 listing of the Trustees of Northwestern University reveals the vast majority (some 36 of 42 trustees) and listed as chairman, chief executive officers, and/or presidents of industrial corporations, banks, related businesses (law,

accounting) or as independent investors. Of the 23 life trustees (those who reach the retirement age), only two are not identified by such connections. A listing of these and their company or other affiliation follows:

Trustees of Northwestern University

Thomas G. Ayers	Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, Commonwealth Edison Co.
Chairman of the Board	
Karl D. Bays	Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, American Hospital Supply Corporation
P. Goff Beach	Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, Oscar Mayer & Co.
Charles D. Clawson	Agency Manager, Mutual of New York Life Ins. Co.
Franklin A. Cole	Chairman, Walter E. Heller International Corp.
Ivan D. Combe	Chairman, Combe Incorporated
Lester Crown	President, Material Service Corporation
John S. Darling	Retired Partner, Price Waterhouse & Co.
Wesley M. Dixon, Jr.	Civic Leader
William E. Fay, Jr.	Executive Vice President & Director, Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Co, Incorporated
Lavern N. Gaynor	Civic Leader
H. Patrick Hackett, Jr.	Senior Accountant, Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.
Downing B. Jenks	Chairman, Missouri Pacific Corporation
George E. Johnson	President, Johnson Products Co., Inc.
Paul R. Judy	President & Chief Executive Office, The Becker Warburg Paribas Group
Harvey Kapnick	Chairman, Arthur Andersen & Co.
John H. Leslie	Chairman, Signode Corporation
John J. Louis, Jr.	Chairman, Combined Communications Corporations
Charles Deering McCormick	Investor, Miami, Florida
Newton M. Minor	Partner, Sidley & Austin
Graham J. Morgan	Chairman & Chief Executive Officer, United States Gypsum Company
John J. Nevin	Chairman & President, Zenith Radio Corporation
Richard M. Paget	President, Cresap, McCormick and Paget, Inc.
Donald S. Perkins	Chairman, Jewel Companies, INC.
John H. Perkins	President, Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust
Lee Phillip	Women's Director, WBBM-TV
Bryan S. Reid, Jr.	Chairman, Paxall, Inc.
Don H. Reuben	A Senior Partner, Kirkland & Ellis
John S. Runnells, II	Investor, Chicago, Illinois
Leo H. Schoenhofen	Retired Chairman, Marcor, Inc.
Gilbert Hilton Schribner, Jr.	Chairman, Scribner & Company
Daniel C. Searle	Chairman of the Board, G.D.Searle & Co.
Arthur R. Seder, Jr.	Chairman and President, American Natural Resources Co.
Edward Byron Smith	Chairman, The Northern Trust Company
Harold Byron Smith, Jr.	President, Illinois Tool Works, Inc.
John C. Sturgis	Retired Chairman of Executive Committee, Northwestern Memorial Hospital
A. Dean Swift	President, Sears, Roebuck and Company
Edward F. Swift	Vice Chairman, The Chicago Corporation
Ms. Jeanne Edna Thelwell	Ass't District Attorney, Office of the District Attorney, New York County

So what if they have
to arrest people, murder
them in jail, ban most organ-
izations, and shut down the
newspapers for us to make
our PROFITS!



(2) The "closed meeting" supporters refused to see the adversary relationship between the Coalition and the Board of Trustees. After all, they said, "NU Trustees are reasonable people with a great sense of social consciousness. They really want to do right on this issue." This view was supposed to negate the imperialist character of the Board; however, as imperialists their investments in South Africa, and exploitation of the African people and people in the U.S. and all over the world, are independent of their will. The imperialist system dictates it and only cosmetic changes (e.g., the so-called Sullivan code) could be expected from them. Thus, exposing people to the full discussion of the Sell the Stock issue was essential to educating them and laying the basis for the long-term, anti-imperialist struggle that would be necessary. Supporters for the closed meeting included some student government officers, the editors of the Daily Northwestern, and several faculty members.

The issue was debated for several weeks. The Daily Northwestern editorialized (on 4/18/78) that "The divestiture movement has settled into an unfortunate and unnecessary stalemate. Ironically, the protestors themselves are the primary obstruction to progress on the issue." And for a student newspaper, a surprising lack of confidence was exhibited in the political maturity of their fellow students:

Why should the Trustees subject themselves to public abuse in an uncontrollable free-for-all? And what would the Coalition gain from such a confrontation?...Any unstructured meeting will probably include some irrational, and perhaps impertinent student statements, which will only reinforce the trustees opposition to divestiture.

Facts not rhetoric, are needed in the divestiture debate. The coalition's leaders should swallow their pride and meet with the trustees [in a closed meeting].

It is precisely this kind of reasoning which folbws from seeing the Sell the Stock struggle as simply a fight to change university policy and not part of the struggle against imperialism.

To break this impasse, the Coalition issued an open letter to the Trustees (May 30) in which we criticized their refusal to meet openly and reiterated our call for such an open meeting. We made it clear that the Coalition did not stand in the way of the Trustees taking action and proposed a meeting between Trustee representatives and a university wide committee consisting of students, faculty, and staff--both coalition members and non-coalition members.

A serious political error was made here. The timetable of campus struggle is unfortunately tied to the campus calendar. The academic year was ending: students were leaving campus and many activists were becoming inactive because of summer jobs and other reasons. Basically, there were no students left on campus for developing consistent work over the summer from the more active anti-imperialist forces in the Coalition. Thus, the committee was comprised mainly of faculty and staff who did not reflect the militancy of the Sell the Stock campaign up to that point. The orientation of those who were on the committee was more toward discussion and persuasion, of trying to out-argue, out-fact, or out-moralize representatives of imperialism. In fact, one faculty member of the committee agonized over whether a CCFA member would openly call the Trustees imperialists when the committee met and hoped it would not happen.

In addition to not reflecting the more militant anti-imperialist position that had characterized the Coalition's work, the meeting took place in the summer when students were not on campus. Thus, our base of support was absent. We should have anticipated this during the previous months. Both of these points represent serious errors in political judgement by CCFA as a leading force in the Sell the Stock Coalition. Many subsequent problems in Coalition work have followed from these errors.

On June 29, the Committee, which was obviously different from the Coalition, met with Trustees. The imperialist nature of the Trustees was nowhere better demonstrated than by the Trustees who were scheduled to attend:

SELL THE SOUTH AFRICAN STOCK

The Divestiture Struggle at Northwestern University

U.S. OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

by

THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE FOR A FREE AFRICA

October 1978

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AFRICAN STUDIES AT NORTHWESTERN

Finally, we must look at Northwestern's African Studies Program and its relationship to U.S. imperialism. In 1950, U.S. investments in Africa totalled only \$287 million. By 1960, U.S. investments totalled more than \$900 million and the rate of profits in South Africa, for example, had reached 21.3 % in 1957 as compared to the world rate of less than 15%.

It was in this historical context of expanding U.S. imperialism in Africa that African Studies programs emerged as new, seemingly more subtle vehicles for the penetration of the African continent, as the colonialists, missionaries, and mercenaries had done before.

A radical critique called African Studies in America: The Extended Family describes the development of African Studies in the U.S.:

The African studies industry in the United States is a child of the American empire. It developed to meet the needs of ever-expanding U.S. corporate and governmental penetration of Africa. This industry is managed by an extended family of interconnected and incestuous "experts" who, while living in Africa, serve a system pitted against Africa's needs. They are American social scientists, comfortably ensconced in the institutional architecture of the American intellectual environment. Nurtured by foundation and government grants, they operate under the cover of a false neutrality of academic scholarship which permits them to camouflage their ideological biases and the strategic-policy implications of their work.

In the fifteen or so years since the white power structure whole-heartedly "discovered" Africa, these researchers, through well-financed jet-setting safaris, have amassed a mountain of information for filtration through the research apparatus of corporations and government agencies. There it is translated into the languages of consumption or counter-insurgency, or both, and used to formulate strategies aimed at "mobilizing" Africans and controlling their societies. Like the missionaries who "opened up" Africa for subsequent exploitation by a now atrophied colonialism, the West's intellectual missionaries and intelligence-gatherers have, through their research and publishing efforts, training programs, and control over the means of ideology formation, helped shape and perpetuate new frameworks of neo-colonial rule and imperialist domination.

The African Studies Program at Northwestern was started in 1948-49, making it the first formally organized African Studies Program in the United States. Boston University was second in 1953 and UCLA was third in 1959. The founder, Melville Herskovits, was a noted anthropologist, known for his work on the African heritage of Afro-American people, a liberal active in the affairs of the NAACP. His description of the beginnings of the Northwestern program is couched in academic rhetoric, but essentially makes the same point that African Studies was a child of imperialism's interests in dominating Africa's wealth.

The rise of Africa in importance on the world economic and political scene is one of the outstanding episodes of post-war history. In the United States, except for a small group of specialists whose word went largely unheeded, a realization of the nature and significance of these events was slow in coming. It may be said that this point was not wholly reached until 1952, when such dramatic events as the attainment of responsible government in the Gold Coast, the tensions resulting from the presence of militant Afrikaans nationalism with its increasing implementation of the doctrine of apartheid in the Union of South Africa, and the outburst of Kikuyu Mau-Mau violence in Kenya, forced recognition that Africa could no longer be disregarded by American students of world affairs, or by those charged with framing United States policy on the international level.

In fact, the program was more pointed in a later description of African Studies as it related to the designs of U.S. imperialism:

This paucity of experience and knowledge received prominence as Africa became increasingly important in American strategies and actions in World War II. The national need for information and for training in local languages quickly gave rise to crash programs (such as the Army Specialist Training Program and the Army Civil Affairs Training Service). At the same time, Professor Herskovits and other academic specialists on Africa, like Professor William O. Brown (subsequently of Boston University) and Professor Williams Hance of Columbia University, kept to the fore the scholarly implications of non-Western studies and sought ways in which a more academic orientation could be given to them. The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council stimulated conferences during the 1940's to reflect on, plan, and evaluate area studies other than the crash program of the army. The World Areas Committee, a joint committee of these two organizations established in 1945, played a positive and

important role in providing guidelines for the development of African studies.

Foundations and the U.S. government were used by the ruling class to finance African Studies at Northwestern, as well as throughout the U.S. Northwestern's first \$30,000 was from the Carnegie Foundation in 1948-51, and this was followed by a 5 year grant of \$100,000 "to extend and strengthen the work already undertaken." The Ford Foundation, however, has taken over as the leading investor in African Studies. According to its 1975 annual report, Ford has given Northwestern some \$3.1 million for its African Studies program between 1954 and 1974 (and \$4.7 million to UCLA during the same period). In 1970, "of the 18 major African Studies Centers listed by the State department, 13 depend either completely or to a large extent on Ford Funds," according to The Extended Family. Close relations with the U.S. government have also netted Northwestern sizable grants in support of African Studies: \$117,000 from the U.S. Army in 1965; \$35,000 from AID in 1969; and funds from the U.S. Office of Education as a language center.

Under Melville Herskovits (1948 - 63) the efforts of Northwestern's program were to establish itself as a credible center for information about Africa. According to Herskovits, "outside the University...the Program has helped the growth of intelligent interest in Africa in the United States, and what is of major significance, for its future functioning, has built a reputation that has brought it the good will and cooperation of those Africans and Europeans who are concerned with African Affairs in Africa itself, and its Metropolitan Center." The fact is that extensive information--basic information about the peoples, cultures and resources of Africa--was precisely what U.S. imperialism needed in 1950s. The world revolutionary upsurge after the Chinese Revolution in 1949, the disintegration of European colonialism, and the rise of the independence struggle in Africa made a network to monitor and assess developments regarding Africa absolutely essential. This is illustrated by a major project of Herskovits and his colleagues in 1959:

a special study on U.S. foreign policy toward Africa submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which stressed the rapidly changing African situation and the need for better intelligence.

Under the direction of Gwendolen Carter (1963- 74), however, U.S. interest in Africa had matured and imperialism had a more definite agenda and design for penetration. Carter, a political scientist specializing in "Southern African Nationalist movements," was a key figure orchestrating the efforts of U.S. "Africanists" on behalf of U.S. imperialism. A grant for \$117,000 which she obtained from the U.S. Army in 1965 was used to finance the Africa Research Committee based at Northwestern. This unit organized a series of specialist conferences on such topics as research in the West Indian Ocean, priorities for psychological research, migration, unemployment, and urban research, and information gathering. The recommendations were discussed by a final conference of representatives from the Ford and Carnegie Foundations, AID, Department of Defense, and others. What emerged was a special Research Liason Committee of the African Studies Association (ASA) with \$140,000 of Ford Foundation money to monitor Africa research in the U.S. Gwendolen Carter was also known for her abilities to get highly sensitive information regarding the African Liberation movements.

Since the departure of Carter, African Studies at Northwestern has suffered a decline, reflecting the impact of reduced foundation funding and the fact that the U.S. ruling class was forced to develop a new plan for using the academy to help penetrate Africa after the 1969 Montreal conference of The African Studies Association (ASA). The disruption exposed imperialism and racism in ASA at the same time that African countries were becoming more sensitive to this penetration.

Northwestern's importance in African Studies is underscored by the fact that the first meeting of the African Studies Association took place at Northwestern in 1958. Melville Herskovits was elected its first president and Carter succeeded

him. In 1969, the Montreal conference was disrupted by Africans, Afro-Americans, and other progressive people charging the ASA with racism and operating against Africa in the interest of U.S. imperialism. This made the use of the ASA by imperialism more difficult but not impossible. These exposures and the growing anti-imperialist struggle (coupled with others like Michigan State in Vietnam) made many African Studies Programs less than effective.

One of the key roles of African Studies programs in the U.S. is to train Africans to serve the needs of U.S. imperialism when they return home, or at least be "sympathetic" to the goals of U.S. foreign policy. A report by the African-American Institute (itself a known recipient of CIA and corporate funds) inadvertently outlined the key to this task in a 1967 survey of African students in the U.S.:

Two-thirds of the African students at U.S. universities are undergraduates--some of whom might equally well be educated in African universities. Almost 50 percent are majoring in courses in the humanities or social sciences which are unlikely to qualify them immediately for the tasks of nation-building. Only 18 percent are studying engineering, and fewer than 10 percent each are majoring in agriculture or a medical science--subjects urgently required for African economic and social growth.

Thus, African students in the U.S. are trained not in the technical subjects but in ideological matters. They are given the kind of indoctrination--albeit under the guise of objective social science training, etc.--that will shape their response to U.S. penetration in a most positive way when they return home.

Northwestern's African Studies Program boasts of the number of its "trainees" who return home and "do good" for U.S. imperialism. The most revealing exposé is a quote from Gwendolen Carter:

I have a very good impression of Befakadu (former Ethiopian student at Northwestern). Obviously his time with us did him a great deal of good and he has come back much more mature, enlightened and effective. He has recently been promoted to Vice-Minister for Economic and Social Affairs in the Prime

Minister's office, and is one of our four or five who are closest to the Prime Minister.

Other Northwestern African students between 1948 and 1968 became Minister of Education and Attorney General in Uganda, Economic Advisor to the Nigerian government, and took important posts in government and education. A noted exception, however, Eduardo Mondlane, one of the founders of FRELIMO, the liberation organization which led the struggle for an independent Mozambique, who got a PH.D. in Sociology.

Overall for the 154 African students at Northwestern University between 1948 and 1968, this is the distribution:

Nigeria	18% (28)
Egypt	16% (24)
Sudan	15% (15)
South Africa	12% (19)
Ghana, Liberia, Kenya	11% (7)
Ethiopia	5% (8)

In summation, Northwestern University had the history and current character to set the stage for a significant confrontation. It is clear that Northwestern Trustees are imperialist and run Northwestern as an imperialist institution. Furthermore, this relates to Africa indirectly (stock in companies that are in South Africa) and directly (an African Studies Program that has served imperialism well, whether this is always done intentionally or not). This had developed over the whole history of U.S. monopoly capitalism, the past 100 years or so. The struggles during the 1977-78 academic year are significant, but really only amount to a call to arms. Before it is over, thousands of students (and some faculty) will pour into the streets and seize the University in the name of freedom. For now we must turn to a summation of the struggles we have waged thus far so that our lessons might guide us in the future.

THE BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION*

The initial work on the Northwestern University campus which laid the basis for the "Sell the Stock" struggle was the struggle to stop the sale of the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand.

The Ban the Krugerrand Campaign.

Consistent with its overall theme of "FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE USA (UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA) TO THE USA (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA), CCFA (then the Organizing Committee for a New ALSC) took up the struggle as a main area of work. In taking up this work, it was important to develop a common and unified view of the campaign--the main political objectives and approach to the work. The following sums up the political line of CCFA, as put forward in several internal newsletters which guided the building of the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition.

(1) The main theme of FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE USA TO THE USA provided the overall context for the campaign and was always the frame of reference. We did not want to become little Krugerrand committees, but rather to implement our general slogan. We wanted to make a real battle out of fighting the Krugerrand.

(2) The way to make a big battle out of the Krugerrand campaign was to coordinate our general educational work with concrete struggle. It was to be anchored in a concrete investigation of who sells the Krugerrand and where the most vulnerable and visible targets were. While we could not drive the Krugerrand out of the country at this time, it would be possible to make a real right out of driving it out of a particular bank or store.

(3) In terms of education, a campaign rooted in the fight against the Krugerrand

*Note: Many of the documents and events reported in the next two sections are found in the Appendices A and B.

was the basis for our general educational work. Nor only did the Krugerrand enable us to get a good view of how imperialism works, but it specifically helped us to expose the collaboration of Jimmy Carter with the Vorster regime of apartheid in South Africa.

(4) Regional demonstrations would be held in December under the slogan, STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND! VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA! On the one hand, this would enable us to build very broad coalitions which involved many groups that are not normally associated with this kind of political work. On the other hand, CCFA could carry out militant struggle, hold its own forums, and struggle with people in a fraternal way to win them over to complete political unity with CCFA.

(5) Materials provided for the Ban the Krugerrand Campaign included a draft letter to send to all coalition members, a national button, a national poster, and a Krugerrand fact sheet.

Because CCFA was a city wide chapter, area committee work (Southside, Westside, Evanston-Northwestern, etc.) was an essential bridge into local areas, and provided a more effective context for political education and to develop local leadership. Many people in CCFA were on campuses--as students or as teachers--so campus work was part of CCFA's overall plan of building broad support for African liberation struggles throughout Chicago, especially among Black people.

Building the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition at Northwestern involved two aspects: (a) Building the coalition from the top down: Initial efforts were made to indentify and obtain endorsements of key leaders in all sectors of Northwestern. This was viewed as a bridge to getting in touch with the constituencies of these initial endorsers. (b) Building the Coalition from the bottom up: The most important aspect was getting the largest number of people informed about the struggle in Southern Africa, and involved in the campaign. A key element in this was mobi-

lizing a small group of activists who could take the discussion of the Krugerrand campaign out broadly, educating people and obtaining endorsements and support at the same time. This also took the form of public educational forums: a slide show, several films, and discussion of CCFA and the anti-Krugerrand campaign. Not only were the facts of the South African struggle discussed, but people were educated about what role they could play in the struggle. In addition, faculty teaching "Africa-related" courses who had endorsed the Coalition were asked to allow film showings and discussions in their classes.

In sum, using these two approaches enabled us to build a Ban the Krugerrand Coalition with broad endorsements and active participation from a cross-section of University students, faculty, staff, administrators, and community residents.

The initial national letter was the main vehicle for building the Coalition. The letter included a brief summation of the escalating repression in South Africa and pointed to the role of the U.S. government and U.S. corporations in supporting minority rule. It stressed unity in action around two slogans: STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND! and VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA! These slogans provided a concrete basis for people of different political views to join and work together. For example, it was not necessary to be clear on imperialism and to be consciously anti-imperialist to join the Coalition. But the discussion about imperialism was a theme of the Coalition's work, especially for the work of CCFA.

The letter also stressed the importance of concrete action--the regional demonstrations on December 3rd, 1977. The Krugerrand aspect of the slogan raised our immediate target of struggle. VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!, however, was more strategic and enabled us to explain that the end of the Krugerrand sales would be a political blow to South Africa but would not defeat imperialism and the oppression of the people that it causes. Thus, our actions must be beyond the immediate struggles against the Krugerrand in support of the African liberation

struggle.

The question of anti-imperialist education must be raised as a self-criticism of CCFA. Opposition to the role of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower was downplayed. During the period when things were heating up in the Horn, a representative from the National CCFA Steering Committee had been invited to speak and explain the Krugerrand. Questions were asked about CCFA's view of the Soviet Union in Africa. Coalition members complained that this was off the main point--that point being the Krugerrand--when actually it was a view with which they disagreed. Later that week, when the Soviet Union was expelled from Somalia, many Coalition members then expressed a new understanding about the need for broad political education about unfolding developments in Africa, including the negative, imperialist role of the Soviet Union. Thus, on such questions where there are political disagreements within the Coalition, CCFA must avoid "left" errors--forcing its views on others--and right errors--not raising the political differences at all. It must consistently exercise its right to independence and initiative and structure its own forums for full discussions.

Demonstrations: Consistent with the political line of CCFA, education through struggle was our main approach to the Krugerrand campaign (as compared to an educational process that is divorced from concrete practice and struggle). To cut through the isolation from Chicago and from struggles affecting the broader society experienced by Northwestern students, CCFA organized the participation of Northwestern students in the weekly anti-Krugerrand demonstrations. Weekly demonstrations were being staged at Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., a large Chicago department store selling the Krugerrand. A core group of Northwestern students working with CCFA were involved in these demonstrations and brought others out. This participation (often sporadic) continued through later demonstrations at First National Bank.

An investigation was made of Krugerrand outlets in Evanston as possible tar-

gets of demonstrations. Four alternatives were identified: 2 banks, Merrill-Lynch, and a small coin shop. CCFA pushed for a demonstration at the banks, especially since banks represent the main aspect of imperialist capital. Also, Northwestern had close ties to State National Bank, our main target: many students bank there; it has automated tellers on the Northwestern campus center; Northwestern payroll checks are prepared there; etc.

A struggle developed inside the Coalition: should we send a team to the banks and Merrill Lynch to negotiate first or should our demonstrations let them know that we oppose what is going on in South Africa and their support through the sale of the Krugerrand? CCFA tried to make sure that a clear understanding was developed on two points. (a) Imperialism is a world-wide system that will yield only to struggle and not to idle threats and polite negotiations. The best example is how the liberation movements have been forced to take up armed struggle. (b) Krugerrand sales might be ended at one bank by sending a delegation which threatened "further action" like massive student boycotts or bank withdrawals (which were being planned), but only struggle would strike the decisive blow (as our thirteen weeks of demonstrations at Carson, Pirie, Scott in downtown Chicago proved).

After this discussion, the meetings at the Evanston banks and Merrill Lynch were arranged with Coalition representatives. An open letter (consisting of 80% of the Coalition letter drafted by National CCFA) was sent to the banks. This letter was circulated broadly on campus to rally support for this aspect of the campaign.

The results reflected this political struggle. Both banks stopped sales of the coin, but continued to refer customers to outlets in Chicago. Merrill Lynch simply distributed a mimeographed statement which its national office has prepared in response to increasing demonstrations at its offices across the U.S. Because of this intense struggle, Merrill Lynch eventually ended Krugerrand sales as well.

The main point here is that the demonstrations represented concrete struggle. They represented taking some abstract ideas about the negative role of U.S. imperialism in Africa and trying to change the world by striking some blows against one way in which imperialism supported minority rule and apartheid in South Africa.

The culmination of the Ban the Krugerrand campaign was the series of regional demonstrations on December 3rd. Thus, the weekly demonstrations were a more effective way to educate people as a build-up for the big mobilization of December 3rd, instead of attempting to get people involved on a one shot basis. In addition, the big regional mobilization provided the context for us to concentrate our forces in a big way and make a more significant statement about our opposition to U.S. imperialism in Africa.

The real test of CCFA's work in building the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition at Northwestern was how many people were mobilized for the December 3rd regional demonstration. About 80 people from Northwestern/Evanston participated in the march-- we filled a big bus! Many students, being involved in a city-wide demonstration for the first time and knowing that other campuses were involved, felt that Northwestern has to "make a good showing" at a city wide demonstration.

In sum, Northwestern's participation was a lively and spirited one and was a contribution to the overall Krugerrand campaign. Many people who participated were not consolidated around the political importance of the campaign and thus their participation was short-lived. And a core of activists did not emerge to give the consistent leadership required for future campaigns. These two shortcomings would influence later work.

CCFA had become the leading organized, but the movement remained amorphous and with limited "strike force" potential. We had succeeded in activating some students, but we had not "turned out" the campus. Relative to the current levels of student struggle in the Chicago area, the struggle at Northwestern had a good

impact on students. The main shortcoming is that we did not consolidate very many general activists and transform them into organizers. So the "Ban the Krugerrand" campaign was a good struggle; however, we were more prepared for quantitative advances and not the qualitative leap in struggle we had hoped for.

6

THE COALITION TO OPPOSE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY'S INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The struggle against the Krugerrand ended with a victory! In Chicago, after 13 consecutive weeks of demonstrations, Carson, Pirie, Scott announced that it would no longer sell the Krugerrand. In Evanston, two local banks ended their sales as a result of pressure from the Coalition. Northwestern students and faculty had been involved in both struggles.

The key to the next campaign--the Sell the Stock Struggle--is to be found in the political line of CCFA during the Krugerrand campaign. (1) The combination of the short term (tactical) slogan "Ban the Krugerrand" and the long term (strategic) slogan "Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa" was constantly reiterated. This meant that after the culmination of the Krugerrand struggle imperialism would still be exploiting and oppressing the African peoples and that a continuing struggle against other aspects of imperialism was necessary.

(2) The focus on Northwestern's investments as an aspect of U.S. imperialism in Africa and as a target of struggle was raised by CCFA from the beginning of the Krugerrand campaign. For example, in a statement which CCFA drafted after the murder of Steve Biko in October 1977, we said:

...We call on all freedom loving people to translate into concrete action their righteous indignation that grows with each day of increasing repression. We call on the people of Evanston and NU to initiate specific actions in support of the struggle for freedom, justice, and equality in South Africa....

As universities across the United States are doing, NU has a responsibility to critically review and alter any of its investments and research which operate against human rights and to strengthen minority rule in South Africa.

This theme was echoed on several occasions. In fact, the core group of activists working with CCFA had decided that university investments was an important area of work and were making plans to organize a study-action program focussing on imperialism, the imperialist character of the University, and Northwestern's role in Southern Africa.

It is in relation to this conscious and deliberate activity by CCFA that we must understand the "spontaneous" emergence of the Sell the Stock Struggle at Northwestern. In early November, several Black Northwestern students who had attended a CCFA forum on October 2, 1977 - "The Crisis in Southern Africa and What We Can Do About It" - and who were becoming active in CCFA's work, questioned Northwestern President Strotz about the university's policy on investments in corporations doing business in Southern Africa. His response was that such questions were best left to Congressional legislation and that Northwestern students or trustees had no right to raise moral questions about the University's stock portfolio. The primary purpose of the stock was to make money, pure and simple.

Strotz was invited by the Black Student Organization (FMO) to pursue this response and to deal with other questions which affect Black students. Again, quite blatantly, he repeated his assertion that the University would take no action on the stock issue. This was a slap in the face to Northwestern Black students causing many to discuss possible courses of action to struggle against this policy. Black students had become concerned about the Bakke decision, cutbacks in financial aid, the dismissal of several Black faculty and several other issues. For example, Strotz also stated at the same session that Northwestern had failed in its affirmative action hiring goals and had lowered its goals for 1980 so that meeting them would be easier. This was very important given CCFA's position that the same world-wide system of imperialism which causes the oppression in Africa was at the root of the growing attacks on Black people in the United States.

The initial response by CCFA was a leaflet protesting the refusal by the University to sell the South Africa stock, or even to engage in a discussion of the issue. The leaflet sought to unite the masses of people at Northwestern by isolating the imperialists on the Northwestern Board of Trustees and their chief

administrator as the problem, as placing the entire University on the side of modern slavery and apartheid in South Africa. It pointed to the imperialist interests on the Board of Trustees: \$75 million in South African investments and a large number of board members who were also board members of imperialist corporations with investments in South Africa.

The leaflet stressed the importance of studying and struggling against imperialism (theory) and it called a meeting to discuss forming a Coalition to Oppose Northwestern University's Investments in South Africa (practice). Shortly afterwards, CCFA initiated a petition which put forward the correct slogans for a broad based coalition: SELL THE STOCK! U.S. OUT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA! SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE!

The lesson from the struggles against the Krugerrand were applied here. That is, while the immediate issue was the sale of the South African stock, the longer-term strategic view was the full victory of the African peoples over imperialism, and our support for their struggles. This would become an important point as the struggle unfolded.

BLACK UNITY IN ACTION

The University president's presence in the Black House reflected that growing concern and frustration of Black students at elite Northwestern. Northwestern students have a history of struggle on the campus. A dramatic 1968 takeover of the business office led to the creation of a Black Studies program and increased admission of Black students. However, 1977-78 was a year of attacks against the gains of the 1960's and early 1970's nationwide, and a similar pattern existed at Northwestern. Thus, the growing unity of action around the South African stock issue signalled for many a return to the spirit of struggle that characterized 1968. And this basis of struggle was much broader than the South Africa issue, and included concerns about the increasing attacks on Black people at Northwestern

and in the U.S.

CCFA's overall political line--FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE USA (UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA) TO THE USA (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA) could be applied very sharply in this instance. We could link what was happening to Black people in the U.S. to what imperialism was doing to Black people in Africa. For example, there was a 10% increase in tuition and a feared reduction in financial aid for 1978. Most of the Black students were on financial aid and this situation would have forced many students out of Northwestern, or put them under a big debt. A statement by a top administrator blamed the tuition increase, in part, on increased utility costs. CCFA pointed out that the chairman of the Northwestern Trustee Board, Thomas G. Ayers, was also chairman of the Board of Commonwealth Edison which had consistently raised utility rates in 1977, though his company was making bigger profits. Not only did Ayers decide on Northwestern investments in South Africa, he sits as one of five Northwestern Trustees on the Board of First National Bank which still sells the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand and makes bank loans to South Africa. Thus, the ability of Black students and all students to attend Northwestern is directly connected to the doings of the same imperialists who ravage the peoples of Southern Africa.

A key force in mobilizing Black support for the Coalition was the Black Student organization, For Members Only (FMO). Its leadership became active with CCFA because it wanted to break through the political isolation of Black students on the Northwestern campus. This is important because few of the stock struggles on campuses in the U.S. have had Black students in the leadership, though most African Liberation support work was led by Blacks during the peak of African Liberation support work in the early 1970's. Northwestern's African Students Organization also contributed to building broad unity around the demands of the Coalition.

Another significant factor was the consistent involvement of Black faculty, staff, and administrators. Discussion of the stock issue occurred almost weekly at regular meetings, where many recalled their own involvement in the late 1960's and early 1970's. This support crystallized on March 3 in a full page paid ad in the Daily Northwestern. The statement did not focus on imperialism as the cause of Africa 's problems, but was couched in terms of moral argument and raised the contradiction between what Northwestern says it stands for and what, in fact, its practice demonstrates.

We believe that the system of apartheid now practiced in South Africa is based on racist principles that are morally abhorrent to all civilized society. We believe that a withdrawal of all support from this repugnant system is not a mere act of "social judgement"...but a matter of fundamental moral choice that we can no longer escape... Both as a symbol of opposition to an inhuman system and as a small, but significant measure for combating this evil, we urge the trustees of Northwestern University to take steps towards a speedy and complete divestiture of stocks now owned by Northwestern in companies that have South African investments.

In addition, Black faculty wrote several letters that were published in the campus newspapers and facilitated the work of the Coalition in several important ways.

Black people in Chicago and in Evanston took an active interest in the Northwestern coalition. Many expressed surprise that Northwestern Black students would spearhead such a struggle. Petitions were circulated by students at University of Illinois, Chicago Circle and at Chicago State University, and at community meetings. Film showings and talks were scheduled in Evanston. One serious shortcoming of the work of the Coalition was that it was mainly confined to the Northwestern campus and the potential support among Black people in Evanston was virtually untapped.

UNITY IN ACTION SWEEPS THE CAMPUS

While the Sell the Stock struggle was in full gear, a discussion of "race

relations" at Northwestern was spurred by a series of articles in the campus newspaper. While some people held meetings and agonized over getting Blacks and whites together, the practice of the Coalition was demonstrating that the unity of Black people and whites in struggle over concrete issues was possible. It was also pointed out that, in this case, Black people could unite and lead a united movement of people from all nationalities.

The Associated Student Government took up the stock issue . It passed a bill that called on the University's Trustees to sell stock in 17 companies with business ties to South Africa. The Black student organizations amended the bill and called on ASG to formally join the Coalition. ASG also sponsored a campus wide referendum on the question and a small majority of those who voted support the Coalition's call for divestiture. The vote, in part, reflects the failure of the Coalition to actively take up the referendum and to educate students about the importance of a vote in favor of the university selling its stock. ASG's leadership also actively participated in several coalition meetings and demonstrations. In early October, 1978, ASG vacillated in its demand for divestiture although it is legally bound by the referendum. This indicates that in the absence of struggle the more conservative concerns of petty campus politics will dominate.

The student paper, the Daily Northwestern, played an essential role in exposing the University's role in Southern Africa and keeping Northwestern students and faculty and staff informed about the struggle against the Trustees. Its editorials also supported the Coalition's call for the Trustees to act by selling the South African stock.

Struggles over the political direction of the Coalition developed with the ASG leadership and with the Daily (through its editorials). A Daily editorial blamed the Coalition for preventing the Trustees from acting by insisting on an open meeting. The leadership of the Coalition argued that this was a concession

to an old ploy of keeping important issues away from the public and increasing the opportunities for manipulation. A subsequent editorial supported the views of the Coalition on this point. On several occasions, student government leaders appeared to speak for the entire Coalition. CCFA's position was that the independence of each organization in the Coalition allowed anyone to speak out. But what the Coalition stands for should be made clear and any differences must be ironed out on the basis of principled struggle.

The cutting edge of the Coalition's work, however, were the demonstrations. It was in the context of demonstrations and preparing for them that the sharpest political understanding was developed. Three main demonstrations were held.

(1) George Johnson, President of Johnson Products and a Black Northwestern Trustee, was quoted in the paper as saying, "To call for the immediate divestiture of those stocks would cost Northwestern money and contribute to a tuition increase because stock prices are low." This statement angered many Black people on the Northwestern campus. Johnson "clarified" his position after a threatened demonstration in front of his offices on Chicago's Southside. The general sentiment was that as a Black person and as a small capitalist that felt the sting of racism and imperialism, he should be strong in favor of the slogans "Sell the South African Stock" and "Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa." Many people felt that because he was Black, a demonstration to win his full support was incorrect. In a meeting with forty students and faculty (80% Black), he clarified his position and issued a statement which read: "Let it be clearly understood at the outset that I am absolutely opposed to and deplore...the extraordinarily oppressive racial practices presently promulgated in the Union of South Africa." He went on to support the Coalition's "call for immediate and prudent divestment of stocks and bonds or other relationships with corporations doing business with or in South Africa," and to try and arrange a meeting between the Coalition and University Trustees.

(2) American Hospital and Supply Corporations (AHSC), headquartered a few blocks from Northwestern, has a plant in South Africa and is the largest block of stock that Northwestern owns--over \$15million. Several AHSC board members are Northwestern Trustees, and AHSC's founder, Foster McGaw, had donated millions of dollars to Northwestern. AHSC was our target in pointing out how imperialism functions in Africa and the role Northwestern trustees and their imperialist corporations play in South Africa. The demonstration was a success. More than 70 people (about 50% Black) held a spirited rally at the administration building and marched to AHSC's office chanting "Freedom Now for African People," and "Shut it Down, Shut it Down!" The leaflet of the Coalition was drafted by Northwestern students who were becoming active with CCFA and put forward this view of the Sell the Stock struggle:

Corporations like AHSC make great profits off the oppression of the South African masses by acting as leading agents in the international system of imperialism. Imperialism is the worldwide system which rips off the masses of people at home in the U.S., and abroad in South Africa, and maintains unequal economic and political relationships through force and coercion.

We of the Coalition call on all progressive people to stand tall against the fat-cat corporations which exploit the struggling people of Southern Africa for the love of profits...We demand

SHUT DOWN THE PLANT! U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA!
NU DIVEST IN CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA! SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE!

(3) Protesting President Strotz' racist charge that the Coalition's efforts were "press gimmicks," 75 coalition members stormed his office after a rally chanting, "Victory to the People of Southern Africa," and "Sell the Stock." He refused to meet.

STRUGGLE WITH THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Coalition demanded an open meeting with representatives of the Northwestern Board of Trustees because our aim was broad education and involvement of the people of Northwestern. We refused a "behind closed doors" meeting where a few "leaders" would discuss all the issues with the Board. But imperialism does not like to ex-

pose itself to such open debate and public scrutiny, and therefore expected us to bow to their wishes.

Thus, the open meeting/closed meeting issue was a subject of debate. Two different views emerged on the question: (1) One group of Coalition supporters, including CCFA, viewed the political education of the people of Northwestern as primary. An open meeting would expose the role of imperialism at Northwestern and its role in the Sell the Stock issue.

The NU Board of Trustees is dominated by board members of corporations doing business in South Africa: five from First National Bank and three from Continental Bank both of which seel the Krugerrand and make loans to South Africa, from G.D.Searle, from American Hospital Supply, and many others who sit as directors of corporations with business in South Africa.

We think that these trustees reflect the policies their corporations have stated especially during the past several months. We are not as naive as to think that these policies can be quickly reversed by a closed meeting with "leaders" of the coalition. (Northwestern Daily 4/21/78)

We preferred an open clash of different views in public because we know (and demonstrated in confrontations with the U.S. State Department representative and others) that our views served the freedom struggle in South African and would rally mass support:

Either we would all learn that the seemingly uninformed and shallow statements of some trustees favoring continued NU investment in South Africa cannot withstand the heat of fact and counter-argument. Or we will learn that the trustees are genuinely interested in exercising a sense of social responsibility on this issue.

The coalition is not standing in the way of a decision to sell the stock, or a public expression that the trustees are interested in selling the stock in a prudent manner. Such a plan would seek not to harm NU's financial health, but end NU's support for South African apartheid.

Several NU administrators and NU trustees were bold enough to make statements opposing selling the stock. Let them now be bold enough to come out from behind the Daily's headlines and speak openly and frankly debate their views with all concerned. (Northwestern Daily, 4/21/78)

(2) The "closed meeting" supporters refused to see the adversary relationship between the Coalition and the Board of Trustees. After all, they said, "NU Trustees are reasonable people with a great sense of social consciousness. They really want to do right on this issue." This view was supposed to negate the imperialist character of the Board; however, as imperialists their investments in South Africa, and exploitation of the African people and people in the U.S. and all over the world, are independent of their will. The imperialist system dictates it and only cosmetic changes (e.g., the so-called Sullivan code) could be expected from them. Thus, exposing people to the full discussion of the Sell the Stock issue was essential to educating them and laying the basis for the long-term, anti-imperialist struggle that would be necessary. Supporters for the closed meeting included some student government officers, the editors of the Daily Northwestern, and several faculty members.

The issue was debated for several weeks. The Daily Northwestern editorialized (on 4/18/78) that "The divestiture movement has settled into an unfortunate and unnecessary stalemate. Ironically, the protestors themselves are the primary obstruction to progress on the issue." And for a student newspaper, a surprising lack of confidence was exhibited in the political maturity of their fellow students:

Why should the Trustees subject themselves to public abuse in an uncontrollable free-for-all? And what would the Coalition gain from such a confrontation?...Any unstructured meeting will probably include some irrational, and perhaps impertinent student statements, which will only reinforce the trustees opposition to divestiture.

Facts not rhetoric, are needed in the divestiture debate. The coalition's leaders should swallow their pride and meet with the trustees [in a closed meeting].

It is precisely this kind of reasoning which follows from seeing the Sell the Stock struggle as simply a fight to change university policy and not part of the struggle against imperialism.

To break this impasse, the Coalition issued an open letter to the Trustees (May 30) in which we criticized their refusal to meet openly and reiterated our call for such an open meeting. We made it clear that the Coalition did not stand in the way of the Trustees taking action and proposed a meeting between Trustee representatives and a university wide committee consisting of students, faculty, and staff--both coalition members and non-coalition members.

A serious political error was made here. The timetable of campus struggle is unfortunately tied to the campus calendar. The academic year was ending: students were leaving campus and many activists were becoming inactive because of summer jobs and other reasons. Basically, there were no students left on campus for developing consistent work over the summer from the more active anti-imperialist forces in the Coalition. Thus, the committee was comprised mainly of faculty and staff who did not reflect the militancy of the Sell the Stock campaign up to that point. The orientation of those who were on the committee was more toward discussion and persuasion, of trying to out-argue, out-fact, or out-moralize representatives of imperialism. In fact, one faculty member of the committee agonized over whether a CCFA member would openly call the Trustees imperialists when the committee met and hoped it would not happen.

In addition to not reflecting the more militant anti-imperialist position that had characterized the Coalition's work, the meeting took place in the summer when students were not on campus. Thus, our base of support was absent. We should have anticipated this during the previous months. Both of these points represent serious errors in political judgement by CCFA as a leading force in the Sell the Stock Coalition. Many subsequent problems in Coalition work have followed from these errors.

On June 29, the Committee, which was obviously different from the Coalition, met with Trustees. The imperialist nature of the Trustees was nowhere better demonstrated than by the Trustees who were scheduled to attend:

- Chairman of Commonwealth Edison and board member of First National Bank, Zenith Sears, and G.D.Searle;
- Former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, a corporate lawyer with Sidley and Austin, on the board of Aetna Insurance and of the Public Broadcasting Service;
- A top corporate lawyer, specializing in utilities with Sidley and Austin which shares office building with First National Bank and Commonwealth Edison;
- A communications company president, owned a Black-oriented radio station in Chicago that was at that moment being fought by the Black community;
- President of Zenith which had earlier thrown thousands out of work by closing several plants and moving them to Mexico and Taiwan who also sat on the Board of First National Bank and Illinois Bell;
- President of Jewel Foods who sat on the board of Inland Steel, Morgan Guaranty and Trust, and Eastman Kodak; (he could not attend and was replaced by another corporate lawyer);

Thus, we were facing a tightly knit, interlocking group of capitalists who obviously had years of experience in cooperating with each other and protecting their imperialist interests. This fact must be clear to everyone engaged in the Sell the Stock struggle. (It is also important to point out that First National Bank was attacked with weekly demonstrations during the summer by CCFA over loans to South Africa and selling the Krugerrand.)

Two positions emerged during the meeting: (1) The committee was united around selling the South African stock as one blow we could fight for and win in support of the people of Southern Africa. Its presentation laid out a view of the South African situation, the unity of Black and whites on campus regarding the issue, and the need for immediate action by the Trustees. It also stressed that the question in South Africa was not an end to apartheid's petty discrimination, but winning of full democratic and national rights for the Azanian (South African) masses.

(2) The Trustees were, of course, "genuinely concerned about and opposed to the racial policies of the South African government." But they claimed that they could do nothing about the South African issue because evil was so rampant in the world--people who opposed what was going on in Northern Ireland, in the Soviet

Union, and what imperialism was doing to the environment would all expect them to sell the relevant stock if they sold the South African stock. They also put the blame on the U.S. government which they claimed had failed to provide sufficient guidance to U.S. capitalists with regards to their support for the policies of the South African government.

This is an admission by the Board of Trustees that it is so much apart of the imperialist system that if it gave in to the demands of one set of forces focusing one one part of the world, then it might be expected to do the same for other parts of the world. The logic of this would mean that we were asking the University to divest its stock in South African-based companies, and they responded that they could not divest in everything and still make a profit. Moreover, to target the government is to pass the buck, while these same corporations are jacking up the government with lobbyists, campaign contributions, and other forms of control.

Perhaps the key point in the meeting was a suggestion by one faculty member that there were other actions short of complete divestiture but leading toward divestiture that could be taken by the Trustees as a way of opposing minority rule in South Africa.

In concluding the meeting, the Trustees flatly refused a joint study committee and said that they would announce a position before the beginning of classes in late September. The Coalition was invited to furnish any relevant study documents as it had for this initial meeting, and did so.

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In response to the struggle waged by the Sell the Stock forces, the Board of Trustees, at its September meeting, adopted the report submitted by the committee of Trustees which met with the Coalition's committee earlier in the summer. (Reprinted in appendix C). In brief, the Trustees stated their intention to:

(1) Call to the attention of corporations and banks in which the University has significant investments its deep concern over the racist policies of the South African government and to inquire about corporate policies toward apartheid in South Africa. The Board of Trustees also stated that it "should divest the University's holdings in that company of bank... if it is determined that (it) is supporting apartheid."

(2) As individuals, some Trustees will lobby the U.S. government to be more consistent in its policies regarding human rights, encouraging a firmer policy against minority rule in South Africa including the implementation of economic sanction against the illegal minority regime in South Africa as has been done against other countries;

(3) Support a major university-wide conference on the subject of the responsibilities of corporations and the U.S. government with regard to ending apartheid in South Africa.

(4) Establishing a fellowship program to support graduate study by non-white South Africans.

This announcement is a clear victory for the Coalition to Oppose NU's Investments in South Africa and the many people who are committed to seeing VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA become a reality! The statement by the Board of Trustees is a step in the right direction which comes after many months of sustained interest, committment, and struggle by many people.

A brief response to the NU Trustee proposal is necessary. The heart of the

statement revolves around this point: "If it is determined that any company or bank in which the University invests is supporting apartheid, the Board of Trustees should divest the University's holding in that company or bank forthwith." The role of U.S. imperialism in supporting apartheid has been more than amply proven. Since the Sharpsville massacre in 1961, U.S. banks have led all others in providing the capital which South Africa government and South African corporations need to expand and U.S. corporations are now South Africa's leading trade partner. In stating the issue as it has, the NU Trustees seek to tie the Coalition up in an endless morass of figuring out just who does and who does not support apartheid. The answer is really quite simple: U.S. IMPERIALISM SUPPORTS APARTHEID. The NU Trustees, given their role as presidents, chairmen, and chief executive officers of many of the leading imperialist corporations and banks doing business with the apartheid system are as clear on this fact as anyone. To conclude otherwise, they must ignore the evidence, not just from liberation organizations and the South African people, but from such "safe" sources as the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations as summarized in the Clark Report:

... there is no question that (U.S. economic interests) has been pivotal in directly assisting the South African Government during its worst economic difficulties in the past, and, if permitted, could do so in the future. International credit provided the margin of funds needed by South Africa in the 1974-76 period to finance its military buildup, 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. Collectively, U.S. corporations operating in South Africa have made no significant impact on either relaxing apartheid or in establishing company policies which would offer a limited but nevertheless important model of multinational responsibility. Rather, the net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's apartheid regime....

Thus, to raise as a question whether or not the U.S. corporations and banks in which NU has investments support apartheid is too blatant an attempt to spread confusion and divert the struggle away from its rightful target--U.S. imperialism--and into endless hours of conferences, debates, and library research. This is

supposed to end in meetings with representatives of imperialism who do not have it within their power "to change their minds." U.S. imperialism cannot willingly end its support for apartheid and white minority rule in South Africa.

The Trustee statement also distorts the role of the U.S. government in facilitating U.S. corporate exploitation and oppression in South Africa. Passing the buck, Northwestern Trustees state :

We find that one basic reason for the vast differences concerning appropriate policy for investments in South Africa is the total absence of any clearly announced policy on this subject by our government....President Carter and the Congress must articulate a clear policy on South Africa to eliminate the present uncertainty and confusion concerning South African policy and the resulting public controversy.

The opposite of this view is true: the U.S. government historically has consistently demonstrated that it operates to assure the continued domination of U.S. imperialism over the peoples and resources of Africa. The support of Portugal through NATO and directly, the Byrd amendment which violated U.N. sanctions and allowed the importation of chrome ore from Rhodesia, the continued sale of the Krugerrand in the U.S., the refusal to end investments in South Africa, and the recent visit of Ian Smith and his puppets bear testimony to this. This is the policy that the capitalist owners of banks and corporations have dictated to the U.S. government (though there are serious differences among them as to the best way to continue their domination).

To conclude, as the Northwestern Trustees do, that "...the Trustees and the University are ill-equipped to assess the subtle ramifications of international relations involved in formulating an appropriate South African investment policy (and)...must look to guidance from the national government," is to turn the world on its head. For the Northwestern Trustees, among the leading circles of U.S. Imperialism anywhere assembled, to "urge the United States government to adopt a clear, comprehensive firm and announced policy on the proper role of U.S. investments in South Africa" is to distort the fact that, as imperialists, they dictate foreign policy with regard to investments in Southern Africa.

TWO LINE STRUGGLE: ANTI-APARTHEID VERSUS ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The Sell the Stock Coalition at Northwestern University was composed of the following social groups: Black and white students, Black and white faculty, student and campus related organizations, and CCFA. The analysis that we have laid out so far can be summed up as follows:

- a. The origin of the Sell the Stock campaign was based on the spontaneous fight back of the NU Black students, and the conscious proposal for a coalition put forward by CCFA;
- b. Black unity was essential for the beginning of the struggle as the students (FMO) and faculty took actions that heightened the contradiction of university support for racist national oppression and imperialism through its stock portfolio, and forced others (white students and faculty) to take a stand;
- c. Unity of action swept across the campus and the individual students and student organizations came forward to join the Coalition and support militant actions to heighten the contradiction even more;
- d. The struggle with the Trustees was sharp, but tactically weak since the Trustees made their move during the summer when the anti-imperialist forces in the coalition were weakest, and the Coalition made an error (for which CCFA takes main responsibility) in not confronting the Board of Trustees and forcing a response during the academic year while the the struggle was at a high point.

Given the broad character of the forces that became involved in the Northwestern Coalition, two different political positions which have always been present have emerged more sharply within the Coalition and the Sell the Stock movement.

It is important to sum up the general outline of each position, to draw out the essential content of each because the national movement is also facing these two positions as well. One is the anti-apartheid position, and the other is the anti-imperialist position. The former is a reformist stand that wants to make things better under fundamentally the same system that exists in Southern Africa now; the anti-imperialist position is aimed at assisting the African masses in taking back their own countries from the European settler colonialists and imperialism.

The anti-apartheid line holds that the U.S. can be transformed (by choice) into a friend of African people, while the anti-imperialist line holds that the U.S. is the source of the problem. In sum, Andy Young and Jimmy Carter would uphold the anti-apartheid line, while the African Liberation Organizations (e.g., Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe) would uphold the anti-imperialist line. Let us briefly look at the content of both lines.

1. What is the PROBLEM?

The anti-apartheid position holds that the main problem is the discrimination and segregation based on apartheid laws. The essence of the problem is the mistreatment of Black people within the societies of Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, and South Africa. The anti-imperialist position holds that the problem is deeper than what the system does on a given issue, because the problem is the system itself. Freedom can come only in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania when these societies are in the hands of their African populations. The main problem is white minority rule backed by U.S. imperialism. These are fundamentally different positions, and while it is true that the anti-apartheid position can make some contributions to the freedom struggle of southern Africa, it is also true that the anti-apartheid position falls short of grasping the revolutionary character of the struggles being waged in Southern Africa against national oppression and imperialism.

In concrete terms, the anti-apartheid position holds that (a) discrimination is based on an apartheid policy, both the policies of U.S. companies doing business in Southern Africa as well as the laws of the societies themselves; (b) U.S. companies can play a positive role by increasing the number of Blacks employed and their wages.

The anti-imperialist position asks the basic question of who has a right to control the society. Since every policy and practice of white minority rule (harsh or benevolent) is made by settler colonialism backed by imperialism, an anti-imperialist position maintains that the essential problem is that Africans do not rule in their own countries.

Overall, both positions hold that the situation in Southern Africa is morally repulsive and in total violation of human rights. However, the anti-apartheid line is based on a denial of civil rights, while an anti-imperialist line is based on a denial of national democratic rights. For the situation in Southern Africa the choice is reform or revolution: In Zimbabwe it is the sell-out internal agreement versus the national democratic struggle led by Patriotic Front, and in South Africa it is phoney independence for native homelands or the aspirations of the revolutionary youth of Soweto.

2. What is the SOLUTION?

The differences between the two positions can be seen best in relationship to solutions put forward for the situation in Southern Africa, and what that means for the movement here in the USA. The anti imperialist position puts forward two concrete goals/objectives: (1) to sever all ties between the USA and white minority rule (U.S. out of Southern Africa!) and (2) to support the liberation forces in overthrowing white minority rule. (Victory to the People of Southern Africa). The main thing is that the masses of people in Southern Africa are waging a revolutionary struggle to take back their countries from invaders, and the USA stands on the side of the oppressive white settlers. On the other hand, the anti-apartheid position would stop way short of this kind of all-out support for victory. The anti-apartheid

position holds that the fight of the African people is just like the civil rights movement of the early 1960's in the USA South, and it can be won just like that. The U.S. government and U.S. universities and corporations can get tough with the South African authorities and get them to change their policies, to listen to reason. Giving Black people their civil rights and allowing for some integration is a good thing and can be accomplished without relinquishing power, says the anti-apartheid position when it is taken up by a capitalist. Genuine liberals take it up also in the form of trying to reach a solution without bloodshed.

These two lines do not appear always in a form that is easily recognizable, and some analysis is required to ferret out the essence of the political line behind what is said and done. In our work in the (divestiture) sell the stock movement we have analyzed six different ways that these two positions have been advanced.

The Anti-Apartheid Position: 3 variations

a. The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: this is an anti-apartheid line put forward by the imperialists. They say they are against the discriminatory practices going on in Southern Africa, and would like to have the apartheid laws changed, but there is not much that they can do about it. An example of the word games played by the Board of Trustees of Northwestern indicates how they would agree that morality is fine but business is business.

The moral repugnance of South African politics, however, does not alone determine the moral appropriateness of continued American investment in that country, let alone the further attenuated moral issue of the University's continued investments in South Africa. Complex moral, social, political, and economic considerations bear on the problem, and these have given rise to grave uncertainty and enormous good faith differences among the many individuals and groups who have considered the impact of the sale of stockholdings in United States companies doing business in South Africa.

NU's Trustees go on to say they don't have much South African investment, and that the problem is really the U.S. government, and they are really against apartheid.

However, a close reading of their document reveals clear statements of their actual imperialist (and therefore pro-apartheid) essence under a transparent anti-apartheid cover.

They go on to say that in any case that divestiture would not be significant and that the issue is not important because total divestiture is impossible:

Moreover, it is an illusion to think that any institutional investor, even if it wishes to, can completely divest itself of the stock of all United States corporations involved in South Africa. Three hundred and fifty United States companies have subsidiaries there, and six thousand more do business through sales agents and distributors. Thus virtually every major United States corporation is involved in South Africa.

The danger to the sell the stock movement is that the Trustees can con the students into believing that they can work things out because they are part of the same campus "family," on the same side.

b. Liberal Faculty as Loyal Opposition: this is an anti-apartheid position that is in basic agreement with the previous position though without the objective necessity to defend business other than to get rewarded for leading the movement right into the arms of the Trustees rather than into a confrontation with them. These are the forces that enter into the movement, usually from the ranks of senior faculty or those who are seeking tenure, and call for moderation and reason. This position says let's sit down and meet with the board and see if we can work things out.

c. The Spontaneous Student Activist: this is the category for most of the students who are getting involved in the sell the stock movement. They are motivated by their moral outrage at the situation in Southern African and some small amount of knowledge about the role of U.S. corporations in Africa and their university's relationship to all of it. This is a very fluid position that can and must be united with in order to build the movement and intensify the fight against the Trustees. In order for this to happen, the Trustees must be exposed and isolated from the students. This is particularly crucial when the Trustees try and get

the student government and the newspaper to act like the loyal opposition rather rather than to probe deeper into the imperialist nature of the university.

In general these three manifestations of the anti-apartheid line should not treated as the same thing. The Trustees should be isolated as the main enemy, the students should be united with as much as possible, particularly in the context of concrete struggle, and the faculty loyal opposition should be won over to a more activist position and prevented from assuming leadership or at least neutralized in the situation and kept from turning the movement away from radical goals being fought for with a bold militant style.

The Anti-Imperialist Position: 3 variations

The Anti-imperialist position has also emerged in three different forms.

a. the "liberal" anti-imperialist: this position appears to be an anti-imperialist position but in reality is a middle of the road liberal position in which all sides are covered. This position would say a little something that would satisfy everyone. It would call itself an anti-apartheid movement, and hold up what would appear to be anti-imperialist slogans. The main social base of this position would be the naive new comers to struggle with their initial position based on moral outrage. The spontaneous student activist would be drawn under the influence of this position, especially when it is put forward by a leading personality in the movement. This form has 2 sides to it: The anti-imperialist side should be united with, and the liberal side should be fought. Struggle with it is absolutely necessary.

b. the sectraian "left": this position is the "holier than thou" position that refuses to get involved in the day to day organizing of the sell the stock movement (and within that context to fight for the leadership of the correct anti-imperialist line). This position leads one to stand on the sidelines and lecture the movement, then it will suddenly try to barge into the struggle and try to take it over; in other words, sectarianism can flip over and become interventionism. We can sum

this position up by pointing out that it appears to be revolutionary but it is in essence reactionary. Revolutionary theory becomes revolutionary when it is taken up by people in concrete struggle, otherwise it is abstract and can be quite irrelevant.

c. the staunch anti-imperialist fighters: this is the correct anti-imperialist stand of uniting with the ~~p~~ositive aspects of the movement and fight within it 100% for victory. On the other hand, it also means combatting efforts to turn it into a reformist movement and actively putting forth the anti-imperialist line. The best way to do this is to make a concrete analysis of one of more campus struggles, and to share the lessons with the entire movement.

In the context of the NU struggle, it is clear that the main problems were for the staunch anti-imperialist fighters to win over the spontaneous student activists in opposition to the Trustees (who were trying to portray themselves as sheep). The sectarian left, of course, did not emerge very much during the actual struggle, but during this period of summation (conferences being held around the country) they can be expected to come out of hiding and try to run some get-rich-quick schemes.

The other task was to get into motion or neutralize the loyal faculty opposition to the board. The NU Trustees tried to buy this group off by appealing to their careerism, they offered to host a major conference to take up this issue of divestiture and certain faculty and academic programs stand to gain from it.

Similarly, the Trustees offer to train graduate students from South Africa is nothing new to NU, except that it will bolster the careers of established programs and professors. The liberal anti-imperialists are in the leading position when it comes to visibility with the social base of the current sell the stock movement. Black students, community colleges, and working class people in general are not involved. The liberation organizations are not involved. The general middle class

LESSONS FROM THE STRUGGLE AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (1977-1978)

CCFA has been able to apply lessons that were learned in other struggles during the Sell the Stock campaign.

(1) POLITICAL LINE IS DECISIVE: Without a correct political understanding to guide our work, CCFA would not have been able to mobilize broad support, especially among Black people. (a) We have consistently pointed out that the exploitation and oppression of Black people in Africa and the worsening conditions of Black people in the United States (Bakke, attacks on affirmative action, cutbacks in financial aid, etc.) have a common cause -- U.S. imperialism. (b) While we have engaged in concrete struggle around concrete issues like the Krugerrand and University held-South African stock, we have always pointed out that VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA and the freedom of Black people in the United States and everybody else in this society can be won only with a decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism. Educating people about our political line was also the basis on which we have been able to clarify the political differences within the Sell the Stock movement.

(2) ALWAYS RALLY THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE POSSIBLE AND UNITE THEM IN STRUGGLE AS THE KEY TO VICTORY! CCFA has emphasized struggle. We have demonstrated what is possible and are winning more people to the view that we must "get back in the street" if we are to be free and contribute to the freedom of Africa. It was by struggle that we could spark broad interest and support and display such unity in action that the NU Trustees had no place to hide except behind a shallow concession.

(3) SMALL FORCES UNITED AROUND A CORRECT LINE CAN MAKE A BIG BATTLE. A handful of committed activists succeeded in breaking through the political inaction on campus. This happened only because we had correctly analyzed the situation and developed an orientation and program that won active support. So though our campaign was small initially, we grew and were able to make a contribution to creating conditions for a higher stage of struggle during the coming years.

white student is the typical activist and is vulnerable to this celebrity liberal leadership. This position must be united with to the extent that it is anti-imperialist and opposed to the extent that it is liberal. Of course, careerism and individual gain must be consistently fought.

7

THE ROAD FORWARD IS STRUGGLE!

The analysis that we have made and the political line put forward represents the collective position of the Chicago Committee for a Free Africa. We have put it forward because we believe that the summation of our practice, in the context of the broad lessons of the anti-imperialist movement is the best way for us to avoid errors (right errors can be fought when the broad lessons of the movement are paid attention to, and "left" errors can be avoided by rooting our theoretical orientation in a concrete analysis of the actual struggles that we have waged). The last question that we have is where do we go from here?

The Sell the Stock movement (or divestiture) is the cutting edge of the African liberation support movement on the campus. It will grow some more, but it is not clear at this time (Fall 1978) whether it will make a qualitative leap. The Fall 1978 regional conferences of activists will contribute, and the events during the spring of 1979 will be a concrete indication. On the other hand, it will be necessary to monitor trade publications (especially the Chronicle of Higher Education) in order to determine how the imperialist forces are going to move as well.

There are several hard questions that face the activists in the Sell the Stock movement:

1. What is the relation between the Sell the Stock demand and a demand to support the African liberation struggle fighting against the imperialist system (including its racist apartheid practices)?
2. What is the relationship going to be between the Sell the Stock movement, which is mostly white and middle class, to

Black students and the Black liberation movement?

3. What is the need for developing organizational structures (with staff, budget, etc.) versus the need for deepening the struggles and spreading them throughout the country?
4. What is the need for building broad and principled unity throughout the African liberation support movement and fighting for massive displays of our support like a United African Liberation Day in Washington, D.C. on May 26, 1979?

CCFA holds that this is a crucial time for the African liberation support movement. Zimbabwe will be free, and the developments regarding Namibia are encouraging. This puts the pressure more and more on South Africa and this is the big confrontation of the region, the most significant challenge to imperialist investments and the end of white minority rule (at least in a direct sense). We must escalate our efforts and spread trouble for the imperialists everywhere.

Here are more guidelines:

1. STUDY HARD AND LEARN ABOUT IMPERIALISM! Pull the covers off of how imperialism's control over higher education, the media, and other institutions in the U.S. is used to reinforce its exploitation and oppression of people in Africa and around the world.

2. STRUGGLE AGAINST EVERY INJUSTICE AND PARTICULARLY DEMAND NOW THAT YOUR UNIVERSITY SELL ITS SOUTH AFRICAN STOCK! The most important contribution that we can all make is to take care of business and wage struggle at home, to make our universities sell its South African stock--or educate everybody about how imperialism is the basic reason that University trustees won't end support of the racist apartheid system in South Africa.

3. ALWAYS RELY ON MOBILIZING THE MASSES OF STUDENTS IN CONCRETE STRUGGLE AND DON'T GET CONNED INTO SMALL GROUP LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING! We all have contributions to make to this struggle. Fight to keep the movement open so that it can grow and so that everybody who wants to can participate. Share the lessons of your struggle--your successes and failures, your achievements and errors--with others so that we can all grow stronger.

4. INVITE OFFICIAL SPEAKERS FROM AFRICAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS TO SPEAK AND RAISE FUNDS FOR THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE! As American people we can offer valuable assistance to the freedom fighters, the most valuable of which is to wage successful struggle against U.S. imperialism here at home. But in the main, the African revolution will be fought and won in Africa by Africans fighting in Africa. Find out where the African liberation organizations stand. Raise funds for medical supplies, educational materials, etc. This concrete material aid is important just as our continuing political support is important.

BUT THE MAIN GUIDEPOST ON THE ROAD FORWARD READS:

"BUILD THE STRUGGLE!"

This is the lesson of our own Struggles in the Sell the South African Stock movement and the historical lesson of the freedom struggle in Africa and in the United States:

On the basis of our legitimate right to rebel against foreign dominations, our peoples have unleashed a political battle of liberation that will take any form needed to for its development.

Amilcar Cabral, Guinea-Bissau

In our land
Bullets are beginning to flower.

Jorge Rebello, Mozambique

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the

ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will.

Frederick Douglass,
Afro-American Freedom fighter

STOP THE SALE OF THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!



AFRICAN GOLD
MINER AND
KRUGERRAND

CARSON PIRIE SCOTT SUPPORTS
RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA!



SUPPORT FOR
AFRICAN LIBERATION IN USA

The KRUGERRAND is a gold coin from South Africa. Black gold miners are forced to work for \$30 a month while the racists get rich. Here in Chicago, the KRUGERRAND is being sold at CARSON-PIRIE-SCOTT, First National Bank, Continental Bank, Merrill-Lynch, and many other places. WE SAY HELL NO! We say that the masses of people in this country must band together and drive this coin of death out of the USA FOREVER. We must drive the KRUGERRAND out just like we must smash the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party!

**FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE
USA (Union of South Africa) TO THE USA (United States of America!)**

UNITE TO FIGHT! THE KRUGERRAND MUST GO!

COMMUNITY FORUM

LEARN MORE ABOUT THESE ISSUES AND HOW WE CAN FIGHT BACK!

When: Sunday, Oct. 2nd, 4 P.M.

Where: Holy Angels Church, 307 E. Oakwood Blvd. (3900 South)

SPONSORED BY THE CHICAGO CHAPTER OF

The Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee

(OVER)

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION AND RACISM

IN THE USA (Union of South Africa)

Thousands of students, teachers, and workers are rebelling in Soweto, South Africa, striking blows against the racist "apartheid" system by boycotting schools! The armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is succeeding and has rejected the imperialist plan of Carter and Young for "a peaceful solution" which really means "no solution" and continued exploitation and oppression! They will fight on to victory! The Ethiopian and Eritrean people are making significant gains, striking blows against the brutal military regime in Ethiopia, a fascist regime that was once the tool of the U.S. imperialists and is now the tool of the imperialist of the Soviet Union! The two superpowers—the U.S. and the Soviet Union—are competing with each other to get control over Africa.

IN THE USA (United States of America)

Ku Klux Klan rallies and Nazi marches have been busted up in Chicago, Ohio, and Plains, GA. as the struggle to smash this racist trash heats up! Defense committees are organizing to protect the rights of Black children to quality education! The battle against the Bakke decision and all attacks on affirmative action is building! Unemployment is hitting everybody hard! U.S. Steel has laid off hundreds and has threatened to close South Works! So the struggle against Carter's cutbacks in unemployment benefits and other social programs like welfare has escalated! And the fight for jobs is spreading, especially after recent government figures showed Black people with the highest unemployment rate since World War II—14.5%, with Black Youth over 40% unemployed.

FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE USA (Union of South Africa) TO THE USA (United States of America!)

WHAT IS THE ALSC (AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE)?

1. **ALSC** is a fighting organization trying to unite the masses of people of all nationalities against the exploitation and the oppression of Black people caused by imperialism. Both in Africa and in the United States, imperialism is a system which rips off and oppresses the masses of people so that a few rich capitalists can enjoy most of the wealth while the masses suffer.
2. **ALSC** is now building on a program of struggle. It successfully spearheaded the broad-based coalition which organized 1500 people to march and protest at the White House on African Liberation Day—1977 and is already building for a bigger march and protest on African Liberation Day—1978, May 27, 1978.

ALSC's program for 1977-78 will focus on

- (a) **EDUCATING** the American people about the just struggles in Africa and why it is in our own interest to support these struggles.
 - (b) **COLLECTING MATERIAL AID**, clothes, blankets, medicines and supplies for the African liberation fighters;
 - (c) **STRUGGLING** to strike blows against imperialism just like the liberation fighters are doing. **ALSC** will focus on a national campaign of demonstrations, boycotts, and petitions to **BAN THE KRUGERRAND**, a coin made from gold mined in South Africa by workers who are forced to work at starvation wages. The sale of gold is very important to the racist South African regime.
3. **ALSC** will point the finger and build the fight against all imperialists who want to rip off the people and the resources of Africa—especially the U.S. imperialists and the "social imperialists" of the Soviet Union (Imperialists who call themselves "socialists.") But our main target will be our own imperialists, U.S. imperialists who help maintain the racist system of South Africa.

ALSC will also be involved in the struggles by progressive forces of all nationalities against the oppression of Black people in the USA, like the fight to smash the Klan and Nazis, the struggle for quality education and to defend affirmative action, and the battle against police brutality. Thus, **ALSC** will focus on the exploitation and racism facing Black people in Africa and in the United States, as presented in its main slogan: **FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE USA (Union of South Africa) TO THE USA (United States of America!)**

4. **ALSC NEEDS YOU!** What can you do? Join the coalition and campaign to **BAN THE KRUGERRAND**. Donate some clothes, medical supplies, or money to the material aid drive, and organize a collection in your organization, church, school, or your block. Invite an **ALSC** speaker to your next meeting to show slides or a film, and attend **ALSC's** educational forums. **GET READY FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY—1978 AND COME TO WASHINGTON, D.C.** There's a lot to do. **GET ON UP AND GET INVOLVED WITH OUR RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE! JOIN US!**



SUPPORTS

● MODERN SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA!

So what if they have to arrest people, murder them in jail, ban most organizations, and shut down the newspapers for us to make our PROFITS!



WHY ARE WE PROTESTING IN FRONT OF CARSON PIRIE SCOTT?

THE RECENT CRACKDOWN BY THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT shows that it wants to keep the African majority as modern slaves in their own country. CARSON PIRIE SCOTT IS SUPPORTING THE BRUTAL SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM BY SELLING THE KRUGERRAND, A GOLD COIN FROM SOUTH AFRICA. This is what we are fighting against. Profits from this gold coin help to finance the South African government so that it can continue to oppress the Black majority and deny them their rights. Selling this gold Krugerrand is only one way that the U.S. government and U.S. corporations like those above are helping to keep down and rip off the masses of Black people in South Africa. **SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA! JOIN US!**

STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

STOP! DON'T SHOP!

FIGHT CARSON PIRIE SCOTT'S SUPPORT OF REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHAT CAN YOU DO?

- (1) PICKET CARSON'S (STATE AT MADISON) EVERY SATURDAY, 11-1 P.M.
- (2) CALL CARSON'S (744-2000) AND RAISE HELL ABOUT THE KRUGERRAND
- (3) JOIN THE BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION. SUPPORT THE DECEMBER 3RD REGIONAL DEMONSTRATIONS IN CHICAGO, ATLANTA, OAKLAND, CALIF. AND THE EAST COAST.

The Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee

P.O. Box 87141

(OVER)

Chicago, Illinois 60680

A FEW FACTS ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN: THE KRUGERRAND

* South Africa depends on the United States Government and corporations to maintain the system that is oppressing and exploiting the African masses. The sale of the South African gold coin, THE KRUGERRAND, is just one way that the super-rich in the U.S. helps to keep the racist South African government in business.

* South Africa depends of this sale of gold to get money to finance its racist system. In 1974, South Africa produced almost 70% of all the gold in the world. THE KRUGERRAND was a public appeals gimmick ("buy one for Christmas or as a graduation gift") that helped South Africa increase the sale of its gold.

* While the super-rich in the U.S. and in South Africa make millions of \$\$\$\$\$\$ from gold, African miners were paid only \$24 a month in 1967. African workers are denied the right to organize unions, but because of massive strikes which were "illegal," miners now make a little less than \$25 each week. In addition, they cannot vote, and this is what the "one person, one vote" demand of the 80% African majority is all about. Africans must also carry a special "passbook" and get permission to travel outside their neighborhoods.

* In addition to THE KRUGERRAND, bank loans are another way that the super-rich in the U.S. help to prop up the South African government. Chicago banks like FIRST NATIONAL and CONTINENTAL BANK have given millions of \$\$\$\$ to South Africa.

* U.S. corporations have more than \$1.5 Billion invested in South Africa. Over the past years they have taken out over \$4 Billion in profits. This profit comes from ripping of the rich mineral wealth of South Africa which is one of the world's leading producers of gold, diamonds, uranium, chrome, and manganese. But the key to the super-profits is forcing Africans to work for starvation wages. Among the corporations in Chicago that are ripping off the people and wealth of South Africa are: United States Steel (USS), International Harvester, FMC, Borg-Warner, Caterpillar and others.

* These corporations and banks that are ripping off South Africa are the very same ones that have been raising prices, laying off thousands of workers, and moving plants overseas to make more profits by ripping off cheaper labor. For example, two corporations that sit on the board of Carson Pirie Scott and have a say about selling THE KRUGERRAND have clearly been helping to rip people off in the U.S.:

CHASE-MANHATTAN, the Rockefeller bank in N.Y., is on the board of Carson. This bank is used to control giant oil monopolies--EXXON, MOBIL, STANDARD, and others. They make BILLIONS while most folk can't pay their fuel bills.

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WHAT IS THE ALSC?

ALSC (African Liberation Support Committee) is an organization of progressive people of all nationalities fighting against the exploitation and oppression of Black people in Africa and the United States cause by imperialism. ALSC spearheaded the broad coalition which organized 1500 in an AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY protest at the White House and is building for another on May 27, 1978. ALSC is also involved in the struggles against the oppression of Blacks in the U.S. like the fight to overturn the Bakke decision. (P.O.Box 87141, Chicago, 60680).

UNITE TO FIGHT! THE KRUGERRAND MUST GO!

RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHICAGO DEFENDER-THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1977 5

**S. Africa blitz
hits top blacks**

**Biko autopsy shows
burn, rib fractures**

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (UPI)—The autopsy on Steve Biko shows the South African black leader suffered broken ribs and burns in addition to critical brain damage while in police custody, the Johannesburg Sunday Express reported.

Chicago Sun-Times, Thursday, Oct. 20, 1977

**Massive police crackdown
on S. Africa black leaders**

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ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT THESE HEADLINES? ABOUT
THE RECENT CRACKDOWN OF THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT? WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT AT NORTH-
WESTERN UNIVERSITY? FIND OUT:

SLIDE SHOW AND DISCUSSION TO ORGANIZE
A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SALE OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN, THE KRUGERRAND
IN THE EVANSTON-NORTHWESTERN AREA.

WHEN: TUESDAY, NOV. 1, 7 P.M.

WHERE: 1-308 EDUCATION, NORTHWESTERN

THE DAILY NORTHWESTERN

Friday, November 11, 1977
Vol. 98, No. 37
Evanston, Ill.

NEWS 492-3222 Ads 492-7206

Local group fights S. Africa racism

By Nancy Rawles

A Northwestern professor is leading the local fight against Apartheid racial policies by protesting the sale of a South African gold coin in Evanston.

"We support the struggle in South Africa because the system they're fighting against is the same system that we're fighting against," said Ron Bailey, professor of history and political science in the African-American studies department.

The "struggle" is South African blacks' attempts to wrest power from the ruling white minority and the "system" one that allows the few to control the lives of the many through economic suppression, Bailey said.

BAILEY is one of the local coordinators of Ban the Kruggerand Coalition, a national subgroup of the African Liberation Support Committee. The group, which became active in 1972, educates Americans about current events in South Africa and provides clothes and medical supplies to

that nation's poor people.

Coalition literature calls the kruggerand a "blood-soaked coin" used by the "South African government to continue to oppress the black majority and deny them their rights."

The kruggerand is sold at several Evanston banks and businesses, including State National Bank, First National Bank and Trust Co., Merrill Lynch and North Shore Rare Coin Gallery. The gold coin's sale is advertised in the Chicago Tribune.

THE COALITION'S goal is to stop American businesses from selling the kruggerand. The coalition also wishes to educate Americans on the U.S. corporations that invest in South Africa and profit from the kruggerand's sale. American universities also have investments in South Africa, Bailey said.

"The American people have to do what they did about Vietnam," said Bailey. "They must take a stand against a continued U.S. involvement in South

Africa."

The coalition has organized protests and rallies around Evanston and Chicago businesses and banks that sell the coin. Meetings are held every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in the Education building.

LAST Tuesday's meeting included a film taken in South Africa depicting "Whites only" restaurants and hotels and "Blacks only" shanties and flats. Rigid segregation of the races is imposed by South Africa's Apartheid policy.

In the movie, black men were shown shoveling sand at "Whites only" beaches and black children were shown starving from malnutrition in impoverished settlements that the South African government has restricted for their mothers and themselves.

The coalition rallies around two main goals and slogans: "Stop the sale of the South African gold coin! Ban the Kruggerand!" and "Victory to the peoples of Southern Africa!"



UNITE TO FIGHT MODERN SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA!



THE RECENT CRACKDOWN BY THE MINORITY-RULED SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT shows that it wants to keep the African majority as modern-day slaves in their own country. Several Evanston banks, stockbrokers, coin shops, and others are supporting the brutal South African system by selling THE KRUGERRAND, a gold coin from South Africa. These include State National Bank, First National Bank and Trust, Merrill-Lynch, and North Shore Rare Coin Gallery. Profits from this blood-soaked coin help to finance the South African government so that it can continue to oppress the Black majority and deny them their rights. Selling this gold coin in the U.S. is only one way our government and U.S. corporations like those above are helping to keep down and rip off the masses of people in South Africa. This is why we are uniting to fight against the KRUGERRAND. JOIN US!

STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

WHAT CAN WE DO IN EVANSTON AND AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY?

1. SUPPORT THE LOCAL BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION IN TAKING SOME ACTION AGAINST MINORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA. ENDORSE THE COALITION LETTER ON THE BACK OF THIS LEAFLET AND GET ORGANIZATIONS, CHURCHES, AND INDIVIDUALS TO ENDORSE IT. SEND TO BOX 8, EDUC. BLDG.
2. ATTEND A MEETING OF THE COALITION TUESDAY, NOV. 8, 7 P.M., G226 LEVERONE, NORTHWESTERN. SEE THE FILM "LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA" ON THE OPPRESSION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MASSES. HEAR MORE ABOUT THE COALITION AND PLANS TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE SALE OF THE KRUGERRAND IN EVANSTON STARTING FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH
3. SUPPORT THE ANTI-KRUGERRAND ACTIONS IN CHICAGO. BOYCOTT CARSON PIRIE SCOTT DEPT. STORE WHICH SELLS THE KRUGERRAND. PICKET IT EVERY SATURDAY 11-1 P.M., STATE AT MADISON. ATTEND THE DEC. 3RD REGIONAL KRUGERRAND PROTEST IN CHICAGO

A FEW FACTS ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN: THE KRUGERRAND

- UNITE TO FIGHT! THE KRUGERRAND MUST GO!**
- * South Africa depends on the United States Government and corporations to maintain the system that is oppressing and exploiting the African masses. The sale of the South African gold coin, THE KRUGERRAND, is just one way that the super-rich in the U.S. helps to keep the racist South African government in business.
 - * South Africa depends of this sale of gold to get money to finance its racist system. In 1974, South Africa produced almost 70% of all the gold in the world. THE KRUGERRAND was a public appeals gimmick ("buy one for Christmas or as a graduation gift") that helped South Africa increase the sale of its gold.
 - * While the super-rich in the U.S. and in South Africa make millions of \$\$\$\$\$\$ from gold, African miners were paid only \$24 a month in 1967. African workers are denied the right to organize unions, but because of massive strikes which were "illegal," miners now make a little less than \$25 each week. In addition, they cannot vote, and this is what the "one person, one vote" demand of the 80% African majority is all about. Africans must also carry a special "passbook" and get permission to travel outside their neighborhoods.
 - * In addition to THE KRUGERRAND, bank loans are another way that the super-rich in the U.S. help to prop up the South African government. Chicago banks like FIRST NATIONAL and CONTINENTAL BANK have given millions of \$\$\$\$ to South Africa.
 - * U.S. corporations have more than \$1.5 Billion invested in South Africa. Over the past years they have taken out over \$4 Billion in profits. This profit comes from ripping of the rich mineral wealth of South Africa which is one of the world's leading producers of gold, diamonds, uranium, chrome, and manganese. But the key to the super-profits is forcing Africans to work for starvation wages. Among the corporations in Chicago that are ripping off the people and wealth of South Africa are: United States Steel (USS), International Harvester, FMC, Borg-Warner, Caterpillar and others.
 - * These corporations and banks that are ripping off South Africa are the very same ones that have been raising prices, laying off thousands of workers, and moving plants overseas to make more profits by ripping off cheaper labor. For example, two corporations that sit on the board of Carson Pirie Scott and have a say about selling THE KRUGERRAND have clearly been helping to rip people off in the U.S.:
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UNITE TO FIGHT **• MODERN SLAVERY** **IN SOUTH AFRICA!**



THE RECENT CRACKDOWN BY THE MINORITY-RULED SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT shows that it wants to keep the African majority as modern-day slaves in their own country. Several Evanston banks, stockbrokers, coin shops, and others are supporting the brutal South African system by selling THE KRUGERRAND, a gold coin from South Africa. These include State National Bank, First National Bank and Trust, Merrill-Lynch, and North Shore Rare Coin Gallery. Profits from this blood-soaked coin help to finance the South African government so that it can continue to oppress the Black majority and deny them their rights. Selling this gold coin in the U.S. is only one way our government and U.S. corporations like those above are helping to keep down and rip off the masses of people in South Africa. This is why we are uniting to fight against the KRUGERRAND. JOIN US!

STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

FILM SOUTH AFRICA: THERE IS NO CRISIS

A 40 MINUTE COLOR FILM MADE AFTER THE SOWETO REBELLIONS IN 1976. INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS, PARENTS, AND A WOMAN LEADER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO) FOUNDED BY THE MURDERED BLACK LEADER STEVE BIKO

DISCUSSION

THE LOCAL BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION WILL PRESENT ACTIVITIES TO STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN IN EVANSTON

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, 7 P.M.

G 093 LEVERONE, NORTHWESTERN U.

BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION

A-10

November 1977

Dear Friend:

You are undoubtedly well aware of the recent wave of brutal repression that the South African Government has undertaken in hopes of crushing the freedom struggle. By 1970 the apartheid regime had banned all of the liberation organizations and progressive movements and their leadership, but in 1976 the students of Soweto rose up in defiance. The white minority rulers of South Africa retaliated by arresting Stephen Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, and viciously beating him to death while in jail. Recently they have arrested more than 200 Black leaders, banned nearly 20 organizations, and closed down the two largest Black newspapers. Meanwhile, as the U.S. government gives lip-service opposition to this repressive government, South Africa is allowed, through U.S. banks and corporations, to prop up their economy by selling its gold coin, the Krugerrand, here.

We not only protest this attack on the masses of freedom-loving people in South Africa, we have a concrete plan to do something about it.

- (1) Proposal: To form a coalition focussed on fighting against the sale of the Krugerrand, the South African gold coin, by banks, department stores, Merrill-Lynch (stockbrokers), and others, and against its promotion in the mass media.
- (2) Unity: We propose this coalition because only by united action can we have the strength and power to wage a big battle and have national impact. Our two slogans of political unity are:
 - (a) STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!
 - (b) VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!
- (3) Action: Through the vehicle of a broad-based coalition, as part of a national movement, we will plan a variety of local activities against the sale of the Krugerrand. One such coordinated action is to have major regional demonstrations on December 3rd in New York City, Atlanta, Oakland, and Chicago.

We are determined to help the masses of African people by joining forces right here in the United States, to make felt our condemnation of apartheid, repression, and minority rule.

We are planning to have a meeting to organize our local BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION, although some groups and individuals have been doing work on this problem for some time.

Tuesday, November 15th, 7 p.m.

G 093 Leverone, Northwestern U.

FILM: "SOUTH AFRICA: THERE IS NO CRISIS" on the 1976
SOWETO REBELLIONS

We urge your attendance so that together we can organize an effective national campaign.

UNITY! STRUGGLE! VICTORY!

The Ban The Krugerrand Coalition
Evanston/Northwestern University

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSEMENTS OF THE BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION

(Note: Organizational affiliation listed for identification only)

Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC); Ronald Bailey, Instructor African-American Studies/Political Science, NU; Jim Gale, Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (Australia); Susan Jicha, University Christian Ministries; Jacqueline M. Davis; Linell Bailey; Abdelwahab Abbas, Geology; Basil Clunie, NU staff; Amy L. Handspicker, University Christian Ministry; Scott Barrett; Sheri Moore; Audrey Stovall; Herb Taylor, Blackness-WNUR-FM; Spain Lashley, Coordinator of For Members Only (FMO); Paula Roderick; Linna Boone; Judi McCray, Third World Report, WNUR; Garrett Gope; Norine Guteranst; Jan Carew, Professor; African American Studies Department; Aubrey King; Merron E. Walters; Linda Gale; Steve Mills; GERALYN HERBERT; Letha Deck; Inroads, Inc.; Johnny Cotton, Marcy Newberry Association (MNA); Leon Walker, MNA; Pauline Reynolds, MNA; Dorothy Fisher, MNA; Sylvia Smith, MNA; Margaret P. Overby, MNA; Sherrie Scott Evans, MNA; Leon Forrest, Assoc. Prof. African-American Studies, NU; William Exum, Assoc. Prof. African-American Studies/Sociology, NU; Bud Ogle, Director of University Christian Ministries; Larice March, Staff, Black Christian Ministry; Gary Gibbs, Staff, Second Baptist Church; Tenney Smith, UCM; Sean McGhee; Tekle Waldemikail, Eritrean for Liberation in North America; Barry Adams, Kappa Alpha Psi; William S. Meyer for Greater Illinois Peoples Cooperative; Cyrus Colter, Professor and Chairman of African-American Studies, NU; Diane Slaughter, Professor, Education, NU; Doris Brooks, Staff, NU; Judy Lindsay, Staff, NU; Allison Bethel, Patricia Vance; Donald Kossin, Valerie Greaves, Cynthia Plessant, Randy Farr, Pat Jones, Gail Wilson, Errol Neidinger, James Pitts, Assoc. Prof., Sociology; Barbara M. Scott, Helen Cole, College of Community Studies, Krista A. Miller, Paolce Scommegna, Managing Editor, NUSLETTER, Stacie Paulsen, Cynthia Clark

From Blacknuss, The official news organ of For Members Only, NU
Black Student Organization--November 1977

AFRICANS CRY 'LIBERATION NOW'

by Scott Barrett

The current African liberation struggles are broad-based movements supporting the liberation of all peoples by ending national oppression and economic exploitation in Africa. Armed battles are being waged across the continent as the popular movements within exploited nations pick up the slogan of "Liberation Now."

Conditions for the masses of people within Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Azania (South Africa), Ethiopia, Eritrea, Zaire, Angola and Namibia, have made the broad majority of people aware of the pervasiveness of their oppression and they no longer wish to negotiate their freedom. The oppression is seen in the wholesale exploitation of African land and labor by the industrial nations of western Europe and the US, and to a lesser degree by the Soviet Union.

The exploitation takes the form of western corporate and military support of the oppressive regimes in the embattled nations. In terms of corporate involvement, western and particularly US and British corporations have large and important investments in these nations (Yes, continuing the legacy of expansion and

through exploitation handed down to them by their slave owning and trading ancestors).

The purpose of these investments are simple--extraction of the vast mineral wealth of the continent. These firms keep their production costs low by employing Africans at less than government-stated starvation income levels and

housing them in enclosed forced labor camps where they may work 60 to 72 hours per week at a pay rate of 10¢ an hour.

Such notable American companies as Union Carbide, International Mining Corporation, IBM, Gulf Oil, EXXON, and Eaton Corporation are heavily invested in these enterprises of death for Africans. Wealth being drawn from these areas amounts to billions of dollars in profits which return to the Banks of western Europe and such notables as America's Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank of New York where these profits are reinvested in exploitative enterprises in Latin America and Asia.

The two large New York banks are stock holders and major investors in Continental Bank, First National Bank of Chicago and, First National City Bank which recently floated a several million dollar loan to South Africa.

The importance of these investments to the Capitalists is the inexpensive extraction of well over 60 percent of the world's known chrome (autos, aviation), gold, uranium, industrial diamonds, zinc, and significant amounts of oil, tin, bauxite, aluminium, and copper.

With important raw materials for industry like these at stake, the Capitalist nations of the world are waging a "quiet", and insidious war against the liberation struggles for the goal of maintaining access to the vital resources.

Military action in the continent takes the form of French and Moroccan troops, supplied with French, Israeli, and U.S. weaponry, being flown

into Zaire to "stabilize" the situation, while in fact they are supporting the unpopular government of President Mbutu.

United States and Israeli arms are not only being used in the streets of Soweto and other Black ghettos, but they are being employed in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Mozambique, Angola and Namibia to disrupt the governments in the case of Angola and Mozambique, and to generate counter-revolutionary forces while attacking the upsurging liberation forces in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The war in Africa is identical in many ways to the war in Vietnam, but the major point is

just as in Vietnam, the issue was maintaining markets and access to raw material and the Capitalist will battle to their last dollar until it becomes unprofitable to stay in the region.

The acts of aggression by the imperialists are being met by a new spirit of total liberation. Africans are no longer negotiating their freedom nor will they accept the game of "flag" independence as seen in Zaire where the control of the nation's vital resources are in the hands of multinational corporations, and the governing regime is as repressive as the colonial regime which once governed it.

Zanu, SWAPO, FRELIMO, and other liberation Armies are pressing the attacks against the fascist regimes in southern Africa by accepting nothing less than total liberation. FRELIMO forces of Angola and Mozambique were victorious last year when they pushed the Portuguese government and U.S. industrialist out of their nations. The struggles are marching forward.

dustrialist out of their nations. The struggles are marching forward.

In America we must remain aware of the events on the continent through study and social agitation against the government and the companies who hold investments in Southern Africa. An important part of watching the areas is to remember the News media and government officials are not telling the truth in their coverage.

Officials like Andrew Young are being used to mouth the hypocritical and anti-liberation notions of the United States and the western powers. Check out Mr. Young's statements in Playboy and the New York Times where he is "calling for more U.S. Corporate investment in the Third world", while realizing the role U.S. companies play in underdeveloped nations.

People like King Goodwill of the Zulu nation are being sent from southern Africa to America where he is to be treated as a legitimate representative of Africans when they are not. Goodwill, for example, receives a salary from the south African government and is here on behalf of the U.S. and U.S. corporations.

Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH recently entered into an agreement with Gulf Oil to begin a management training program for Black youth even though Gulf has some of the largest investment in Southern Africa and owns one of the oil refineries in the nation.

Yes, once again we have the selling of Black America at the price of African liberation. We Black students at Northwestern must inform ourselves of the important issue in Africa and ask

our leaders and ourselves on which side do we stand?

Blackboard, November 1977

LIBERATION GROUP PLANS CAMPAIGN

The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) recently denounced what it called the "brutal attack by the South African government on the Black South African leadership."

An ALSC news release reported that nearly 200 leaders were banned and arrested and two of the largest Black newspapers in South Africa were shut down in a recent wave of government repression against Blacks.

ALSC voiced the strong possibility that the South African government will murder the Black leaders, claiming that this is what happened to Stephen Biko, an African leader who died in a South African prison last month after his arrest by government authorities.

The South African government initially said Biko died of hunger since he had been fasting for seven days. However, internationally published facts about the incident indicate Biko died from severe brain damage due to repeated blows to his head with a heavy object, ALSC reported.

"There is a serious danger facing the lives of the Black leaders recently arrested, and people must raise their voices against the government of South Africa to prevent this," ALSC stated.

"The debates and discussions in the United Nations reveal clearly that South Africa is not alone in the world, but comforted and supported by imperialist countries like France and

Britain, as well as the United States."

ALSC rejected cries of disapproval from some members of the UN and the U.S., calling them "symbolic actions" and "illusions of the U.S. government." Instead, ALSC supports the total expulsion of South Africa from the UN and the total and complete victory of the masses of African people in South Africa.

ALSC is now working for the liberation of the peoples of South Africa with the anti-Krugerrand campaign to stop the sell of the South African Krugerrand gold coin in the U.S.

"The role of the U.S. government, major corporations and banks in assisting the sale of this gold coin is contrary to the anti-apartheid sentiments and pro-liberation stand of the American people," ALSC stated.

The anti-Krugerrand campaign is focused on major regional demonstrations to be held December 3 in New York city, Chicago, Atlanta and Oakland, Cal.

There are over 20 chapters of the ALSC composed of people from all nationalities, although most members are Black. More information can be obtained from the national office of ALSC, P.O. Box 87141, Chicago, IL, 60680.

*Ed. note: Numerous NU students are working with the Chicago chapter of ALSC. They are now selling anti-Krugerrand buttons for \$.50.

A STATEMENT TO STATE NATIONAL BANK AND ALL DISTRIBUTORS OF THE KRUGERRAND
FROM THE EVANSTON/NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION

You are undoubtedly well aware of the recent wave of brutal repression that the South African government has undertaken in hopes of crushing the freedom struggle. By 1970 the apartheid regime had banned all of the liberation organizations and progressive movements and their leadership, but in 1976 the students of Soweto rose up in defiance. The white minority rulers of South Africa retaliated by arresting Stephen Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, and viciously beating him to death while in jail. Recently, they have arrested more than 200 Black leaders, banned nearly 20 organizations, and closed down the two largest Black newspapers. Meanwhile, as the U.S. government gives lip-service opposition to this repressive government, South Africa is allowed, through U.S. banks and corporations, to prop up its economy by selling its gold coin, the Krugerrand, here.

We not only protest this recent attack on the masses of freedom-loving people in South Africa, we have undertaken concrete action here in the Chicago and Evanston area to do something about it. We have formed a local BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION as part of a national movement focussed on fighting the sale of the Krugerrand by banks, department stores, Merrill-Lynch, coin shops, and others. We also oppose its promotion in the mass media like the large ads in Chicago papers of November 1, 1977.

We now call on State National Bank, because of its special relationship to Northwestern University, and all other distributors of the Krugerrand, to immediately stop the sale of this blood-soaked South African gold coin and to publicly announce that they will end all arrangements which enable the South African government to peddle the coin in the Evanston area.

We will soon call on Northwestern University, other educational institutions, churches, organizations, and individuals who want justice and an end to minority rule in South Africa to join us in taking further concrete action to insure that we do not directly or indirectly support the apartheid regime by supporting businesses which continue to sell the Krugerrand.

We are determined to help the masses of South African people by joining forces here in the United States, to make felt our condemnation of apartheid, repression, and minority rule in South Africa. We strongly urge that you do the same by ending your support of the repressive South African government, by ending your services to South Africa as an outlet for the Krugerrand.

STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

WEDNESDAY DAILY NORTHWESTERN

Friday, November 18, 1977
Vol. 98, No. 42
Evanston, Ill.

Viewpoint | NU: Unite against South Africa

The recent actions of the minority-ruled South African government have clearly revealed its intention to maintain its racist apartheid system, which keeps the 80 percent black majority in modern-day slavery.

The murder of Steven Biko in police custody, banning of 18 black organizations, closing of three newspapers, arrest of more than 50 leaders who now face the fate of Biko and the recent detention of 400 people, including 200 young students, have revealed the repressive and uncompromising character of the illegal regime.

Never before have so many people been so convinced that only the South African government and its backers stand in the way of a just resolution of the existing crisis.

WE MUST raise our united voices in loud and angry protest against the recent escalating repression by the racist South African government. Further, we should not stand idly by while the human rights of the black masses in South Africa are arrogantly trampled further into the dirt.

Thus, we urge the full support and participation of the Evanston and Northwestern community in the Dec. 3 Ban the Krugerrand march and rally in Chicago, which will declare: Stop the sale of the South African gold coin! Ban the Krugerrand! Victory to the peoples of Southern Africa!

We demand a more forthright stand by the U.S. government in condemning and acting against the recent actions of South Africa. A mere slap on the wrist of minority rule is by no means sufficient. U.S. corporations and the U.S. government continue to allow investments and bank loans to flow to South Africa. The U.S.-backed U.N. Security Council veto of economic sanctions against South Africa speaks for itself.

There is continued U.S. cooperation in the development of South Africa's nuclear capability, though the trade of less important weapons has been grudgingly prohibited.

We call on the U.S. government to immediately end its actions in support of Apartheid—actions that led the South African leader Steven Biko to declare that "in a sense America has played a shameful role in her relations with our country."

Most important, we call on all freedom-loving people to translate into concrete action their righteous indignation that grows with each day of increasing repression. We call on the people of Evanston and NU to initiate specific actions in support of the struggle for freedom, justice and equality in South Africa.



As a university which has historically professed its interest in Africa and is a recognized leader in the field of African studies, it is particularly imperative that NU make it clear that it stands on the side of justice in South Africa.

As universities across the United States are doing, NU has a responsibility to critically review and alter any of its investments and research which operate against human rights and to strengthen minority rule in South Africa.

Further, we call for support of the many actions against apartheid initiated locally or in which local people are involved. These include the Steven Biko Memorial and the campaign of the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition.

THE LOCAL Ban the Krugerrand Coalition is part of a national movement initiated by the African Liberation Support Committee. The

coalition is focused on fighting against the sale of the Krugerrand by banks, department stores (like Carson-Pirie-Scott in Chicago), Merrill Lynch, coin shops, and against its promotion in the mass media. As stated in the coalition letter, "we propose this coalition because only by united action can we have the strength and power to wage a big battle and have national impact."

The goal of the coalition is not only to strike an economic blow at minority rule in South Africa. To make a big battle of the sale of the Krugerrand would also be a clear statement that the American people oppose minority rule and stand with the South African masses. We will also declare to our government that we oppose its continued support of the present minority government in South Africa.

Here in Evanston, the efforts of the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition has brought some

success. The coalition has gained the support of a broad group of community residents, church groups and ministers, students, staff, and faculty at NU.

Before initiating protests and demonstrations, selected distributors of the Krugerrand were visited. State National Bank has responded positively to the coalition and has stopped the sale of the Krugerrand. But it has not released a public statement as requested.

First National Bank and Trust Co. will reach a decision soon. Merrill Lynch, consistent with its national policy, says that it will continue to sell this blood-soaked coin. Further action by the coalition is planned to make our condemnation of Apartheid and minority rule and our support for freedom, justice and equality in South Africa perfectly clear.

THE CULMINATION of the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition is a series of major regional demonstrations on Dec. 3 in New York City, Atlanta, Oakland and Chicago.

We urge full participation in this Ban the Krugerrand march and rally in Chicago. We want to have a sizeable group leaving Evanston at 10:30 a.m. of Saturday, Dec. 3 to stand with the masses of South Africans in their just struggle.

Further action against Apartheid must be planned and undertaken in Evanston and at NU beyond Dec. 3.

The words of the murdered South African freedom fighter Steven Biko are a sharp reminder of the awesome and continuing responsibility of the American people to fully support the struggle for freedom of the South African masses with words and with deeds.

There is a role for all of us in the struggle for emancipation. Each one of us has an obligation to be as much a part of the struggle as the situation demands. For those who shall have too much to lose when others gain what is rightfully theirs, then let us accept the fact that we constitute part of the problem; a part which will have to be dealt with efficiently, painfully, seemingly cruelly and yet so basically logically.

—Ban the Krugerrand Coalition

This viewpoint was jointly prepared by Medill junior Judi McCray, of the African Liberation Support Committee, for Members Only coordinator Spain Lavender, Speech senior Amy Handspiker, of the University Christian Movement, Asst. Director of University Housing David Clune, and African American Studies Prof. Ronald Bailey.

BAVISC NEWS RELEASE

Phone: 374-9616 ADDRESS: P.O. BOX 87141
Chicago, Illinois 6068

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF CHICAGO AREA STUDENTS AND YOUTH

READ AT THE BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION PRESS CONFERENCE, Dec. 1, 1977

(Presented by Spain Lashley, Coordinator of For Members Only, Northwestern University Black Student Organization.)

The June 16 uprising of Black youth in Soweto has highlighted the important role that the students and youth of South Africa are playing in the freedom struggle.

The struggle of youth in Soweto parallels the struggle of students and youth here in the United States. We are here today to say that we support the struggle in South Africa. We also want to say that here in the U.S. the student struggle of the 60's and early 70s is not over. From the struggle for Black Studies and the struggle against an unjust war in Vietnam, the struggle of students has moved to another level, again taking up the issue of Africa and the fight against Bakke decision and the attacks on affirmative action.

Students throughout the Chicago and throughout this country are taking up these important issues. We have seen recent actions at the University of California campuses, Stanford, in Massachusetts, in Oregon, and in Wisconsin where students have militantly demanded an end to university investments in corporations doing business in South Africa.

Here in Chicago, many students and youth have participated in the demonstrations at Carson Pirie Scott against the Krugerrand and have joined forces with the Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee and others in the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition. On behalf of students on many campuses throughout the Chicago area, we say that we have been inspired by the militant struggle of the students and youth of Soweto. We pledge today that we will be increasing our efforts to support the struggle of the masses of people in Southern Africa.

STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A NEW AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

THE DAILY NORTHWESTERN

December 2, 1977

Northwestern University's student newspaper, founded 1881
Editorials express majority opinions of the editorial board

Ban the Krugerrand coin

The South African Apartheid government has proved its commitment to brutal repression, destruction of human dignity and elimination of individual freedoms.

Now South Africa wants individual Americans to subsidize its atrocities by buying its gold "Krugerrand" coin.

The gold that goes into the Krugerrand is mined by blacks working on sub-poverty wages, about one-fifteenth of the comparable wage for white workers. Blacks in South African cannot form labor unions or vote.

Meanwhile, the tremendous profits from the Krugerrand go straight into the pockets of South African businessmen. It is precisely this type of exploitation that makes South African whites wealthy while leaving the nation's blacks in poverty.

South Africa recently launched a \$4 million advertising campaign to sell the Krugerrand in the United States.

Americans should realize that by buying these coins, they are bolstering the status quo in South Africa. No individual who deplores racism or repression can buy the coin in good conscience.

The Ban the Krugerrand Coalition, a nationwide group with a Northwestern chapter, has organized to fight sale of the coin. Their methods have been peaceful, intelligent and forthright; their successes encouraging. In Evanston,

NU faculty and staff members and students have convinced two banks to stop distributing the Krugerrand.

In Chicago, anti-Krugerrand forces convinced Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. to stop selling the coin by demonstrating in front of the downtown store for 10 weeks.

Distributors and advertisers still selling the coin should stop. The Krugerrand is small in size, but it symbolizes a big problem: support for the minority rule in South Africa, exemplified by recent elections, in which the 80 percent black majority could not vote.

Most Americans don't like to place restrictions on private trade; they feel it contradicts the free enterprise system. But to allow the continued sale of the Krugerrand is to help perpetuate a blatant violation of human rights. Americans can be either supporters of apartheid or loud, firm opponents of it.

NU students should protest the coin's sale as vocally as possible at Saturday's anti-Krugerrand rally in Chicago's Grant Park.

Eventually, NU should review its investments in corporations that profit from the exploitation of South African blacks.

It's the principle, not the financial wisdom of the investments, that should matter to an enlightened university.

For now, taking a stand against the Krugerrand will suffice to show exactly what NU students are made of.

NU protestors effect bank ban on Krugerrand

By Chris Brennan

Pressure from a Northwestern group has prompted two Evanston banks and Carson, Pirie, Scott and Co. department store to ban the Krugerrand, South Africa's gold coin. Ronald Bailey, NU coordinator of the Ban the Krugerrand Coalition, said organization members participated in weekly demonstrations at Carson's downtown and also met with local bank officials.

The two Evanston banks not selling the coin are the First National Bank, 800 Davis St., and the State National Bank, 1603 Orrington Ave., Bailey said.

"WE PRESSURED them (the banks) to bar it. State National was our main target because Northwestern's payroll checks are from there and there is the walk-in bank in Norris," he said.

Bailey added that some students threatened to withdraw their money if State National did not change its policy.

After the coalition—made up of NU students, staff and faculty—met with the

bank officials, there was more discussion by the executive boards of both banks, and both banned the gold coin last month, Bailey said.

"We asked them for a public statement, but they said that would be difficult, especially in terms of their PR. However, it is a real victory," he said.

Bailey said the Carson's demonstrations helped force the store to stop selling the coin.

However, a Carson's spokesman said political reasons were not involved in the decision.

"It was a merchandising decision, just like the decisions we make on dresses, hats or gloves. We don't get into politics. We are retailers, not the State Department," he said.

A nationwide demonstration will be held Saturday to protest the coin. A bus will leave Rebecca Crown Center at 10:45 a.m. to take interested students to Grant Park for a rally. The round-trip bus ride costs \$1.





**Merrill Lynch
Pierce
Fenner & Smith Inc.**

MERRILL LYNCH KRUGERRAND STATEMENT

Gold is one of the more than 30 investment instruments Merrill Lynch makes available to help investors meet their financial needs.

In 1974, when Congress approved private ownership of Gold for the first time in 41 years, demand for Gold - as an investment market - increased. People saw Gold as a hedge against inflation or speculative opportunity. The demand shows up as a preference for Gold Coins, and Merrill Lynch decided to make Gold Coins available to the public. At the present time, gold sales represent a miniscule portion of our business.

Our willingness to offer Krugerrand, along with other coins to American investors is simply a willingness to provide a service - to meet popular demand for Gold Coins. It does not reflect any political philosophy; it in no way represents approval of South African Apartheid policies, we are simply committed for fulfilling our customer's demands and needs.

The facts are that a small number of American investors are interested in Gold, and roughly 75% of the world's Gold is produced in South Africa. Among the forms in which Gold is available for investment, is a variety of coins.

Today, we offer 4 Gold Coins, including Austrian and Mexican Coins. The South African Coin, however, happens "to be packaged" in a form which the American public understands. That is, each coin contains 1 oz. of gold, with a price set in an easily identifiable relationship to Gold bullion. Furthermore, the coin is the only coin to have been supported by effective national advertising in which, however, Merrill Lynch does not participate. Both of these factors - the coins convenient packaging and national advertising - contributed to the development of a so-called "brand preference" for the Krugerrand in the very limited Gold Coin market.

In filling customer orders, Merrill Lynch is in no way committing itself to the support of Apartheid. On the contrary, we feel effects to undermine the South African economy will affect most adversely those at the bottom of the economic ladder, namely, the black community. Refusal to participate in the Krugerrand market, in our opinion, would accomplish nothing in the fight against Apartheid.

Furthermore, such a refusal would be a disservice to that portion of the American public that wants to invest in Gold.



Chicago Defender

CHICAGO'S DAILY PICTURE NEWSPAPER

VOL. LXXIII - NO. 150

MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1977

20¢ Outside
of Chicago

15¢

WEATHER

Today: cloudy, possibly heavy snow, high in 30s.



Ban the Krugerrand...

Demonstrators gathered downtown Saturday to protest the sale of the South African Krugerrand in America. The rally, sponsored by the New African Liberation Support Committee, was one of several held throughout the country seeking a boycott of the gold coin. (Photo by John Gunn)

APPEARING ON THE FRONT PAGE

FACT SHEET ON THE KRUGERRAND

South Africa produces nearly 70% of the world's gold supply. Its sale accounts for 75% of South Africa's foreign earnings.

- * The New York Times reported last year that "the South Africans are minting nearly 5 million coins a year, with the United States getting some 15 per cent of the output."
- * These gold coins (known as the Krugerrand) represent "fully 21 per cent of South Africa's entire output of gold," according to Newsweek.
- * "Black miners earn on average 1/15 that of white miners. There are an average of 3 deaths per shift in the miners of South Africa. Black miners work on 18 month contracts, are forced to live in barracks separated from their families who are not allowed to live with them. Trade unions and strikes are outlawed," New York Voice reveals.

Our government permits the sale of the Krugerrand in this country to help support South Africa's economy.

We must fight to Ban the Krugerrand from the United States because it is

- 1) a direct attack on the masses of the African people ;
- 2) a symbol of apartheid and oppression; we must expose it for what it is — a coin of suffering and death.

To make a big battle out of the Krugerrand

- 1) would be a tremendous political and economic blow to the racist, separatist system of apartheid;
- 2) would be a clear statement that the American people have nothing in common with South Africa's minority rulers, standing instead in solidarity with the struggling masses in Africa, our brothers and sisters ;
- 3) would declare to our government that we oppose its collaboration and cooperation with South Africa's present government.

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!SOWETO REBELLION,
AUGUST 1976

The New African Liberation Support Committee initiated and build this broad-based coalition of progressive organizations and individuals in Chicago and throughout the Midwest to fight against the sale of the Krugerrand gold coin from South Africa, and to fight for the victory of the peoples of Southern Africa. We have won a victory in this short but intense 3 months of struggle.

The Krugerrand has been driven out of retail outlets in such places as Milwaukee, Evanston, and Chicago, and out of t.v. media in New York, Chicago, and elsewhere. We have made some concrete blows against the sale of this coin. More importantly, we have raised the issue and turned it into a battle cry. The anti-Krugerrand campaign has pulled the covers off the vicious South African apartheid system and its main backer--US imperialism.

The brutal oppression and exploitation of African peoples has been at the heart of the blood thirsty system of imperialism. The continued existence of white minority rule in Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia (Southwest Africa) proves that even "old" style colonial rule will be held onto until the bitter end. But that is the nature of imperialism. On the other hand, the nature of oppressed people is to fight back--and that's exactly what freedom fighters in Southern Africa are doing, fighting to bring the rule of imperialism in Africa to its end. It may be bitter in the mouth of an imperialist (whether Rockefeller, Jimmy Carter, or the flunkey Vorster of South Africa), but the end of imperialism will be sweet to us.

Today Africa faces many difficult problems. The Soviet Union, a young aggressive new capitalist superpower, is scheming and intervening in Africa to compete with US imperialists for control of natural resources, cheap labor, and markets. All the while, the two-faced Soviet social imperialists plays the old con game of wearing a smiling face. Sort of like what Jimmy Carter has been doing with us in this country, especially with his empty rap about "human rights" in the world. The crisis of The Horn--Ethiopia-Somalia-Eritrea--and in Angola are the main examples of this. But superpower meddling goes on everywhere, and we must particularly watch developments in Zimbabwe where the superpowers are trying to desperately to run around or break up the Patriotic Front, the united front leading the armed struggle for liberation. We especially protest the attempts to isolate ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union).

Overall, the greatest enemy to the peoples of Southern Africa is US imperialism. In fact, the same rich rulers who daily knock us around do the same in Africa. Every time a Black worker in the United States of America (USA) fights the boss of a major company like Ford, GM, U.S. Steel, International Harvester, IBM, General Electric, and others, there is likely to be a Black worker in the Union of South Africa (USA) doing the same thing against the same bosses. This rotten racist gang of imperialist thugs rips us off and at the same time rips off the masses of African peoples.

WHAT IS THE NEW A.L.S.C.? WHY DO WE BUILD SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION?

A.

The Organizing Committee for A New African Liberation Support Committee (New) is a militant organization of progressive people of all nationalities, especially Black people, guided by the general theme FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM USA (Union of South Africa) TO THE USA (United States of America). The fight in Africa, especially in Southern Africa, and the fight in the United States, especially for Black people, is a fight against very similar problems caused by the same world wide imperialist system, particularly US imperialism.

We do not pit Africa against the United States, asking that people choose between the two. We don't separate the struggles in such a way that we end up united with the con artist rap of Jimmy Carter or Andy Young. We see two different situations in which oppressed people are fighting the same enemy, fighting imperialism and national oppression. Therefore, we say fighting back is the key thing. And further, we say fighting back must be done in the spirit of unity of all nationalities in the United States, and the nations, peoples, and countries of the world against imperialism.

Our primary focus is Africa. We seek to unite with organizations which have as their primary focus other aspects of the overall fight against imperialism and national oppression. Our view is that a fighter for one must become a fighter for all. No one can be free until we are all free!

The New ALSC has as basic points of its political unity: support for all national liberation struggles, with particular emphasis on the struggles in Southern Africa; opposition to both superpowers--US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists; and support for the struggles of the American people against US imperialism, particularly the fight against the oppression of Black people in the US (like the current battle against the Bakke decision and all attacks on affirmative action).

Our activities are developed to implement three overall objectives:

- (a) to educate the American people about the role of imperialism in Africa, particularly US imperialism, and the development of the forces fighting for liberation;
- (b) to provide material aid (medical supplies, blankets, clothes, etc.) for the freedom fighters;
- (c) to struggle against the US imperialists, fighting against their every attack, to create a massive social movement to oppose US imperialism in support of victory for the peoples of South Africa. The Krugerrand was our first big battle.

We call on everyone that agrees with the politics put forward in this leaflet and in this type of demonstration--uniting all who could be united--to JOIN US. We call on all real friends of Africa to JOIN US. We call on students, workers, teachers, doctors, community activists, peoples from all walks of life to JOIN US.

We call on you to JOIN US for action now as we take up and build our own

FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

FROM THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (USA) TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA)!

For further information, please contact:

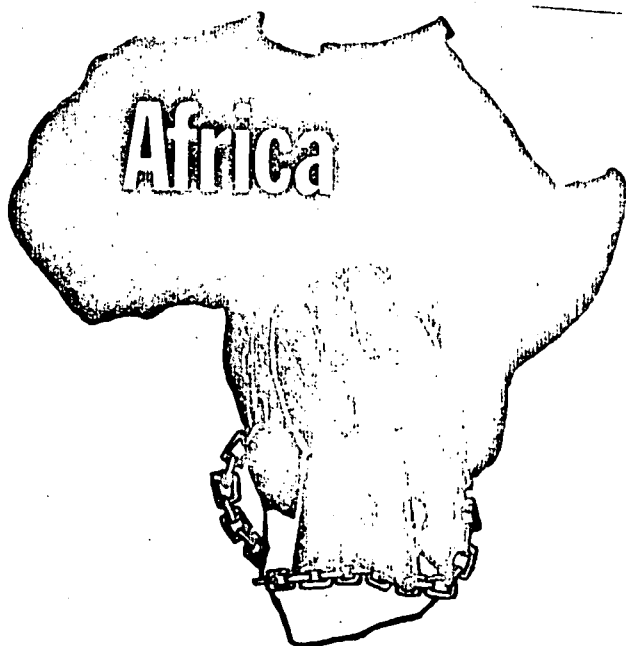
The Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee

P.O. BOX 87141 CHICAGO, IL. 60680

TOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!



Youths raise fists in black power salute during funeral services for Stephen Biko



ALL AFRICA IS RISING UP AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION!

In Southern Africa especially, the fight is against the same system that daily attacks the American people--on the job, in our communities, and in the stores we shop in. This demonstration is one of the ways we are fighting back. We are fighting US imperialism which means at the same time we fight the main enemy of the peoples of Southern Africa, we fight against our enemy, the US imperialist system.

We have two slogans that make up the political focus and unity of this demonstration:

STOP THE SALE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD COIN! BAN THE KRUGERRAND!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

The Krugerrand has two purposes: (a) providing economic support for the barbaric system of apartheid and white minority rule, and (b) serving as the basis for a campaign of political propaganda which paints the vicious racist system with a pretty "golden" face. In the last three months, we have won some initial victories against both aspects of this attack.

In Chicago, IL. we beat back the Krugerrand and drove it out of Carson Pirie Scott. In Milwaukee we drove it out of M&I Bank. In the Detroit area only yesterday, we seized a bank. We have turned the Krugerrand into a battle. Even more importantly, we have raised the battle to the level of mass social awareness. In Chicago, this was accomplished with 15 demonstrations, 50,000 leaflets, press coverage, and most important--a correct political understanding that the sale of the Krugerrand is merely the tip of the overall imperialist attack against the peoples of Southern Africa and the American people. So we have exposed South Africa, revealed its dependency on the imperialist system, and targeted US imperialism as the main enemy of the peoples of Southern Africa just as it is our enemy here in the United States. WE WILL CONTINUE THIS FIGHT!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

THE BAN THE KRUGERRAND COALITION: WHO ARE WE?

INITIATED BY THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A NEW AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

(PARTIAL LISTING; ORGANIZATIONS OFTEN USED FOR IDENTIFICATION ONLY)

STUDENTS, STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS, FACULTY, AND UNIVERSITY STAFF: AFRO-AMERICAN ORGANIZATION, CHICAGO STATE UNIVERSITY; UHURU (BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION), THORNTON COMMUNITY COLLEGE; STERLING D. PLUMPP, BLACK STUDIES, UICC; CHICAGO-KENT BLACK AMERICAN LAW STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (BALSA); HAROLD BARON, URBAN STUDIES-ASSOCIATED COLLEGES OF THE MIDWEST; JOSEPH PERSKY, ECONOMICS, UICC; MATTIE HOPKINS, FORMERLY BLACK TEACHERS' CAUCUS; SPAIN LASHLEY, COORDINATOR OF FOR MEMBERS ONLY (BLACK STUDENTS ORGANIZATION), NORTHWESTERN U.; DENNIS BRUTUS, PROF., NU, EXILED SOUTH AFRICAN POET; AND SEVENTY-FIVE STUDENTS AND TWENTY-FIVE FACULTY AND STAFF OF NORTHWESTERN.

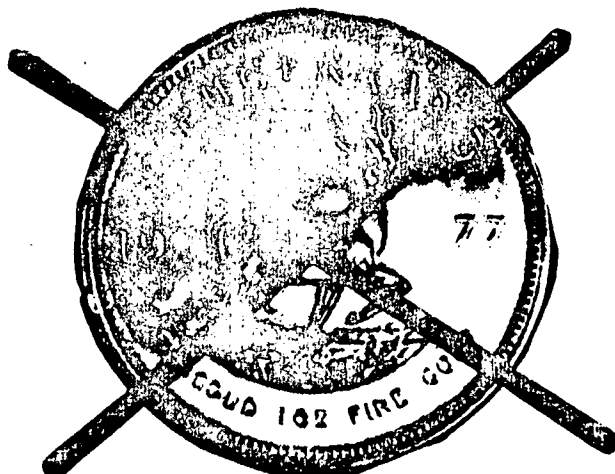
CHURCHES, MINISTERS, AND CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS: FATHER GEORGE CLEMONS, HOLY ANGELS CHURCH; CHURCH AND SOCIETY COMMISSION, TRINITY UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST; REV. CLAY EVANS, FELLOWSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH; REV. HENRY HARDY, COSMOPOLITAN COMMUNITY CHURCH; REV. D.I. ISOM, ST. PAUL C.M.E.; REV. NATHANIEL JARRETT, MARTIN TEMPLE A.M.E.Z.; REV. KENNETH SMITH, CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD; THE UNITED FAITH TABERNACLE CHURCH; THIRD UNITARIAN CHURCH; REV. JOHNSON, WESLEY UNITED METHODIST CHURCH; REV. JAMES CANTRELL, MANOR COMMUNITY CHURCH; LARICE MARCH, BLACK CHRISTIAN MINISTRY; SIX MEMBERS OF THE MARCY NEWBERRY ASSOCIATION; UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MINISTRY; GARY GIBBS, SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH (EVANSTON), GREG KINNEY, CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY;

ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS: ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A NEW AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC); ASSOCIATION OF ERITREAN STUDENTS IN NORTH AMERICA; PEOPLES COLLEGE; BARRY ADAMS, KAPPA ALPHA PSI; STEVE BIKO MEMORIAL COMMITTEE (EVANSTON); DONALD JOYCE, CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY; ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER AUSTIN, 5TH CITY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION; REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE; JIM GALE, CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIAL EXPLOITATION (AUSTRALIA); THE WORKER NEWSPAPER; WILL CROSBY, UNITED BLACK VOTERS OF ILLINOIS; NATIONAL UNITED WORKERS ORGANIZATION; VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR; BILL MEYER, GREATER ILLINOIS PEOPLES COOPERATIVE; REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY.

FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KRUGERRAND CONTACT:

NEW A.L.S.C.

P.O. BOX 87141
CHICAGO, IL. 60680





President Strotz answers student questions

Photo by Paul Sagan

NU retaining S. African stock

By Dale Kasler and Rick Wamre

Northwestern need not set a "moral example" by selling stock in companies that invest in South Africa, University President Robert H. Strotz told a skeptical black audience Monday night.

Congressional legislation, rather than ideological examples, is needed to curb United States corporate investment in South Africa, he said.

"I don't think these problems get solved by trying to preach to people. It could well be that what is needed here are some new laws from Congress," Strotz told about 55 NU black students at the Black House, 1914 Sherian Rd.

NU'S BOARD OF Trustees, which makes major university investment decisions, should not have the right to tamper with the NU portfolio, Strotz said.

"I don't like the idea of having our trustees, just because they're trustees, deciding that they can take the university's (investment) portfolio and start switching around investments" on the basis of moral judgements, Strotz said.

It is hard to determine how heavily NU has invested in companies that invest in South Africa, Strotz said after the meeting. Civil-rights supporters have charged that these companies support apartheid in South Africa with their investments.

Strotz also repeated the South African policy he stated Nov. 9 at an Associated Student Government Forum meeting, saying that if NU sells its holdings in these

companies, others will buy them.

Asked about NU's Affirmative Action minorities hiring goals, Strotz said NU's hiring goals "are quite ambitious."

NU missed some of its 1974-77 hiring goals and has set lower goals for 1980. However, Strotz said "I think it has been better for us to have highly ambitious targets than modest targets which can be easily achieved without much effort."

Several times during the 70-minute meeting, Strotz said he was unable to answer specifically questions about black problems and concerns.

One student asked him "why (he) knows nothing about the black community."

"I CAN'T KNOW EVERYTHING about what's going on, and that's true for many parts of the university. There is no way I can be on top of all of these things," Strotz replied, adding that his meetings with students are informative.

Strotz said he would direct students to other administrators about questions he himself couldn't answer.

During and after the question-and-answer session, students criticized Strotz for being unaware of black student activities.

"If you (Strotz) don't know our activities, you can't clearly support our interests," For Members Only Coordinator Spain Lashley said during the meeting.

Daily Northwestern, 1/24/78

SELL THE STOCK

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, OPPOSE THE DECISION OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY TO RETAIN STOCK AND BONDS IN CORPORATIONS OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA. FEEL THAT THE POSITION OF NORTHWESTERN'S BOARD OF TRUSTEES DOES NOT REFLECT THE SENTIMENTS OR GOALS OF THE NORTHWESTERN COMMUNITY. FURTHER, WE BELIEVE THAT NORTHWESTERN'S BOARD OF TRUSTEES IS PLACING THE ENTIRE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY ON THE SIDE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S OPPRESSIVE MINORITY GOVERNMENT AND AGAINST THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE. WE THEREFORE UNITE AROUND THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS:

SELL THE STOCK! U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA!
SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLES!

NAME

ADDRESS

1. ALMOST 1,000 SIGNATURES HAVE BEEN COLLECTED ON THIS PETITION!
2. A MAJORITY OF STUDENTS VOTING IN A CAMPUS WIDE REFERENDUM SUPPORTED THIS!
3. THE FORUM OF THE ASSOCIATED STUDENT GOVERNMENT VOTED ITS SUPPORT!
4. _____
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(Petition Initiated by the New African Liberation Support Committee)

WE PROTEST!

NU retaining S. African stock

By Dale Kasler and Rick Wamre

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Daily Northwestern 1/24/78

President Strotz's remarks supporting NU investments in South Africa is a slap in the face and insults the intelligence of the NU-Evanston community. At a time when more and more American people are supporting the freedom struggle of the Azanian (South African) masses, Strotz has the gall to single-handedly place OUR university on the side of the brutal South African regime.

In 1976, NU had over \$75 million dollars invested in the stocks and bonds of some 40 banks and corporations doing business with South Africa. In addition, Strotz is also protecting the interest of the board of trustees. The majority of NU's board of trustee members also sit on the boards of corporations with heavy investments in South Africa, including First Natl. Bank of Chicago, Continental Bank, G.D. Searle, Abbott Laboratories and International Harvester.

The New African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) is an organization of concerned students, faculty and community residents who feel it is important to study and struggle against imperialism, an international system of exploitation and oppression. We feel it is important to understand and investigate the role of U.S. corporations in South Africa and their exploitation of the South African people. We invite you and representatives from your organization to meet with us and form a coalition to oppose Northwestern's continued support of modern slavery and illegal minority rule in South Africa.

JOIN US

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 6 to 8 p.m., LEVERONE G-093, NU EVANSTON CAMPUS

FILM 6 to 7 p.m.: "LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA"

SEE THE BRUTAL CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT NU HELPS TO MAINTAIN THROUGH ITS INVESTMENTS.

DISCUSSION 7 to 8 p.m.: ORGANIZING A COALITION AGAINST NU SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA. PLANNING EDUCATIONAL FORUMS, FILMS, PETITION DRIVES.

SPEAKERS: NEW ALSC, STEVE BIKO MEMORIAL COMMITTEE AND OTHERS.

Friday, February 3, 1978
Vol. 93, No 71
Evanston, Ill.

WORLD ALLEY

NU 62-222 AD 63 723

NU has \$65 million tied to S. Africa

By Neil Chotik and Dale Kessler

Northwestern holds more than \$65 million worth of stocks and bonds in U.S. companies which have affiliate or subsidiary operations in South Africa.

These investments totalled about 33 percent of NU's \$200 million in stocks and bonds as of Dec. 31, 1977, according to figures released this week by John Borsch Jr., director of investments for NU.

Over all, NU owns shares in about 260 corporations and governments associated. Twenty of the corporations have South African interests.

APARTHEID opponents have charged that these corporations are perpetuating oppression of blacks in white-ruled South Africa. These supporters have asked NU and other universities to sell their interests in these companies, but University President Robert H. Strotz has said NU will keep these investments.

The NU Board of Trustees controls all university investments, and "it is a breach of a fundamental principle for the (investment) portfolio to be used by the trustees to (voice) their social judgment," Strotz said Tuesday.

The trustees are obligated to make investments to make money for NU, Strotz said.

Strotz said it is not economically feasible for NU to divest its investments in South African affiliated companies.

He said selling the stock could result in a five percent loss of the stocks' market value. This means NU could lose over \$3 million.

STROTZ SAID, "It doesn't really make any difference if we sell the stock or not." If NU sells these stocks, someone else will buy them, he said last month.

English Prof. Dennis Brutus, an exiled South African, disagrees with Strotz's comments.

Strotz's statement, Brutus said Thursday, "shows an alarming lack of moral principle. I had assumed that the university had some moral concerns."

"Is Northwestern guilty of supporting apartheid? My answer is absolutely 'yes.' At the moment, Northwestern is operating at least in part on profits derived from the exploitation and oppression of blacks in South Africa," Brutus said.

THE COMPANIES report appeared in the following way, Brutus said.

U.S. firms make "enormous" profits in South Africa by using cheap, non-union black labor.

The companies there strengthen the minority government by pumping money into the economy and by building areas to control the blacks.

The companies operate within the apartheid laws and discriminate against the blacks, even though 56 of the over 200 U.S. firms in South Africa have signed the Sullivan Agreement, pledging to support certain non-discriminatory principles.

The agreement, signed by 10 of the companies in which NU invests, "does no more than provide a face-lifting for the corporations," Brutus said.

For example, the agreement calls for "equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time."

But Brutus said blacks never can obtain equal pay because by law they are excluded from performing some "equal or comparable" jobs.

Jerry Parrott, a spokesman for American Hospital Supply Corp., one of the companies that signed the agreement, said Thursday, "We signed the, damn principles. I can only assume we didn't sign them lightly."

NU's holdings in U.S. companies in S. Africa

STOCKS	
Abbott Laboratories	\$4.9 million
American Express	\$1.1 million
American Machine Supply	\$15.0 million
Eastman Kodak	\$1.1 million
General Electric	\$2 million
General Motors	\$2.8 million
Goodyear Tire and Rubber	\$1.8 million
IBM	\$2.7 million
Marathon	\$2.9 million
McDonald	\$2.7 million
Modco Chemical	\$1.8 million
Northern AC	\$1.4 million
G.D. Searle	\$7.5 million
Texasco	\$2.1 million
Total	\$53.7 million
BONDS	
Dow Chemical	\$9.9 million
Enron Pipeline	\$1.9 million
Ford Motor	\$1 million
GM Acceptance	\$3.2 million
Phillips Petroleum	\$0.9 million
Total	\$10.1 million
Grand total	\$63.8 million

Only trustees make investment decisions

From Page 1

NU HOLDS \$15 million in stocks in American Hospital Supply, 1 American Plaza, Evanston, whose chairman and chief executive officer is NU trustee Karl D. Bays.

"Our signing the Sullivan Agreement speaks for itself," Parrott said of the company's view on South African apartheid.

The other companies NU invests in which have signed the agreement are: Abbott Laboratories; Eastman Kodak; Exxon; General Motors; Goodyear Tire and Rubber; Ford Motor; IBM; Nalco Chemical and Phillips Petroleum.

In the fiscal year ending August 31, 1977, NU made a total of \$15 million from all its stocks and bonds. It is not clear how

much of that total was received from the South African affiliated companies.

Borsch said he makes no policy decisions himself. "I make the recommendations. The trustees make the final ratifications," he said.

BORSCH SAID the trustees have discussed selling the South African investments but have come up with "no hard and fast rules. They have concluded that it is in the best interest of the school and South Africa to have industry there."

Some corporations defend their South African interests by claiming they provide badly-needed employment to the country.

College of Arts and Sciences senior Scott Barrett, a member of a national committee concerned with African affairs, disagreed with that defense.

Barrett said he has talked to South Africans who told him they work only because they are forced to.

"They say they'd really rather put up with unemployment now than be slaves for the next 150 years," said Barrett, a member of the African Liberation Support committee. Barrett said the committee will disclose Monday the results of its own investigation into NU's South Africa holdings.

AN NU expert on international economics, Assoc. management Prof. Jean M. Blin, agreed with Strotz's statement that if NU sells its stock, other companies would buy and apartheid will not be affected.

"The companies' willingness to stay in South Africa depends on the earnings situations there," Blin said. "It doesn't matter who owns the stock."

Strotz also said Tuesday, "The universi-

ty should not take a stand on anything except matters of higher education and its immediate corporate existence.

"It's not the students who would decide (to sell the stock), it's not the faculty, it's not the administration. It's the trustees who make investment decisions.

"IT ISN'T South Africa—it's what kind of precedent we're setting," Strotz said.

"We would be telling the trustees they should be using their control over the portfolio to exercise their social judgment."

Once NU sets that precedent, the trustees could manipulate the portfolio in the future according to their social, not financial, priorities, Strotz said.

"I think the position I'm taking is a highly principled one, although I'll get criticized for being unprincipled," Strotz said.

DAAILY PORTHWESTER

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NU trustees: Keep S. Africa stock

B-7

By Neil Crichton
and Don Kessler

Four members of Northwestern's Board of Trustees said Sunday that NU will not sell the \$65 million in stocks and bonds it holds in companies that operate in South Africa, confirming University President Robert H. Strotz's statements last week.

The board of trustees controls NU's investments.

Karl D. Bays, a trustee and chairman and chief executive officer of American Hospital Supply Corp., Evanston, which has manufacturing plants in South Africa, said selling the stocks "would be a giant mistake."

NU holds at least \$65 million worth of stocks and bonds in 20 companies with affiliates or subsidiary operations in South

Africa.

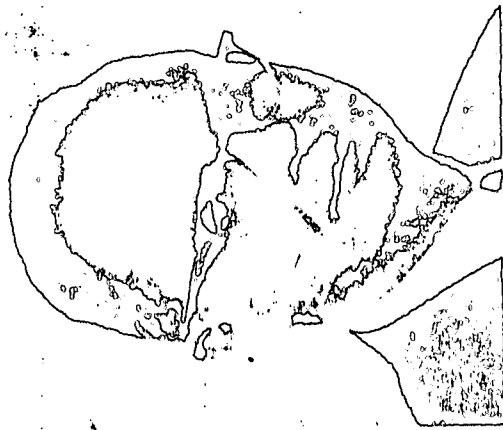
APARTHEID opponents say NU and other universities support South Africa's white supremacist policies with their investments in companies like American Hospital Supply.

Bays, whose company makes hypodermic needles and other hospital supplies in South Africa, said, "We should not be supporting apartheid, but I don't see how investing in those corporations to further the interests of the university is supporting apartheid."

Trustee Blaine J. Yarrington also agreed with Strotz, who said last week that the trustees' responsibility is to make money for the university.

"As a trustee, I would not be comfortable if (the board's Investment Committee) were to try to exercise individual social judgments on the (investment) portfolio," said Yarrington, executive vice president of Standard Oil Company of Indiana.

IF NU sells stocks according to social judgment, he said, "then you begin to open up a Pandora's Box of all social judgments."



Thomas G. Ayers

"We're probably helping the people (of South Africa) by providing them with jobs."

—Thomas G. Ayers

"The investment committee has to live up to its responsibility to take that portfolio and invest it for the highest financial gain and the benefit of the university and higher education and the students enrolled," Yarrington said.

Thomas G. Ayers, chairman of the board of trustees, agreed. "We have a job to do at Northwestern—to try to invest in companies that will yield the most money."

"We're probably helping the people (of South Africa) by providing them with jobs," he said.

APARTHEID opponents, however, say that companies in South Africa exploit black people. BAYS said, "They (black) don't equal pay in our place (American Hospital Supply). They eat in the same cafeteria. American Hospital Supply has plenty to support certain non-discriminatory practices by signing the Sullivan Agreement, a document signed by 55 other U.S. companies with interests in South Africa."

English Prof. Dennis Brutus, an anti-apartheid activist, said the agreement is meaningless. Bays said that the agreement helps South African blacks. "We've even come close to breaching the law to support equal opportunity and employment," he said.

The trustees have discussed the idea of selling the stocks, but "the arguments for

selling the stocks really didn't hold water," said John J. Louis Jr., chairman of the board's Investment Committee. If NU sells its stocks, others will buy them, Louis said.

Holding stocks in South African investors "does more good than... it doesn't do any harm," Louis said. "I'm convinced that the multi-nationals operating in South Africa ought to stay there. They're setting a really good example."

LOUIS SAID he had visited South Africa several times, the last time about five years ago. "It's really nerve-shattering to see what the government is doing there," he said. "But what the businesses are doing is good."

Emphasizing NU's financial needs, Ayers said, "We've had requests not to invest in companies which do surface mining and we've had requests not to invest in companies which pollute the air. At the same time, the students don't want tuition to go up."

The \$65 million in investments represent about 33 percent of NU's stocks and bonds as of Dec. 31, 1977, according to figures released last week by John Borsch Jr., director of investments. Over all, NU owns shares in about 260 corporations and government agencies, which provide about \$15 million in income last year.

Borsch said most companies with South African interests derive only about one half of one percent to one percent of their total profits from South Africa.

NU's black trustees: Keep S. Africa stocks

By Dale Kester

The two black members of Northwestern's Board of Trustees said Wednesday they sympathize with South African blacks but do not think NU should sell its approximately \$65-million investment in 20 U.S. companies that have operations or interests in white-ruled South Africa.

"To call for the immediate divestiture of those stocks" would cost NU money and contribute to a tuition increase, because stock prices are low, said trustee George E. Johnson, president of Johnson Products Co.,

Inc., Chicago.

However, he said, "in the future, we should not invest in companies that do business in South Africa."

Jeanne Edna Thelwell, NU's other black trustee and a 1972 NU graduate, said, "What bothers me about controversies like this is that it concentrates people's energies on 'straw men' and on positions that are essentially symbolic."

"IN THE END, if Northwestern were to sell its \$65 million in companies that have operations in South Africa, I'm not sure it would make a snowball's worth of

difference to the blacks of South Africa," said Thelwell, an assistant attorney general in New York City.

"And I'm not sure that it would make a snowball's worth of difference to the government in South Africa," she said.

University President Robert H. Strotz and several trustees including board Chairman Thomas G. Ayers, have said NU will not sell its holdings in those companies. The Board of Trustees controls NU's investments.

Apartheid opponents say NU and other universities support South Africa's white supremacist policies by investing in companies with South African interests.

The trustees have discussed the idea of selling the stocks, but "the arguments for selling the stocks really didn't hold water," John J. Louis Jr., chairman of the board's investment committee, said recently.

JOHNSON SAID, "I'm sure that when the (South African-related) investments were made, it was not known that these companies were doing business in South Africa. The stocks were bought a long time ago."

Johnson also indicated that a gradual sale of the stocks might be feasible "if there were assurances that the university would not lose any money." But he quickly repeated that immediate sale would cost NU money, and isn't wise.

NU's investments director estimated last week that selling the stocks could cost NU over \$3 million. The \$65 million investment NU has in the companies represents about 33 percent of NU's \$200 million in stocks and bonds, according to figures.

NU made about \$15 million from all its stocks and bonds last year—about 10 percent of the university's income. It is not clear how much of that came from investments in companies that operate in South Africa.

Apartheid opponents have charged the firms with supporting the South African government's racist policies by exploiting cheap black labor in their factories.

Fight NU trustees' support of S. Africa

This viewpoint was written by the New African Liberation Support Committee, Northwestern chapter.

Northwestern University's Board of Trustees has demonstrated only its own selfish interests in serving the rich by deciding to retain its stock and bonds in corporations and banks which operate in South Africa. This decision reflects the profit-over-people interests of a few imperialists on the board of trustees and not the people of this university—students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends—who have a right to speak out and decide on this crucial issue.

The New African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) believes that Northwestern University is an imperialist university. It is part of an international system in which a few super-rich exploit and oppress the people of many countries by ripping off their labor, natural resources and wealth. But, this is hollow rhetoric unless we can prove it. And the facts speak for themselves.

A study of the University's investments reveal many of the NU trustees are chief executive officers, board chairmen, presidents, and board members of these very same companies which operate in South Africa and in which NU has substantial investment.

For example, NU's largest investment is \$15 million in American Hospital Supply Corporation, which has a manufacturing plant in South Africa. Two members of the NU board sit on the board of American Hospital Corp.

Moreover, ALSC research reveals that NU has much more than the \$65 million in investments that the Daily reported. NU also has millions of dollars of stock in major banks like First National Bank/First National Corp. and Continental Bank, pivots of U.S. imperialism in South Africa.

In 1976, First National joined other banks in lending \$110 million to the South African government. First National refuses to stop the sale of the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand. Continental Bank has also made huge loans to the South African government.

Other corporations in which NU owns stock which operate in South Africa, and which in turn have representatives on the NU board to oversee the university's financial policy are IBM, GM Acceptance, G.D. Searle, Abbott Laboratories, Motorola, General Motors, General Electric and several others. Investments in these corporations which invest in South Africa and whose representatives dominate the NU board comprise a substantial portion of NU's investments. It is clear to us, therefore, that the decision to retain the stocks

and bonds are made in the LaSalle Street corporate board rooms and not in the NU community.

The recent statements by the Board of Trustees puts the entire university on the side of minority rule, and against the majority of people in South Africa.

"...If NU were to sell its \$65 million in companies that have operations in South Africa, I'm not sure it would make a snowball's work of difference to the blacks of South Africa," said one of the two black NU trustees.

"We're probably helping the people of South Africa by providing them with jobs," said Chairman Thomas Ayers.

It is not the role of U.S. corporations and imperialists to speculate that their investments "probably help" the people of Southern Africa. England certainly felt that its domination over the colonies "probably

helped" the American people before the American Revolution. The people of South Africa have spoken out against continued U.S. investment, saying that it gives stability to South Africa's exploitative regime.

NU English Prof. Dennis Brutus, a South African forced to flee his country, has repeatedly stated that the South African people oppose continued U.S. investments.

By investing in South Africa, NU and U.S. corporations are denying the people of South Africa the very principle of self-determination that was the goal of the American Revolution and which the United Nations has upheld.

"The arguments for selling the stocks really didn't hold water. If NU sells its stock, others will buy them," said University President Robert H. Strotz.

"To call for the immediate divestiture of those stocks would cost NU money and contribute to a tuition increase, because stock



Graphics by Steve McConnell

prices are low," said one of two black trustees on the board.

Should a heroin dealer not be stopped from selling heroin because another gangster may supply the market? Should the American people not have opposed Hitler because fascism may have reared its ugly head some other place in the world? The issue here is more fundamental than the trustees or Strotz assume that the people of NU understand. This is why their statements over the past few weeks insult the intelligence and is a slap in the face of most members of the NU community.

Since the NU trustees express such concern over apartheid and such lofty interest in Northwestern University, their words should be put to the test. For example, it has been estimated that NU would lose over \$3 million dollars by selling the stock immediately. First, the profits on U.S. investments in South Africa from 1960-1968 has totaled \$824 million. Thus, the 3 million that the NU trustees are complaining over has already been made several times over by their own corporations. This cost of immediate divestiture (i.e., selling the stock) is a small price to pay for a just solution, which really should have no price.

Second, let the imperialists pay since they made all the profits. One percent of American Hospital Supply's pre-tax earnings would net NU about \$1.4 million, which would pay the bill over three years (probably tax free). If this \$3 million cost is shared by the corporations on the board, as they have shared the loot made from exploiting the people in South Africa, then the cost to them individually would be minimal and painless.

We urge the unity and support of the entire NU community around the demands that ALSC proposed for a Coalition to Oppose NU Investments in South Africa.

Further, we urge struggle. As Frederick Douglass, the Afro-American freedom fighter whose birthday is celebrated next week in Negro History Week/Black Liberation Month stated: "The Struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

We should leave no stone unturned in devising methods to accomplish what is right. We must struggle to place NU on the side of justice in South Africa, on the side which seeks to support the struggle for the fundamental human and national rights that are long overdue the majority of the people of South Africa.

Letters

Friday, February 10, 1978.

American investments 'contribute to apartheid'

By Terri Minaky

American financial involvement in South Africa contributes to apartheid rule there, two speakers said to an audience of 30 Wednesday night at a Steve Biko Memorial Committee sponsored forum.

The speakers stressed that it is a myth that U.S. corporations in South Africa promote democracy and integration.

Carole Collins, coordinator of the Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, said that private U.S. corporations are interested in South Africa because so much cheap labor is available. In recent years, she said, companies have been averaging nearly a 20 percent rate of return, compared to 11 percent world-wide.

"THE UNITED STATES is responsible for 70 percent of the foreign investment in South Africa," she said. "They have two billion in direct and indirect investments, and three billion in loans."

She added that the government supports this expenditure by guaranteeing tax credit to the private companies.

Black labor conditions were discussed by John Rowe, an NU African history professor.

"Apartheid, which means apartness, is a kind of vanishing trick the government plays," he said. "If you put the blacks out of sight, they'll be out of mind."

On his first visit to South Africa in 1963, Rowe said he experienced a kind of culture shock. Expecting to see a majority of blacks, he saw few at first.

"I FINALLY did see them," he recalled.

"Outside my hotel window, at 6:30 in the morning. There were thousands of them, a black sea of labor waiting for the stream of buses which would take them to work before the white commuters were up."

Rowe said the government has designated nine areas as Bantu homelands for

the black South Africans. Most, he said, are barren, dry lands. If a black does not have a job, he or she is given 72 hours to find one or they are "endorsed out" by the government and forced to live in one of these reserve areas.

Sex-segregated dorms were built for working men and women, which forced married couples to live apart. Rowe likened them to prisons, with one sanitary facility for every 14 people, all of whom want to use them in the early morning before they leave for work.

'The United States is responsible for 70 percent of the foreign investment in South Africa.'

—Carole Collins

Dennis Brutus, an NU English professor and South African exile, and a representative of the University of Chicago Action Committee on South Africa were scheduled to speak on the panel but cancelled.

The question arose as to whether it would make any difference if the United States pulled out of South Africa, since another country would probably take over the investments.

Rowe answered, "I'd like to quote Dennis Brutus in answering this. 'Does a mother think to herself, if I don't send my daughter out into the streets, some other mother will do it? So in order to avoid the situation she sends her own daughter out as a prostitute. Does that ever happen?'"

Why not to divest

What would be the effect of Northwestern's selling all of its stocks and bonds in corporations which have affiliate or subsidiary operations in South Africa? I can't argue that the effect would be "minimal" on combatting apartheid in that country. And I don't doubt that an "exiled South African" can be found, as you did in your news story of Feb. 3, who would claim that NU's holdings show "an alarming lack of moral principle."

Let us assume the maximum impact. NU sells its stocks; the companies' executives are criticized for bad market action on the part of their securities; they meet, discuss the situation, and decide to "pull out" of South Africa to stem the tide of further sales following upon NU's.

How do they "pull out?" They simply

sell their assets. ~~On~~ ~~are~~ ~~now~~ in South Africa—hospital ~~and~~ ~~other~~ ~~industrial~~ ~~and~~ ~~service~~ manufacturing plants of all kinds, service industries, etc. Whom do they sell them to? Not to other American companies who don't want adverse stock consequences. So they are sold to South African businessmen. The capital-producing assets in South Africa continue exactly as before, only now the profits go to South African businessmen instead of American businessmen. Moreover, without the "foreign" investment in their country, South Africa can go its own ways without any more worry of possible American business pressure.

Thus, if you want to encourage apartheid, by all means urge NU to sell its stocks. If you want to oppress blacks in South Africa much more than they are oppressed now, then listen to the exiles

More on Page 16

From Page 11

and listen to the unthinking rhetoric of those who are in search of a "cause" and are looking to find an unthinking audience in you.

Anthony D'Amico
Professor of Law

Perspectives

2/14/78

B-13

OF THE DAILY NORTHWESTERN

Northwestern University's student newspaper, founded 1881
Editorials express majority opinions of the editorial board

Letters

Sell stocks—or else

The arguments forwarded by various Northwestern officials for not selling the university's South African stocks do not appear to be very convincing.

One popular argument has been that if NU were to sell its stocks somebody else would buy them anyway, thus nullifying the desired effect. If NU truly believes its investments to be unconscionable, the fact that somebody else might buy them should not matter. One cannot persist in an action one admits to be wrong on the grounds that someone else might do it if you didn't. By the same token, it makes no sense to argue, as did trustee Thelwell, that NU's withdrawal "wouldn't make a snowball's worth of difference," especially when we know how big a snowball can get once it starts rolling.

There is, however, one important argument that has not come up in all the discussion concerning South African stocks. The argument is that it is very bad business for any corporation to be investing in stocks that are sure to decline under the inexorable march of time. Anyone who fails to see at this late stage the feverish pace of decolonization in Southern Africa does so at his own peril—both moral and financial. NU's investment counsellor take note. Sell while you can!

Abraham Demoz
Director, Program of African Studies

Trustees Insult NU

The arguments which have been offered in recent days in defense of Northwestern's holdings in companies investing in South Africa are an insult to the intelligence of a university community. We have been subjected to all manner of casuistry, from the argument that NU would lose money by the sale (hire Bert Lance's financial managers if there is no one at NU who knows how to market stocks in what brokers like to describe as an "orderly" manner) to the argument that American corporations' support for the South African economy actually helps black South Africans to the argument that divestiture "would (not) make a snowball's worth of difference to the government in South Africa."

Those attempting thus to trivialize the question know very well that divestiture is not an end in itself, but a means toward an end; and that end is to put pressure on American corporations to stop sustaining the South African economy. The withdrawal of support by a major university stockholder, especially if it served to encourage similar action by other universities, could not help placing pressure on the corporations involved.

And the South African economy could not survive desertion by its foreign investors, as the example of Rhodesia, hemorrhaging population by the hour, ought to make clear. So the argument, which has been iterated and reiterated in recent days, that the action would be purely symbolic and without practical effect, deliberately misses the point. Divestiture by Northwestern reaches only a part of the problem; namely, that part over which Northwestern exercises control. But it is most definitely more than a symbolic gesture.

If Northwestern's trustees and the corporate apparatus of which, by and large, they form a part, oppose the use of such a sanction, the reason is that they prefer the status quo in South Africa to the unknown situation which may follow its collapse: factional strife, Soviet penetration, nationalizations, expulsion of expatriates, freezing of assets, reprisals for brutalities committed under the apartheid regime, and similar circumstances which tend to interfere with the orderly pursuit of profits. They oppose the use of stockholders' pressure on corporations investing in South Africa for exactly the same reason that the United States time and again vetoed Security Council sanctions: not a belief that these measures would be effective, but precisely a fear that they might be effective. It would be much more becoming for them to say so frankly.

They surely cannot mean to say that they feel it is beyond the capability and responsibility of stockholders to intervene in political decisions of corporate management whose effect is to establish American foreign policy. That would be tantamount to saying that corporate sovereignty is absolute: it is already beyond the reach of mere citizens, and now it is to be set beyond the reach of stockholders as well. It would give the lie to the ideology which America trumpets to the world, and announce for all to hear that the system of so-called "free enterprise" is incompatible with the institutions of democracy.

Barbara J. Brown
Department of Afro-American Studies

2/17

Perspective

DAILY FEB 17, 1978 NORTHWESTERN

Northwestern University's student newspaper, founded 1881
Editorials express majority opinions of the editorial board

NU: Consider divestiture

Contrary to what University President Robert H. Strotz has said, NU does have an ethical obligation to divest itself of South African-related stock. Perhaps more than any group of stockholders, universities have a special responsibility to make their investments socially and politically sound.

Northwestern is involved in South Africa in a most serious way, with more than 30 percent of its total investments tied to companies which invest in South Africa. Promoting liberal education and the values associated with it can hardly be viewed as consistent with what amounts to profiting from apartheid.

NU cannot rationalize away its responsibility with the delusion that an American corporate presence there has been or will ever be a force for change.

History belies that assumption with innumerable examples, such as International Telephone and Telegraph's involvement in the Chilean coup d'etat, and the United Fruit Company's involvement in Nicaragua.

Certainly the primary objective of investment should be to optimize financial return, but NU must seek a method of doing this without supporting activities the impact of which are contrary to the university's fundamental moral and ethical principles.

Other universities have found a way. As the president of the University of Minnesota has said, "Where the university has investments, it has a moral responsibility to look at the nature of those investments." Divestment resolutions have already been ratified by the University of Massachusetts, Smith College, Hampshire College

and the Oregon Board of Higher Education.

Now the NU trustees should take action. They should appoint a fact-finding committee on investment responsibility with representatives from students, faculty members and trustees with opposing viewpoints to recommend guidelines for possible divestiture.

The fact-finding committee would have several alternatives. First, it could simply recommend divestiture of all stock in companies with South African investments.

Second, the committee could write to companies in which NU holds stock to request a report of their activities in South Africa. The committee could recommend that the trustees sell stock in those companies which either do not respond or whose reports are unsatisfactory.

Third, the committee could conclude that NU's support of companies with South African investments is abhorrent, but that the university's financial well-being depends on the stock. In this case, the committee could recommend that no more investments in these companies be made and that the trustees begin divestiture slowly and as prudently as possible.

NU must not, as Strotz would have it, rationalize away its involvement in the destructive South African apartheid. Truly it is difficult to look at an issue as disturbing as this one in an honest, forthright way.

But explaining away NU's responsibility to the people of South Africa will be much more burdensome for the university, in the long run, than taking a moral stand and selling the stock now.

Day 4 NorthWestern: 2/22/78

ASG to consider S. Africa stock bill tonight

By Rick Wamre

Northwestern should immediately begin divesting about \$65 million in stocks and bonds in 17 United States corporations with South African ties, according to a bill set to be considered at tonight's Associated Student Government Forum meeting.

"As a moral and active force in the world, NU condemns the racist policies of South Africa and should take forceful steps to bring an end to the current regime," states the bill, authored by ASG President Jim Lewis.

If the bill passes, it would be the first time since ASG's formation in 1969 that the student group has taken action dealing specifically with NU's investment policies.

BUT IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THE BILL WILL DIRECTLY AFFECT NU'S INVESTMENT POLICIES.

"If this is passed, the bill will be an official statement by the student body on this issue. As such, it cannot be dismissed as simple rhetoric," said Michael J. Gelfand, ASG forum speaker.

Lewis said at least one NU administrator called the plan "crazy," leaving further doubt about the bill's actual effectiveness.

The bill asks NU to work mainly through two corporations, American Hospital Supply and G.D. Searle, "to persuade these (members of the board of) directors that it is in the best interest of South Africa and their own companies to pull out."

FIVE MEMBERS OF American Hospital Supply's 12-person board of directors are either NU trustees or hold other posts within the university, according to the bill.

G.D. Searle has three NU trustees on its board of directors, and the husband of a fourth NU trustee is a member of Searle's board.

Stock in these corporations will be retained for one year while ASG and NU attempt to influence the corporations' policies toward South African blacks.

If efforts to alter the policy have failed after one year, the bill requires NU to begin divestiture in both.

THE BILL ALSO REQUIRES NU TO IMMEDIATELY BEGIN divestiture in 17 companies on which NU can have little impact because of their size. These firms include Eastman Kodak, General Motors, Goodyear, Texaco, Dow Chemical and Ford Motors.

The bill cites three reasons for its adoption:

- The negative publicity that would accompany NU's stock sale would affect both companies and would further publicize the plight of South African blacks.

- By persuading corporations to alter policies of investment in South Africa, NU can "further weaken the oppressive regime" presently running the country.

- "If the corporations prove to have neither the conscience nor the business sense to leave South Africa, then NU will have the conscience to leave them."



Jim Lewis



ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A NEW AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 87141

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680

B-16

February 28, 1979

NEW ALSC STATEMENT ON NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY INVESTMENTS

The New African Liberation Support Committee (New ALSC) initiated and helped to build this Coalition to Oppose NU Investments in South Africa as another campaign to support the just struggles of the people of Southern Africa.

Under the general theme "FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (USA) TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA)" New ALSC successfully mobilized the campaign against the sale of the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand, at Carson Pirie Scott. University investments is another example of the way in which imperialist corporations and the U.S. government openly lend support to the minority government of South Africa.

We have brought this demonstration and our concern about NU's investments to George Johnson of Johnson Products to get his active support, as a Black trustee of NU, for a policy of divestment of stocks and bonds in these corporations similar to what has been implemented by other colleges and universities, church groups, labor unions, and others.

Our primary battle is against the main imperialists on the NU Board of Trustees--those corporations and banks which have millions of dollars invested in South Africa and which reap millions of dollars in profits off the brutal oppression of the African majority. Board members of these same corporations--like American Hospital Supply, First National Bank, Continental Bank, G.D. Searle and others--also dominate the NU Board of Trustees, making NU just like any other imperialist corporation.

We refuse to sit idly by and allow these corporations--NU included--to profit from the system of apartheid which denies to the South Africa majority the most basic human and national rights.

It is for this reason that we fully support the plans of the Coalition for Monday's demonstration at American Hospital and at the next meeting of the NU Board of Trustees.

2/28/78

Coalition plans demonstration against S. African investments

By Kevin Gale

A group opposing Northwestern's ownership of stock in corporations and banks doing business in South Africa plans a demonstration today at Chicago's Johnson Products, which is controlled by black NU trustee George Johnson.

Today's 12:30 p.m. demonstration is one of three the Coalition to Oppose NU Investments in South Africa has planned during the next week.

Groups in the coalition include For Members Only, the African Liberation Support Committee, the Black Christian Ministry and the Steven Biko Memorial Committee.

THE PURPOSE OF the demonstrations is "to oppose NU investments in South Africa (and) to demand that the NU trustees sell stock in corporations and banks doing business in South Africa," according to a coalition statement.

NU should sell its stock because American companies in South Africa pay black employees wages below the subsistence level, coalition member Scott Barrett said.

Johnson is one of two black trustees who have said NU should not sell its stock.

"If they come (to demonstrate) I'm hopeful they'll talk to me," Johnson said Monday, when he learned of the demonstration.

The demonstration will be "sort of an in-house cleaning," Barrett said. "It's to ask the gentleman (Johnson) to change his mind.

"HE SORT OF owes a debt to people and he's not paying it back by refusing to sell stock," Barrett said.

Picketing by blacks put the Johnson company's products into stores, Barrett said. However, Johnson said, "That's absolutely not true. When the picketing started we were already in stores."

Other demonstrations will be held at noon Monday at the American Hospital Supply Corporation in Evanston

and next Tuesday at noon at Rebecca Crown Center.

American Hospital Supply stock is NU's largest investment. The company has a factory in South Africa and makes 0.4 percent of its \$1.488-billion yearly sales in that country, a company spokesman said Monday.

Three of the company's board of directors are also NU trustees, the spokesman said.

THE REBECCA CROWN protest was planned to coincide with an NU board of trustees meeting, Barrett said.

University officials said Monday they were unaware of a trustees' meeting next week.

Today's demonstration will include two unidentified speakers, Barrett said.

Persons needing a ride to the demonstration, which will be at 8522 S. Lawrence in Chicago, should meet at 11 a.m. in the Allison Hall lobby, 1820 Chicago Ave.

Statement by George E. Johnson
Trustee, Northwestern University
February 28, 1978

B-18

Let it be clearly understood at the outset that I am absolutely opposed to and deplore the racial practices, the extraordinary oppressive racial practices, presently promulgated in the Union of South Africa.

I have read, hurriedly, the statement by The Coalition to Oppose Northwestern University's Investments in South Africa--February 28, 1978, and have read with extreme care the paragraph which reads:

"We therefore strongly urge that the Northwestern University Board of Trustees move toward the immediate and prudent divestiture (sale) of stocks and bonds or other relationships with corporations doing business in or with South Africa. This should be planned so as to minimize the impact on the financial viability of the University."

As a single member of the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University I have agreed with the above statement and the committee with whom I met this morning. I will take the action to bring together a committee of the Board of Trustees, which will include the Chairman of the Board and the Chairman of the Investments Committee and others who will find it convenient to be present in order that the Coalition may present its point of view as presented to me.

The committee has agreed that when such a meeting is established, they will make a serious effort to convince their affiliates of the wisdom of this move in order that we may have some togetherness and move toward assisting in achieving freedom and equality for the people in South Africa.

Wednesday, March 1, 1978
Vol. 98, No. 89
Evanston, Ill.

News 482-3222 Ads 482-7203

Trustee: Sell South African stock

By Kevin Gale

One of Northwestern's two black trustees said Tuesday that NU should sell its stock in U.S. firms with South African interests.

George Johnson, who owns controlling interest in Johnson Products Company, made the announcement after meeting with representatives of an NU group opposed to the stock holdings. His statement appeared to conflict with his earlier position that NU should retain the stock, but Johnson said he has always supported divestiture.

Johnson said Tuesday's announcement is also in opposition to statements made by other NU trustees. "I'm saying divest. They say no; so I'm in opposition."

Johnson is the first NU trustee to announce support for the proposal made by the student group, the Coalition to Oppose Northwestern University's Investments in South Africa.

JOHNSON released a statement announcing his support after meeting Tuesday with three coalition members.

Johnson's statement begins, "Let it be clearly understood at the outset that I am absolutely opposed to and deplore the racial practices, the extraordinary oppressive racial practices, presently promulgated in the Union of South Africa."

"I've never been in a position other than yours," Johnson told about 20 NU students who planned to picket Johnson's office, 8522 S. Lawrence Ave., Chicago.

The only picketing was of a "symbolic" nature, as the demonstrators termed it. The picketing occurred for five minutes after the demonstrators talked with Johnson.

However, he added, "When the question was first proposed to me, I naturally took a businessman's point of view. I don't want to lose money."

The University would lose \$3 million by immediately selling its stock due to currently low stock prices, Johnson said.

NU HAS \$36.7 million in stocks and \$66.8 million in bonds in companies that

have affiliate or subsidiary operations in South Africa, said John Borsch Jr., NU's director of investments.

Johnson said he agrees with the coalition's position that, "We therefore strongly urge that the Northwestern University Board of Trustees move toward the immediate and prudent divestiture (sale) of stocks and bonds or other relationships with corporations doing business in or with South Africa."

"This should be planned so as to minimize the impact on the financial viability of the university," the coalition statement says.

Johnson said he will arrange a meeting between the coalition and a special board of trustees committee "in order that the coalition may present its point of view as presented to me."

The committee would include Board Chairman Thomas Ayers, Investment Committee Chairman John J. Louis Jr., Johnson and other interested board members.

EXACTLY WHO the committee would meet with is uncertain, but Johnson proposed that the committee meet with about five coalition members.

However, his proposal did not draw support from coalition members. "Why should you exclude interested students and faculty," said coalition member Spain Lashley.

Other coalition members said the committee should include as many trustees as possible.

"I want results," Johnson said. "I think I can get a committee together, but I don't think I can get the whole board together."

He eventually agreed to present to Ayers any "reasonable" request the coalition has for a meeting.

Another coalition member said he was afraid the stock question might remain in the committee without any effort to resolve the coalition-trustee disagreement.

"STROTZ'S comments clearly (show he is) trying to foreclose discussion," said

More on Page 7

From Page 1

coalition member Ron Bailey, an African-American Studies professor.

Strotz said earlier this month, "The university should not take a stand on anything except matters of higher education and its immediate corporate existence."

Asking the trustees to sell the stocks "would be telling the trustees they should be using their control over the portfolio to exercise their social judgement," Strotz said.

Johnson said he would back the coalition's current statements in any meeting with trustees. "I think I want you to present the issue to the board yourself. I will echo," he told coalition members.

Johnson did not promise the trustees' decision not to sell the stock would change. "One trustee is not going to set policy for the board," he said.

"**THE COALITION** will have to "convince them (the board) of the justice of the move. They may change their position," Johnson said.

The coalition believes many American corporations exploit black labor in South Africa and keep the current apartheid government in power.

Asking the board to state that the U.S. should sever relations with South Africa is not a good idea, Johnson said. "I want to take things one at a time."

During the question and answer session with the demonstrators he said, "I certainly would like to see the United States government withdraw any assistance to South Africa. The sooner it changes, the better."

The demonstrators who met with Johnson did not realize Johnson supported them until coalition member Scott Barrett came aboard the group's bus outside Johnson's office and said, "He went along with us."

THE DEMONSTRATORS were prepared to picket Johnson's office with signs reading: "NU Sell the Stock in South Africa," "Johnson, Can You Place Profits Before People," and "Johnson, Which Side are You on?"

The signs concerning Johnson were left in the bus after the demonstrators heard his decision.

After entering the conference room to meet with the demonstrators, Johnson spotted a "Support the South Africa Peoples" sign and said, "Hey, I absolutely do."

During the discussion, Johnson said his company, which manufactures Afro Sheen and Ultra Sheen, never sold its products in South Africa.

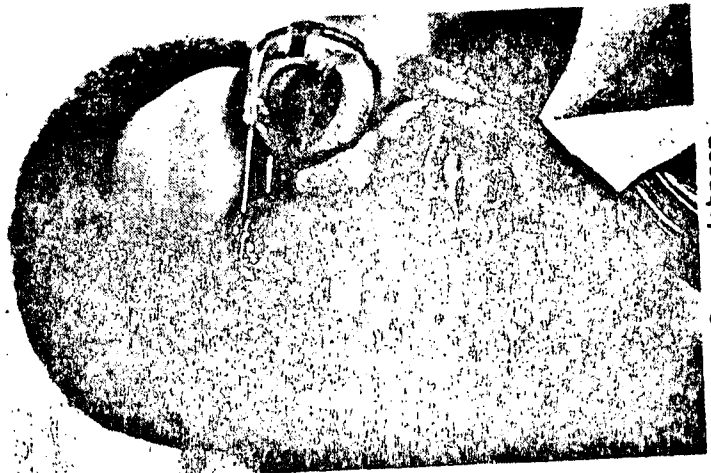
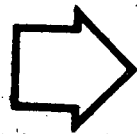
"**EVERY ONE** of the people that have approached us (about South African distribution) were non-blacks," he said.

After the meeting and the symbolic picketing, coalition members said they were pleased with the meeting.

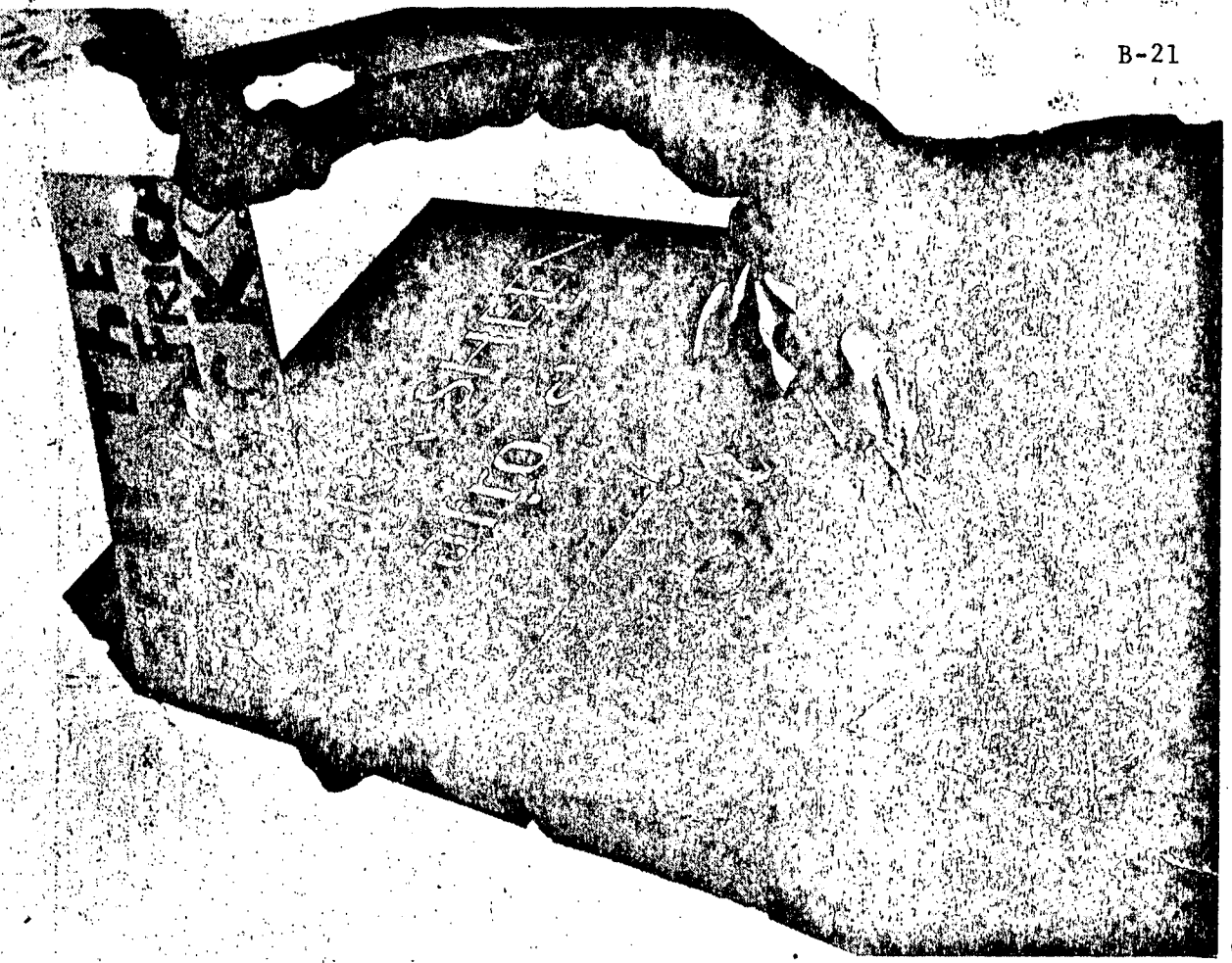
"We were extremely happy with what he did," said Judi McCray. "We knew he had to take one stance or the other."

"He knew a bunch of people were coming down to see him," she said, adding that before the demonstration Johnson had little motivation for announcing a position.

Trustees to meet with anti-stock group



George Johnson



B-21

Gerald King, a Tech sophomore, holds a protest placard aloft as more than 20 students picketed the Johnson Products Company Tuesday in Chicago. Northwestern trustee George Johnson, who owns a controlling interest in the company, says he is in favor of NU divesting its stock in U.S. firms with South African interests. (Photo by Paul Rumage)

By Alex Wilgore

A bill calling for Northwestern to call by Nov. 1, 1979, its stocks and bonds in 16 U.S. companies with South African ties was passed overwhelmingly Wednesday night by the Associated Student Government Forum.

In a 65-25 vote, with seven abstentions, Forum asked NU, "as a moral and native force in the world," to immediately begin selling investments in corporations that have no officials on NU's Board of Trustees.

The bill also calls on the trustees to encourage three corporations, Americana Hospital Supply, G.D. Searle and Abbott Laboratories, to "cut off all business continuity with South Africa."

ASG President Jim Lewis said the bill may be more symbolic than effective. Lewis authored the bill.

"I don't think there's any question that any action on our part is going to be ignored, but there's an awful lot of value to be gotten from publicity on these things," Lewis told more than 100 Forum representatives.

ASG asks divestiture of stocks

LEWIS SAID UNIVERSITY OF NORTHWESTERN TO PROTEST THE UNIVERSITIES' SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT HOLDINGS AND RECEIVED NATIONWIDE PUBLICITY.

But other Forum representatives disagreed with both the need for and the effectiveness of publicity on the stock issue.

"I fail to see where publicity on this bill will really help the people of South Africa, and by pulling out we may even hurt these people," said David Sachs, Chi Phi fraternity representative.

Wages for blacks in the country might fall and civil war could result if U.S. corporations pulled investments out of South Africa, the Tech freshman said.

"THE ISSUE IS POLITICAL AND NOT A HUMAN RIGHTS AT THIS TIME," Sachs added.

But College of Arts and Sciences junior Warren Silver, an off-campus representative, said NU needed to take "the moral lead" in setting an example for others by selling its South African stock immediately.

"Somebody's got to take the lead. If we

just sit around waiting for other people, nothing's going to happen. If we do something, people are going to say, 'Hey, they did something, why don't we?'" Silver said.

Several representatives expressed concern about a massive stock sale's impact on NU tuition.

THE BILL STATES IF THE STOCKS ARE SOLD AT THIS TIME, "there should be little effect on tuition" because the income would be transferred to other stocks and bonds.

But some representatives said the issue superseded concern over tuition hikes.

"This argument that, 'Well, I got to watch out for myself and tuition' is sort of irrelevant. My conscience would be a lot better off if my money was not going to the apartheid system in South Africa," said education junior John Crew, an off-campus representative.

In addition to calling for immediate stock and bond sales, the bill calls for ASG to educate campus, to organize a letter writing campaign to Congress and President Carter, "expressing our desire to

March 7

FORUM BACKS DIVESTITURE

FROM 5
fully under American economic dealings" with South Africa.

THE BILL ALSO CALLS FOR ASG participation in the Coalition to Oppose Nuclear Western University Investment in South Africa, a student organization.

Other groups in the coalition include several student African liberation committees. For Members Only, the black Christian Ministry and the University staff and students.

After the meeting, coalition member Spain Lashley said immediate plans for action included a demonstration set for March 7.

The demonstration will start at the Rebecca Crown Plaza and proceed to the offices of Americana Hospital Supply, at Sherman Avenue and Grove Street. Lashley said.

Failure to do so "significantly increases belief that the administration is callous or indifferent to student concerns," the bill warned.

A request that two student budget council representatives be appointed by the General Faculty Committee to sit on the faculty's Budget Resources Advisory Council was included in the bill.

Faculty BRAC currently has access to more NU financial information than the student budget council.

Forum also rejected a bill, authored by representatives of the Interfraternity Council, Panhellenic Association and Residence

the bill would have prevented students from reviewing the financial records of SAIFB-funded groups, a right given to them by legislation adopted by Forum last quarter. IFC President Mark Little said after the bill's defeat that he "didn't feel the bill was given a fair amount of time for debate."

Forum discussed the bill for about 10 minutes.

Other action will be taken, Little said, to institute the bill.

MARCH 2

ASG's stock bill could affect NU trustee view

By Rick Wamre

The University of California at Santa Cruz: 401 students are charged with trespassing during a student protest over the university's stock holdings in South African business.

Stanford University: 294 student protesters are arrested during a similar demonstration outside the student union building.

Northwestern University: The Associated Student Government passes a bill asking the university to sell stocks and bonds owned in 16 companies with South African investments.

"I'm not sure how much impact our bill will have on the administration. We'll just have to do what's right and see what happens," said Jim Lewis, ASG president and the bill's author. **Thurs.**

BUT NOT everyone associated with NU considers divestiture "the right thing to do."

"I personally think investment by American companies, which provides jobs and wages for blacks in South Africa, is a good and positive influence on the country," said John B. Borsch Jr., NU's director of investments.

The bill calls for immediate sale of stocks in 16 corporations that NU has political or economic influence over.

But it also calls for NU to work through the boards of directors of three companies—Abbott Laboratories, G. D. Searle and Co. and American Hospital Supply—to encourage the companies to pull their investments out of South Africa.

Neil Ball, vice president for public affairs at American Hospital Supply, disagreed Thursday with the need for his company to pull out of South Africa.

NU OWNS about \$14 million worth of stock in American Hospital Supply, whose South African plant manufacturers disposable medical supplies, like hypodermic needles, for use there, Ball said.

The seven-year-old plant, acquired from another company in 1973, employs about

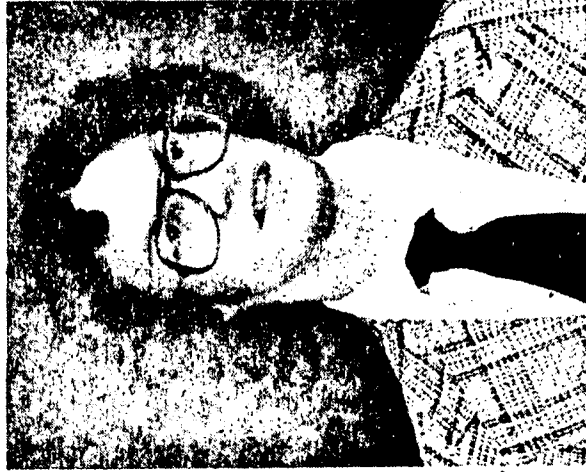
300 South African. About 75 percent of the employees are black, he said.

The company pays equal wages to blacks and whites doing the same jobs and provides free medical care and educational financial assistance to its employees, something Ball said helps blacks more than white employees.

SEVERAL other administrators also said Northwestern's total investment in companies with South African ties is "only a dent" in the \$1.7 billion total U.S. corporate investment in South Africa. NU owns \$65 million in companies with South African interests.

The trustees will consider any actions taken by students, said Blaine J. Yarrington, a member of the trustees' investment committee and Executive vice president of Standard Oil of Indiana.

"We would be willing to discuss the subject on any basis. I wouldn't make a prediction on whether it would change our position or not. But the trustees are very interested in the students' opinions about anything," Yarrington said.



Jim Lewis

Spain Lashley



NU, MIT second in black scholarships

By Nery Yncian

Northwestern and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology ranked second nationally in the number of black freshman students receiving National Achievement Scholarships, according to the annual National Merit Scholarship report.

NU and MIT each admitted 80 student winners. Harvard University placed first, with 213 of the 608 national black award winners.

NU's reputation and recruitment efforts probably attract the large number of black winners, said Walter Clark, NU's assistant director of

undergraduate admissions.

"It is clear that NU is a place of opportunity," Clark said. "We appeal to a lot of people."

"We maintain a continuity in visiting high schools," he said, "and reaching black students with reasonable qualifications."

"The presence of a fairly representative black population also contributes to the attraction." There are approximately 660 undergraduate black students at NU.

Clark said one reason NU and other institutions extensively recruit minority students is that federal and state fund-

ing for private institutions is based partly on minority enrollment.

NU also ranks among the top 10 universities and colleges in the country in its number of freshmen receiving National Merit Scholarships, with 295 recipients enrolled in the freshman class.

The scholarships are awarded on the basis of national test scores, academic records and recommendations from high school principals.

Students receive between \$1,000 and \$6,000 annually from both scholarships, depending on their financial needs.

3/3/78

• S. African stock protested

By Kevin Gale

Northwestern's ownership of South African connected stock is "morally abhorrent," according to an open letter to the NU Board of Trustees written by black NU administrators and faculty and staff members.

"Such investment constitutes a vote of confidence in a regime which denies those very principles of intellectual freedom which this institution claims to represent," states the letter signed by 38 persons.

The idea for the letter, which appears in an advertisement on page 17 of today's Daily, was formulated 10 days ago at a meeting of black faculty members, said one faculty member who signed the letter.

BLACK FACULTY members were "hurt, concerned and angered" by University President Robert H. Strotz's comments on the matter, said the faculty member, who is also a member of the Coalition to Oppose Northwestern University's investments in South Africa.

Asking the trustees to sell the stocks is "telling the trustees they should be using their control over the portfolio to exercise their social judgement," Strotz said.

In another development on the stock question, the Northwestern Community Council Thursday announced its support for a meeting between NU trustees and the coalition.

NCC, which includes students, staff and faculty members and administrators, agrees with NU Trustee George Johnson that a committee should be formed to seriously look at the stock situation," said council member Jeff Schwartz.

COUNCIL members did not recommend immediate sale of the stocks, said University Chaplain James Avery, NCC chairman.

However, the South African question "should be talked through before everybody makes up their mind on it," he said.

"I'm personally not convinced the council should take a position," Avery said. The council's purpose is to "comment and try to improve undergraduate non-academic life," he said. "I'm more concerned personally that the university take the issue seriously."

The coalition also is revising its plans for a demonstration next week, according to member Judi McCray.

Original plans called for demonstrations at American Hospital Supply Company, Sherman Avenue and Grove Street, and Rebecca Crown Center.

PRESENT PLANS call for "rallying at Rebecca Crown at noon (Monday) and then walking to American Hospital Supply," McCray said.

"We're going to demand that Northwestern sell its stocks in corporations that are operating in South Africa and that American Hospital Supply close down its plant in South Africa," she said.

A Rebecca Crown demonstration was originally planned for Tuesday to coincide with a trustee's meeting, but the meeting has been canceled, McCray said.

American Hospital Supply has a factory and 0.4 percent of its \$1.488 billion yearly sales in South Africa, a company spokesman said.

NU has \$66.8 million in stocks and bonds in companies

with affiliates or subsidiary operations in South Africa, said John Borsch Jr., NU's director of investments.

THE COALITION charges that American corporations exploit cheap black labor in South Africa and help to keep the country's apartheid government in power.

The companies have said they are helping black South Africans by giving them jobs.

"How can you help somebody when you give them a job that pays less than starvation wages?" said coalition member Scott Barrett.

The companies also pay taxes in South Africa, which support the current government, he said.

Although the coalition says the university should sell the stocks, Strotz and the trustees disagree.

KARL D. Bays, a trustee and chairman and chief executive officer of American Hospital Supply, said selling the stocks "would be a giant mistake."

"We should not be supporting apartheid, but I don't see how investing in those corporations to further the interests of the university is supporting apartheid," said Bays, whose company makes hypodermic needles and other hospital supplies in its South African factory.

Trustee Blaine J. Yarrington, executive vice-president of Standard Oil Company of Indiana, said, "The investment

committee has to live up to its responsibility to take that portfolio and invest it for the highest financial gain, the benefit of the university and higher education and to the benefit of students enrolled."

"Nobody talks about how much the university has made already," Barrett said.

NU COULD lose money during a black takeover of South Africa if American subsidiaries become nationalized, he added.

"There was also a sound investment in gas chambers in Nazi Germany," Barrett said.

Johnson is the only NU trustee who has come out in support of divestiture.

Johnson said Tuesday that the university should "move towards immediate divestiture of stocks and bonds or other relationships with corporations doing business in or with South Africa."

NU would lose \$3 million by immediate sale of the stocks due to low stock prices, Johnson said.

Abbott Laboratories, American Express, Eastman Kodak, General Electric, General Motors, IBM, Monsanto, Motorola, Nalco Chemical, Nielsen AC, G.D. Searle and Texaco are among the South African connected companies in which NU owns stock.

WE OPPOSE APARTHEID! SELL THE STOCK!

B-25

An Open Letter to the Board of Trustees of Northwestern University From Black Faculty, Administrators, and Staff

We believe that the system of apartheid now practiced in South Africa is based on racist principles that are morally abhorrent to all civilized society. We believe that a withdrawal of all support from this repugnant system is not a mere act of 'social judgment', nor one of politics narrowly conceived, but a matter of fundamental moral choice that we can no longer escape.

We, as black faculty, administrators, and staff, are very much concerned about actions and statements of the administration which cannot help but have moral implications for all of us. The University's investment in South Africa, a country whose repressive regime continues to flout the most elemental of human rights, is also morally abhorrent. Such investment constitutes a vote of confidence in a regime which denies those very principles of intellectual freedom which this institution claims to represent.

It cannot be maintained that economic exigency demands investment in South Africa. Such investment exists because of the very evident ties between present members of the Board of Trustees and concerns doing business in South Africa. If it is argued that investment in South Africa reaps a sound profit, we would remind the Board that profit is based on the employment of the workers at sub-standard wages. The depressed condition of the majority in South Africa is maintained by law and it cannot be changed by pledges of "fair treatment" issued by companies operating under the purview of the minority regime.

It can also not be argued that divestment of holdings in South Africa would hurt the black worker and therefore should not be pursued. The present racist regime in South Africa is the root of the wage differential between white and black. To recognize the legitimacy of that regime and to continue collaboration with it is to collaborate in the perpetuation of a system of black exploitation and social oppression. We could no more remain morally neutral about this issue than we would have remained morally neutral about other 'crimes against humanity' that the world has witnessed in the past.

Both as a symbol of opposition to an inhuman system and as a small but significant measure for combating this evil, we urge the trustees of Northwestern University to take steps towards a speedy and complete divestiture of stocks now owned by Northwestern in companies that have South African investments. This is a course which has already been pursued by other universities. Given Northwestern's commitment to ridding itself of racism in all of the areas of its collective life, we feel the University can do no less.

William H. Exum
Patricia C. Exum
Ronald Bailey
Janet M. Detson
Jean A. Parrish
Jerry P. Harris
Tendaji W. Ganges
Basil Clunie
Robert A. Ward, Jr.
Hallist Kush Shauri
Victoria A. Bouie
Diana Staughter
Leona Wilkins
Cyrus Colter
Richard L. Hooper
Robert A. Harris
Bertrand D. Phillips
Ibrahim Sundiata
Abraham Demoz
Alice Palmer
Everne Saxton
Walter Clark
J. Mabwa
Glen Edwards
Dennis Brutus
Delores Spratt
Andre' Boil
Jim Pitts
Steve Newsome
Henry Binford
Sterling Stuckey
Joshua Luster
Amanda W. Banks
Thom Edmunds
Downain Matthews
Felix M. Garcia
Elaine Brown
Willie Watkins
Arthur Smith

African-American Studies & Sociology
Freshman Writing Program, CAS
African American Studies & Political Science
Student Health, Mental Health
Office of Undergraduate Residential Life (Housing)
Project Upward Bound, School of Education
Project Upward Bound, School of Education
Graduate Housing
University Relations
Project Upward Bound—School of Education
Project Upward Bound—School of Education
School of Education
School of Music
African-American Studies
Development
School of Music
Art Department
History Department
Program of African Studies
African-American Student Affairs
African-American Student Affairs
Undergraduate Admissions
Program of African Languages
African-American Student Affairs
Professor, English Dept.
Employment Mgr, personnel
Financial Aid
Assoc. Prof., Sociology
African-American Studies Reference Librarian
Asst. Prof., History
Assoc. Prof., History
Professor, Mathematics
The Law School
Assoc. Dean, Law School
The Law School
The Law School
The Law School
The Law School
School of Education

Chicago Defender

CHICAGO'S DAILY PICTURE NEWSPAPER

CHICAGO DEFENDER-WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1978 3



Want a 'hands-off' policy...

Some 75 students and faculty of Northwestern University were on the march this week and demanding that the Board of Trustees sell stocks and bonds in corporations and banks which do business in South Africa. Organized by the newly-formed Coalition to Stop University Investments in South Africa, the march coalition was joined by the For Members Only and two

other students groups in protesting NU's \$55-million the Coalition claims has been invested in more than 30 corporations and banks doing business in South Africa. A recent demonstration at Johnson's Products Co. resulted in George Johnson, an NU trustee and president of the firm, supporting the demands of the Coalition. (Photo by Exeland Photos.)

Divest of South Africa-related stock

By The African Students Organization

Of late the issue of NU involvement in corporations which have investments in South Africa has been widely debated and discussed—as so well reported by the Daily Northwestern. NU holds more than \$65 million worth of stocks and bonds in U.S. companies which have affiliate or subsidiary operations in South Africa. Corporate investments in South Africa constitute part of the mechanism of exploitation of the black and other working people of that unfortunate country. NU has been urged time and again to cease to participate in this brutal exercise of exploitation, but NU defies progressive opinion. We as African students at NU wish to declare that NU's present position contributes to the criminal denial of fundamental human rights to the people of South Africa.

NU argues that it "does not really make any difference if we sell the stocks or not" because if NU sells the stocks, someone else will buy them. The logic of this argument is that NU will prop up economic exploitation and political oppression in South Africa because if it does not, others will anyway! The callous nature of that argument requires no comment.

NU says that if it were to sell its \$65

million, it may not "make a snowball's worth of difference to the blacks of South Africa"—with the implication that the holdings are so small as to be inconsequential. But it stands to reason that the struggle against an unjust system has to start somewhere. The question therefore becomes not the immediate achievement of the objective of justice but one's contribution toward its ultimate attainment.

NU has sometimes asserted that corporate investments in South Africa help the blacks by providing jobs, and that, in fact the corporations are "setting a really good example." But the people of South Africa have said a resounding "no" to that line of reasoning. They have indeed had "employment" since the structures of racism and apartheid were instituted. However, they have also long fought wars against those structures. The events that led to the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 were an expression of outright rejection of employment under apartheid. The formation of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the national liberation movement in South Africa, marked a decisive break with the "good life" under apartheid. The massive revolt led by the children of Soweto symbolizes a rupture with unconditional accep-

tance of "education," "jobs," and "peace." The leaders of the South African people have for decades been tortured, incarcerated and assassinated for leading the popular resistance to racism: Albert Luthuli, "mysterious" death; Nelson Mandela, life imprisonment in the concentration camp on Robben Island; Robert Sobukwe, "restriction" for an unlimited period of time; Steve Biko, brutally murdered—the list is endless. In a word, the broad masses of South Africa have long shown that "good jobs" are not enough; they have decided to sacrifice employment in the short run for life, now and in the future. The American people took the same option when they went to war between 1776 and 1783 to promote the realization of the noble principle: "All men are created equal." NU must be aware of all these facts.

Statement by the African Student Organization on NU and Investments in South Africa:

NU has contended that when the South Africa-related investments were made it was not known that those companies were doing business in South Africa: "The stocks were bought a long time ago." Here, NU is admitting a longstanding but unwitting support for apartheid. But sure-

ly, now that NU has discovered what it has been doing, then it should immediately take steps to correct the historic wrong. However, NU has actually confessed that it would rather continue to invest in apartheid because: "We have a job to do... to try and invest in companies that will yield the most money." NU is saying here that it prefers the base pursuit of pecuniary profit to the ideal of enhancing human welfare. Yet NU's motto boldly asserts:

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest,

whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure,

whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of

good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any

praise, think on these things.

We African students at NU implore NU to put into practice the noble sentiments of this motto. We urge NU to cease supporting in any way the racist-fascist regime at Pretoria. NU must withdraw its holdings from corporations that have investments in South Africa—now.

This article was submitted by Mosonik avap Korir, a graduate student in history, for the African Students Organization.

DEMONSTRATION TO STOP NORTHWESTERN'S SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENTS

**March to American Hospital Supply
Sherman & Grove**

**Monday, March 6, 1978
"12 Noon Rebecca Crown Center"**

N.U. has:

\$15 million in this corporation.

**This corporation has a factory
in South Africa.**

Sponsored by

Coalition to Stop N.U. Investments in South Africa

ASSOCIATED STUDENT GOVERNMENT • FOR MEMBERS ONLY

**BLACK CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE AFRICAN LIBERATION FUND
FACULTY • STAFF • STUDENTS**

U.S. CORPORATIONS OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA

We of the Coalition Against University Investments In South Africa demand that Northwestern University end its support of the oppressive South African regime. Northwestern's holding stock in corporations in Southern Africa aids the maintenance of racist programs carried out by the minority regime. Corporations like American Hospital Supply Corporation make great profits off the oppression of the South African masses by acting as leading agents in the international system of exploitation, imperialism. Imperialism is the world wide system which rips off the masses of people at home in the U.S. and abroad in South Africa, and maintains unequal economic and political relationships through force and coercion. Corporations like American Hospital Supply and others play a key role in propping up the South African regime which simply guns down men, women and children who demand the human rights which Americans hold dear. Americans fought for the right of SELF DETERMINATION in 1776, and now the South African people are fighting for their freedom but U.S. corporations say no. We say Hell No to that.

American Hospital Supply owns and operates a plant in South Africa. This plant makes medical supplies to be used by the South African military in its fascist wars in Namibia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and within South Africa itself against the freedom loving people in each of these nations.

American Hospital Supply must leave South Africa

AHS medical supplies are used by the racist government and military
AHS must pay taxes to support the fascist regime
American tax dollars insure these investments if in danger.

We of the Coalition call on all progressive people to stand tall against the "fat-cat" corporations which exploit the struggling people of Southern Africa for the love of profits. Imperialist corporations like American Hospital Supply thrive off the oppression and pain of the South African people.

WE DEMAND

Shut Down the Plant
U.S. Out of South Africa.
N.U. Divest in Corporations in South Africa
Support the South African People.

Sponsored by,
The Coalition Against University Investments In South Africa:
ALSC - FMO - ASC - ASO - ALF - BCM
FACULTY - STAFF - STUDENTS

AHSC target of student-faculty protest

Evanston Review
3/9/78

By KATHY MIEHLS

Chanting "shut it down" and "freedom now for the African people," 60 to 70 Northwestern University students and faculty members demonstrated Monday in front of American Hospital Supply Corp.'s headquarters at 1 American Plaza.

Protesting Northwestern's stock holdings in companies with investments in South Africa, such as American Hospital Supply Corp. (AHSC), the demonstrators were out to show they care about the South African government's apartheid policy.

"We want NU to know we care what it does with our tuition," as one student put it.

THE DEMONSTRATION added another chapter to a campaign that has actively gone on for more than a month. The protest has pitted several major student and faculty organizations against the NU Board of Trustees, which sets the economic policies for the university.

According to reports in The Daily Northwestern, a student newspaper, Northwestern holds \$66.8 million in investments in 16 companies with affiliates or subsidiaries in South Africa.

Coming down hard on the side of human rights of South African nonwhites, particularly blacks, the dissidents want NU to apply some moral judgments to its financial investments and divest itself of stocks in companies economically connected to South Africa.

Monday's target, AHSC, has a wholly-owned subsidiary in Johannesburg, South Africa. Sales from this plant, in which disposal medical supplies are made, represent 4 percent of AHSC's total \$1.5 billion in corporate sales. Northwestern has between \$14 and \$15 million (about 65,000 shares) invested in AHSC. (AHSC has 33.9 billion shares outstanding.)

A LEAFLET PASSED out at the demonstration charges AHSC with making "great profits off the oppression of the South African masses" and making "medical supplies to be used by the South African military in its fascist wars."

Neal Ball, AHSC vice president of public affairs, doesn't see it that way.

Stating that AHSC located in South Africa in 1973 because of the advanced medical work being done there, such as Dr. Christian Baarnard's heart transplants, Ball says it's not an issue of "buying cheap labor" to make products for export because "virtually all the products are used there."

March 9, 1978

"Our presence in South Africa doesn't mean we support its government's policies," says Ball. "In fact, we oppose apartheid," he adds.

ACCORDING TO BALL, AHSC is very concerned with providing a better way of life for its 300 South African employees (75 percent of whom are nonwhite, he says) and for South African nonwhites in general. AHSC is an equal opportunity employer and promoter in South Africa, says Ball, and, among numerous other benefits, employees get medical care "we believe they wouldn't otherwise receive."

On a more national scale, AHSC is working with approximately 60 other American companies with South African interests to publically endorse Leon Sul-

livan's principles on human rights, says Ball. (Sullivan is a director of General Motors.)

Student and faculty protest has apparently moved one NU trustee, George Johnson, but not the other 42 voting trustees.

Johnson, president of Johnson Products Company, Inc., was quoted in the Daily as favoring "immediate divestiture of stocks and bonds or other relationships with corporations doing business in or with South Africa."

JOHN J. LOUIS JR., a trustee and chairman of the investment committee, says selling the stocks "wouldn't accomplish anything." The dissidents' "arguments are not very persuasive," says Louis, "but the trustees doors have never been shut to anyone." Apparently no meet-

ing between dissidents and trustees has been held to date.

"I know it's (South Africa) a popular cause, at least in some circles," says Lee Ellis, NU's senior vice president for business and finance, "but what's going to be popular next year?"

Ellis says the trustees haven't had a policy of "manipulating the (stock) portfolio for social purposes" and if they started with South Africa, "Where do you stop?" he asks.

Jim Lewis, president of NU's Associated Student Government, says the demonstrations will stop for awhile because the academic quarter is almost over. According to Lewis, a similar demonstration is planned at G.D. Searle's Skokie offices later in the spring.



Jim Lewis, president of Northwestern University's Associated Student Government, lends his support to Monday's demonstration.

Evanston Review, March 9



AMERICAN HOSPITAL SUPPLY
SICKNES

Protesting investments

Shut the plant" chants a group of 60 to 70 Northwestern University students and faculty members Monday in front of the American Hospital Supply Corp. (AHSC) headquarters, Sherman Av. and Grove St. The demonstration was held to protest NU's investments in companies, such as AHSC, which have financial holdings in South Africa. Story on page 21A. Photos by Gue Fiedler.

SELL THE STOCK!

THE NEW AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (New ALSC)--Chicago Chapter calls on all progressive people--especially students--to unite with us to fight university support of minority rule and apartheid in South Africa. New ALSC has initiated the Coalition to Oppose Northwestern University (NU) Investments in South Africa. We want to rally all people who support the people of South Africa and who oppose continued university investments and deposits in those corporations and banks doing business in South Africa.

Northwestern University is an imperialist university, like most universities. It is a part of an international system in which a few super-rich exploit and oppress the people of many countries by ripping off their labor, natural resources, and wealth. Northwestern has about \$75 million invested in the stocks and bonds of some 40 corporations and banks doing business in South Africa. Many of these same businesses have executives and board members on the Northwestern Board of Trustees, which explain why they refuse to sell the stock. In fact, the Board is dominated by these imperialists--First National Bank, Continental Bank, American Hospital Supply, General Motors, G.D. Searle, Abbott Laboratories, and General Electric. All of these corporations, like the universities they also control, have made millions of dollars by supporting a system which forces the masses of Africans to live under modern slavery (forced labor, little or no pay, no rights to vote, organize unions, travel freely, etc.).

The militant students of SOWETO, South Africa have made it clear that they will not continue to live under the oppression and exploitation that imperialism is causing in their country. They have escalated their struggle. This same imperialist system is attacking students and the masses of people in the United States--making it harder to get jobs (Zenith moving overseas with loans from First National Bank) and making it harder to get an education (Bakke attacks on affirmative action, selective index at Circle, withholding financial aid at Chicago State), and dismantling Black Studies Programs. Because the same imperialist system is the cause of the many problems Black people face all over the world, New ALSC puts forward this slogan to guide our struggle: **FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (USA) TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA)!**

Join us in this struggle to strike a blow in support of the people of South Africa. Join us in striking a blow at our own enemy here at home. Support New ALSC as we build the struggle against investments in companies doing business in South Africa (NU, Circle), against the deposit of funds in First National Bank which still sells the Krugerrand gold coin and last year loaned \$110 million to South Africa (Chicago State). Join New ALSC as we take on First National Bank and rally the people of Chicago to make a big battle against its support of South Africa like we did with Carson Pirie Scott's sale of the Krugerrand!

UNITE TO FIGHT

DEMONSTRATION: Feb. 28--12:30--Johnson Products Company, 85th at the Dan Ryan.

Geprge Johnson, A Black NU Trustee, says that the University should keep its stock. We say HELL NO! SELL THE STOCK!

DEMONSTRATION: March 6--NOON--American Hospital Supply, 1603 Orrington, Evanston.

NU Largest investment (\$15 million), 4 NU Trustees, factory in South Africa.

DEMONSTRATION: March 7--NOON--Northwestern Campus. Board of Trustees Meeting.

South Africa Is New Social Issue for College Activists

By EDWARD B. FISKE

After several years of conspicuous quiet, social activists on the nation's college campuses have found an issue to stir the social consciences of their fellow students: South Africa.

From Smith to Stanford, students are organizing protests against the segregationist racial policies of South Africa in general and the involvement of American companies with that country in particular.

Vanderbilt University in Nashville is bracing for possible large-scale protests when it plays host to the Davis Cup tennis match between the United States and South Africa this weekend. Students from 15 New England colleges will gather at Yale University in New Haven the first weekend in April for a series of films, workshops and speakers on the issue of South Africa.

Some of the demonstrations have led to mass arrests. More often they have led to debates between students and boards of trustees over whether colleges should divest their investment portfolios of stocks in corporations doing business in South Africa.

Several Have Done So

Several colleges have done so. The Board of Trustees of the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, for example, debated the issue in an open session for an hour and a half recently and then decided to sell \$600,000 in stock in 20 companies with operations in South Africa. On the recommendation of the State Attorney General, the regents of the 13-unit University of Wisconsin system voted last month to sell \$8 million of shares in 16 corporations on the ground that holding them violated a 1973 law forbidding investment by the university in companies that discriminate.

At Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., where students dramatized the

issue last spring by occupying the Cole Science Center, the trustees voted in October to sell not only its \$39,000 of stock in four companies doing business in South Africa but also its entire \$200,000 stock portfolio.

The protests are interpreted as a return to social activism by a college generation otherwise notable for its preoccupation with grades and job hunting and as a tapping of a continuing social concern that simply lacked a catalyst.

At Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., where 100 minority group students held an orderly demonstration on the steps of the main administration building three weeks ago, leaders of the South African Action Group described it as a political opportunity.

A Vent for Social Interest

"We use the South Africa issue as a common ground to get minority students to consider other problems facing their race," said Robert Booker, a spokesman for the group.

Brian Fay, a professor of philosophy who is a member of a trustees subcommittee on the social implications of investment policy, said that the current protests were a vent for social interest that had been present all along in a latent form. "The South Africa issue is the most vocal, visible and unifying one in terms of bringing together groups of students since the Vietnam War," he said.

Protests against the apartheid policy of South Africa and American involvement with that country have continued sporadically for more than a decade. But it was only last spring that they became widespread. The first major demonstration came at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., last May when 294 students were arrested at a sit-in.

On June 2, 58 demonstrators were arrested after an eight-hour sit-in at Sproul Hall on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley. Trials of the "Sproul 58" began in September, but after one mistrial and the acquittal of a second group, Judge Wilmont Sweeney released the remaining defendants. The state is appealing the mistrial and the acquittals on the ground that the judge "abused his discretion."

More Restrained Elsewhere

Elsewhere the demonstrations have been more restrained. At Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., a petition drive aimed at divestiture is being conducted by the 50-member Coalition Against Apartheid and has brought about a graffiti war. Someone spray painted "Keep our tuition out of South Africa" on the sides of two buildings, and these in turn were covered with "Keep the Africans out of our tuition." Last week the administration had both slogans sandblasted off.

Last week the investment committee of the Cornell board of trustees wrote letters to the chief executives of 25 corporations urging them to "work for the improvement of the majority population in South Africa" and asking them for information on their practices. Among the companies are Atlantic Richfield, Bendix, Coca-Cola, General Electric, Monsanto, Texaco and Xerox.

At Princeton University in Princeton, N.J., the People's Front for the Liberation of South Africa has been pressing its demand for divestiture by daily picketing of Nassau Hall, the administration building, and a petition drive. The group also has begun an investigation of the endowments of campus eating clubs.

At Columbia University in New York City, the University Senate, the governing body made up of students, faculty members, administrators and alumni, was asked by Arthur Krim, the chairman of the board of trustees, to form a committee to look into the investment issue and make suggestions for university policy.

The basic argument for divestiture is that by maintaining stock in companies doing business with South Africa, colleges and universities provide financial and implicit moral support for apartheid. It is argued that selling the stock, on the other hand, would be a sign of disapproval of this racial policy.

At Wesleyan, for example, Mr. Booker

recently argued at an open forum on the issue that the university "has a reputation as a progressive liberal arts college which is educating its students in democracy and teaching them to respect human rights" and asked, "How then can you explain an investment policy that seems to ignore everything the university stands for?" The board of trustees is scheduled to discuss these arguments at its April meeting.

Most boards of trustees, however, have rejected the case for divestiture on the ground that pressure from foreign companies is one of the effective means of forcing change within South Africa and that blacks would suffer most from economic sanctions.

While rejecting wholesale divestiture, many colleges have taken the middle road of approaching companies in which they hold stock regarding their policies in South Africa. Last summer the chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of California wrote letters to 37 corporations asking, among other things, about their treatment of black employees. All but one of the firms replied.

In putting pressure on these companies, numerous colleges, including Amherst, Dartmouth College in Hanover, N.H., and Swarthmore College in Swarthmore, Pa., have made use of the so-called Sullivan Principles drawn up by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black leader in Philadelphia who is a director of General Motors.

More than 50 American corporations have endorsed these principles, which list goals of nonsegregation in eating and work facilities, increased training programs for blacks, improvement of the "quality of employees' lives outside the work environment" and other objectives.

Smith College in Northampton, Mass., recently identified four corporations in its portfolio with operations in South Africa and wrote to them to find out where their policies stood in relation to the Sullivan Principles. When the response from Firestone Tire and Rubber Company was judged inadequate, the trustees sold 42,014 shares of Firestone stock with a value of \$183,000.

Underlying the divestiture debate from the point of view of colleges is its cost. Richard W. Greene, the vice president and treasurer of Wesleyan, estimated that, apart from any loss of income from a reshuffling of the portfolio, it would cost the college about \$100,000 simply to trade its \$36 million of stocks in companies doing business in South Africa.

Klan Offer Is Rejected

NASHVILLE, March 14 (UPI)—The police have rejected an offer by the Ku Klux Klan to help keep order during demonstrations planned to protest the Davis Cup matches between the United States and South Africa this weekend.

"We will take care of the policing," Paul Uselton, the Assistant Police Chief, said when told of the Klan offer. "If help is needed, we will go to other police agencies."

Klan members said that they intended to be in Nashville to observe the demonstrations but that they planned no counterprotests. "We are planning on being there but not to march, protest or anything like that," said Don Henson, grand dragon of Tennessee for the United Klans of America Inc. "We will be present just to keep an eye on the situation and to see what is happening."

DEMONSTRATION

TO STOP NORTHWESTERN'S SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT

Rally at Rebecca Crown

6:00-7:00 pm

Monday, March 27

Board of Trustees Meeting

Coalition Demands:

Sell the Stock

U.S. Out of South Africa

NU Out of S. Africa

Support the S. African People

Sponsored by

Coalition to Stop N.U. Investments In South Africa

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

BLACK CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION

ASSOCIATED STUDENT GOVERNMENT • FOR MEMBERS ONLY

AFRICAN LIBERATION FUND FACULTY • STAFF • STUDENTS

Former prof questions U.S., S. African ties

By Nancy Rawles

Until recently, Gwendolen M. Carter, former director of Northwestern's African studies department, was a staunch defender of decisions by American universities to maintain their investments in South African stock. But, Monday night she told an audience of about 30 faculty members, students and friends at the International House, 630 Dartmouth Ave., "There comes a time when profits are not the most important issue."

In an interview after her speech, entitled "South Africa Under Pressure," Carter called the drive against U.S. involvement in South Africa "a movement whose time has come."

"This issue has really hit Americans—not just black Americans, but white Americans, too," Carter credited news of the death of Steve Biko, a student leader in the black liberation movement who was believed to have been murdered by South African police officials, with doing "more to move the sympathies of people here than any lecture or rally."

CARTER SAID THERE were several reasons for increased American interest in South Africa.

"We have seen, somewhat, the light of

how you treat people of another race," she said. "We are more sensitized to that issue than any other country in the world—or we should be, given our history."

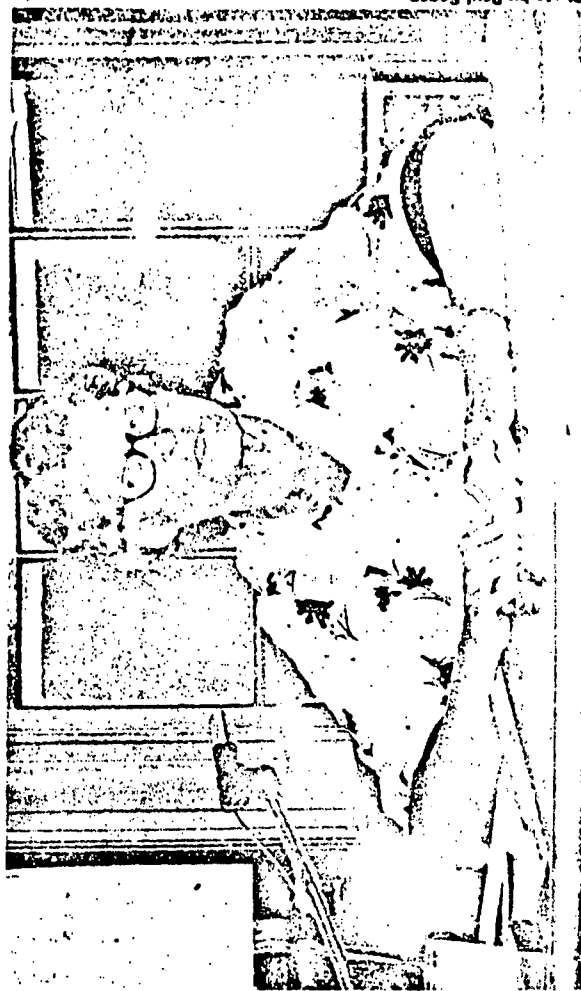
According to Carter, America is the country that "most nearly replicates South Africa" and the only other country with a large minority of another color.

"South Africa is the only other country that discriminates by law on the basis of color," she said.

"And that has an offensiveness all its own."

CARTER, WHO NOW teaches political science at Indiana University in Bloomington, last visited South Africa in 1974. She spoke about three kinds of pressure in that country—pressures from other countries, notably Nigeria, to change South Africa's racist policies, pressures resulting from a "fluctuating and vulnerable defense frontier," and pressures produced by black-white confrontations.

Although Carter said Monday that "the most remarkable feature of race relations in a country where discrimination runs very deep" was the black South Africans' patient appeals to democracy and Christianity, she quickly added that patience is being replaced by a new bitterness.



In her speech "South Africa Under Pressure," Gwendolen M. Carter, the former head of NU's African Studies

"I think that Soweto proved a very tragic fact about South Africa, that virtually for the first time, black South Africans are violently anti-white," she said.

CARTER WAS ESPECIALLY critical of the South African government's move to deprive millions of blacks of their citizenship.

The former NU professor also returned to campus to present two awards that are given annually in her honor. An award for

program, said that the drive against U.S. involvement in South Africa is "a movement whose time has come."

Academic Achievement by a First-year African Grad Student was presented to Samson Oladebo of Nigeria, who is working toward a Ph.D. in education administration. John Yoder was given an award for an Outstanding Dissertation in African Studies for his history dissertation, entitled "Zaire: People on the Edge of Empire." Each student was given \$500.

Northwestern was the first school in the country to establish an African Studies program.

Closed door meetings won't aid divestiture

The following article was submitted on behalf of the Coalition to Oppose North-western Investment in South Africa.

The Daily's April 18 editorial, "Act on South African Stock," was misinformed. It mistakenly identified the Coalition to Stop NU Investments in South Africa rather than the NU Board of Trustees as the cause of inaction. Whether intended or not, the editorial helps provide a convenient cover for the NU trustees and supporters of minority rule in South Africa to sit back and do nothing.

As to the facts, the coalition has never called for an open meeting with the entire board, but for an open meeting between representatives of the board with concerned students, faculty and staff. We also agreed to a smaller closed meeting to discuss the format and agenda of such a meeting. We stand ready at any time to engage in such a meeting. The Daily, in its rush to paint us "unreasonable," failed to ascertain these facts.

What we have refused is a behind closed doors meeting (in the proverbial smoked-filled room) with a few "leaders" to discuss all the substantive issues. There is a history of such meetings as ploys to diffuse the issue, to tie it up in committee. There is considerable interest and expertise on this campus among the students, faculty and staff. We feel strongly that all of this should be brought to bear on the deliberations.

We have absolutely no intention of getting this issue embroiled in an endless morass of "discussion." To structure a committee around the many of the questions the Daily raises would do just that.

First, the fundamental question remains: Is it morally right for NU (and other institutions) to support and profit from the

racist system of apartheid in South Africa through its investments, bank deposits and relationships with corporations doing business in South Africa?

Our answer has consistently been a loud "no."

The NU Board of Trustees is dominated by board members of corporation doing business in South Africa: five from First National Bank and three from Continental Bank, both of which sell the Kruggerand and makes loans to South Africa, from G.D. Searle, from American Hospital Supply, and many others who sit as directors of corporations with business in South Africa.

We think that these trustees reflect the policies their corporations have stated especially during the past several months. We are not as naive as to think that these policies can be quickly reversed by a closed meeting with "leaders" of the coalition.

Thus, we call for an open public discussion with some trustees as well as other meetings on this issue. We call on the people of NU to get involved. It is not a self-serving coalition which seeks to gain from "confrontation." It is the NU community which would stand to benefit.

Either we would all learn that the seemingly uninformed and shallow statements of some trustees favoring continued NU investment in South Africa cannot withstand the heat of fact and counter-argument. Or we will learn that the trustees are genuinely interested in exercising a sense of social responsibility on this issue.

Either way we would have more informed opinions and hopefully more people who might work to end NU's support for minority rule in South Africa.

The coalition is not standing in the way of a decision to sell the stock, or a public expression that the trustees are interested in selling the stock in a prudent manner such a

plan would seek not to harm NU's financial health but end NU's support for South African apartheid.

Several NU administrators and NU trustees were bold enough to make statements opposing selling the stock. Let them now be bold enough to come out from behind the Daily's headlines and speak openly and victory to the peoples of southern Africa.

frankly debate their views with all concerned.

We reiterate our demand for an open meeting, and state our willingness to fully cooperate with anyone who wants to see an end to U.S. and Northwestern University support for apartheid and minority rule and victory to the peoples of southern Africa.

NORTHWESTERN DAILY 4/21/78

Coalition right

As two members of the Coalition to Oppose NU's Investments in South Africa, we feel that the Daily's April 18 editorial did not adequately handle or understand our position calling for an open Board of Trustees meeting. We were disappointed with the Daily's belief that we, "the protestors are the primary obstruction to progress on the issue." Obviously, the Daily editors do not understand the purpose of the coalition.

Our goal is getting Northwestern to divest. Yet our thrust is to inform the entire Northwestern community of the oppressive situation in South Africa and how NU's investments only serve to uphold South African apartheid. Too many people still do not realize what is going on in South Africa and the role U.S. corporations play in the maintenance of apartheid.

Holding a select group meeting would only further limit members in the NU community from knowing and taking part in the decision making. Closed meetings

have historically been a biased means of resolution, usually benefiting the administrators and not the university community. This is our university and we all should be a part of the political, if not economic issues.

As to the Daily's statement that an unstructured meeting would "probably include some irrational, and perhaps impertinent, student statements," we strongly disagree. The South African issue is serious enough that all views should be aired. The Daily's suggestion that students are not capable of mature, intelligent behavior if allowed in unstructured situations is not worth consideration.

We appreciate the Daily's support for progress towards divestment. Yet, in the future, we ask that the editorial staff get a firm grasp of the situation before it attempts to make in-depth analyses. The facts are there and the coalition has been vocal in its goals and procedures ever since its formation three months ago.

Judi McCray
Journalism 1979
Scott Barrett
CAS 1979

Vol. 98, No. 111

Evansville, Ill.

Tuesday, April 25, 1978

The Daily Northwestern

STOP NORTHWESTERN'S SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT

The Coalition to Stop NU Investments in South Africa demands an open meeting with all or some of the NU Board of Trustees. Several members of the Trustees have already thoroughly aired their views in the press. At this point, we see no need for a hush-hush, behind closed doors meeting. We reject this proposal from the Board as a ploy to divert attention from the real issues. There is substantial and growing interest and support for our position: almost 800 people have signed petitions, an open letter from Black faculty, staff, and administrators, a Daily Northwestern editorial, and at least one trustee has spoken out in favor of "immediate and prudent divestiture." We think the University community is a place for open dialogue and therefore call for AN OPEN MEETING.

Northwestern University's Board of Trustees has demonstrated only its own selfish interests in serving the rich by deciding to retain its stock and bonds in corporations and banks which operate in South Africa. These operations support the apartheid system which causes the oppression and exploitation of the South African peoples, and denies basic human rights to the South African majority. This decision reflects the profit-over-people interests of a few imperialists on the Board of Trustees and not the people of this university--students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends--who have a right to speak out and decide on this crucial issue.

The Oregon Board of Higher Education and the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents have recently voted to sell their stock in South Africa-related corporations. We insist that NU join this growing movement in support of the people of South Africa by ending its ties with companies which help to maintain apartheid and minority rule in South Africa.

Coalition Demands:

Sell the Stock

U.S. Out of South Africa

NU Out of S. Africa

Support the S. African People

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AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

BLACK CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION

ASSOCIATED STUDENT GOVERNMENT • FOR MEMBERS ONLY

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- ** 1. N.U. has some 75 million dollars invested in more than 40 corporations and banks which operate in South Africa, not the 65 million in 20 corporations as N.U. listed.
- ** 2. Our demand that N.U. move toward divesture is not in violation. Ohio University, Smith College, Oregon Board of Higher Education, University of Wisconsin Board of Regents to name a few are school that have already decided to sell the South African stock. Students, faculty, staff on other major campuses have taken up the fight for university divesture.
- ** 3. Many of the members that sit on N.U. Board of Trustees also serve as director, board members and chief executives of corporations operating in South Africa. Trustees Gaylord Freeman, Thomas Ayers, Richard Thomas, A. D. Swift and Robert Nevin also sit on the Board of 1st National Bank of Chicago. This bank recently (1976) joined other banks in lending 110 million dollars to the South African government. 1st National also continues to sell the South Africa Kruggerand. Trustees Karl Bays and Foster McGaw sit on the Board at American Hospital Supply. A.H.S. has a manufacturing plant in South Africa.
- ** 4. Other corporations and banks operating in South Africa in which N.U. owns stocks and which in turn have representatives on the N.U. Board of Trustees to oversee the University's financial policy are: Abbott Lab; I.B.M.; Motorola; General Electric; G.M. Acceptance; G. D. Searle; and several others. Speaking at Northwestern University's Center for African Studies Seretse Choabi said "the white racist system (in South Africa) survives because it is propped up by the multinational corporations . . . Our problem is General Motors, the Ford Foundation and I.B.M." (Seretse Choabi, a native of South Africa was imprisoned there for three and was exiled in 1967.)
- ** 5. "Progressive" American corporate practice in South Africa is a farce. American corporations operating in South Africa must obey the racist and repressive status quo enforced by the South African government. The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs reports that the performance of U.S. firms in South Africa is "abysmal." In short, they are all partners in apartheid or conversely apartheid is practiced and applied on their behalf and to their advantage." (Time for Azania)

It is clear to us that the decision to retain the stocks and bonds are made in the corporate board rooms of imperialist corporations and not by the N.U. community. Furthermore these decisions are not made in the interest of the South African people; rather they are to line the pockets of a few already rich imperialists who are determined to exploit and maim the spirit of the South African peoples.

So far the Board of Trustees has refused to grant an all-campus meeting. We must tear down this veil of modern day piracy which allies the N.U. community with the racist and repressive South African government.

SELL THE STOCK — Force an Open Meeting — Pledge Your Support by Signing Our Petition.

Act on S. African stock

One month ago, Northwestern witnessed a rebirth of campus activism. Students and faculty organized protests and rallies against NU ownership of stock in companies that invest in South Africa.

Now the divestiture movement has settled into an unfortunate and unnecessary stalemate. Ironically, the protesters themselves are the primary obstruction to progress on the issue.

The Board of Trustees proposed a meeting between a small group of trustees and leaders of the Coalition to Stop NU Investments in South Africa. But the coalition insists on a public meeting with the entire board.

Why should the trustees subject themselves to public abuse in an uncontrollable free-for-all? And what would the coalition gain from such a confrontation?

The protesters say a public meeting would show the intensity of campus concern; but their demonstrations and petition drives should do that well enough.

Any unstructured meeting will probably include some irrational, and perhaps impertinent, student statements, which will only reinforce the trustees' opposition to divestiture.

Facts, not rhetoric, are needed in the divestiture debate. The coalition's leaders should swallow their pride and meet with the trustees.

Both sides should cooperate to form a bipartisan fact-finding com-

mittee to examine the implications of divestiture. Questions that must be answered include:

- How do the companies in question treat their black South African employees? What has happened at schools that have already divested?

- Do South African black leaders think American investments are a good thing? What significance would black and white South Africans attribute to the withdrawal of American investment?

- What effect would NU divestiture have on the companies? What effect would it have on NU's financial health?

- What is the feasibility of gradual divestiture? What is the feasibility of a ban on future purchases of stock in companies that invest in South Africa?

After last week's ASG referendum, the coalition cannot afford to be stubborn. Students approved a proposal calling for divestiture by a mere 49-vote margin.

Coalition spokesmen say many of their supporters didn't vote in the referendum because they didn't know the divestiture question was on the ballot. They say the vote in favor of divestiture would have been much greater if the referendum had been properly publicized.

Still, the vote doesn't help the coalition much. The longer the protesters persist with their unrealistic demands, the more unlikely NU divestiture becomes.

The Daily Northwestern

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4/18/78

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Headline: Harvard Corporation Rejects Total Divestiture: Students

Step Up Protests against investments in South Africa

(Source: Chronicle of Higher Education, 5/8/78)

While Harvard students demonstrated against South Africa's policy of apartheid and the university's investments in corporations doing business there, the governing board, the Harvard Corporation, announced its position:

"We find ourselves in the unenviable position of groping for a responsible, ethical position in the face of extreme uncertainty where the effects of any conceivable course of action are beyond our capacity to estimate with any confidence."

For five days, students advocating that the university divest itself of stock in companies doing business in South Africa marched and rallied, listened to speeches and songs, and maintained a round-the-clock vigil at the John Harvard statue in Harvard Yard.

The demonstrations began as members of the Harvard Corporation met to act on recommendations from a student-faculty-alumni advisory committee on shareholder responsibility. The corporation's decision was made on the first day, but not announced until three days later.

The announcement said that Harvard would consider divestiture only in limited circumstances, as in the case of a corporation that offered no hope of changing its behavior in South Africa to meet its ethical responsibilities.

The university will support shareholder resolutions calling upon banks to refrain from loans to the South African government and its agencies. Such loans, the Harvard Corporation statement said, "constitute a more direct support of apartheid than does the normal conduct of manufacturing or service operations in that country."

Divestiture 'Ineffective'

Shareholder resolutions calling for withdrawal of a corporation from South Africa will be supported by Harvard in cases where the corporation's continued presence holds more promise of strengthening the existing South African regime than of improving the welfare of non-white employees.

On the question of divestiture, the Harvard Corporation statement said:

"There is very little likelihood that selling even substantial amounts of stock will depress the market price for an extended period, let alone put significant pressure on the management.

"Nor is there any reliable evidence

that sales of stock for ethical reasons will have more than a temporary effect on public opinion or exert as much influence as a sustained effort to influence management through continuing correspondence, shareholder resolutions, and appropriate public statements.

"In short, we oppose divestiture under normal circumstances not merely—or even primarily—because it costs the university money but because it is a relatively ineffective means of pursuing ethical ends."

On Other Campuses

In other recent campus action on South African investments:

► The Oregon attorney general's office ruled last week that the state board of higher education had no authority to determine what securities its funds should be invested in.

The board voted last year to divest itself of stock in corporations with substantial activity in South Africa, Rhodesia, or Namibia.

Edward Branchfield, chief counsel for the board, said the attorney general's opinion held that only the hired investment managers had authority to decide what stocks to buy and sell. The managers, he said, are bound by state law's "prudent-man rule" not to "take moral or political considerations into account except as they may affect the return or safety of the investment."

► In Ohio, Miami University trustees voted to sell the university's stock in two corporations because they have operations in South Africa—2,500 shares each in Union Carbide Corp. and the Warner-Lambert Co., with a combined value of about \$160,000.

The trustees' action was a response to a resolution for divestiture of stock in corporations doing business in South Africa, proposed by a student-faculty "Committee Against Apartheid" and approved in a student referendum.

► Students demonstrating against investments in South Africa staged a sit-in last Monday at Columbia University's Uris Hall, which houses the graduate school of business. On the same day a university senate committee announced its recommendations on the issue, including proposals for divestiture of stock in companies that demonstrate "indifference to oppressive racial policies" and in financial institutions that continue to make loans to South Africa.

► At the University of Chicago,

where trustees have voted unanimously against divestiture of stock in corporations doing business in South Africa, students were told by a university official that "investment is really none of your business."

Allison Dunham, secretary of the trustees and the university's legal counsel, was quoted in the student newspaper as saying, "By law and otherwise, divestiture is our decision and we do not have to listen to anybody else."

The trustees, while rejecting student demands for divestiture, did modify their investment policy to end automatic endorsement of management's position on shareholder issues.

Under the new policy, the university treasurer, Mary Petrie, is to examine each shareholder resolution individually and bring to the attention of the trustees' investment committee any issues that seem to merit deviating from the customary promanagement vote.

► Regents of the University of Washington called on corporations in which they have investments to adhere to principles of nondiscrimination in their South African operations.

The Washington board's action came under a new investment policy that allows consideration of human-rights concerns in addition to its primary objective of getting maximum return at minimum risk.

► Brown University's governing board decided to support a shareholder resolution calling on Eastman Kodak to stop selling photographic equipment and materials to the South African government, to support a resolution against further loans to the South African government by Manufacturers Hanover Corporation, and to abstain from voting on a resolution asking Continental Illinois Corporation to report details of its loans in South Africa.

► Stanford University's trustees agreed to vote their 158,800 shares of Texaco stock against a resolution urging the corporation's withdrawal from South Africa and to vote their 44,000 shares of Eastman Kodak stock against the resolution for an end to the company's photographic business in South Africa.

► Ohio State University's trustees decided to purchase stock in corporations doing business in South Africa only if they have endorsed a statement of principles on non-discrimination in employment.

Forum

Move on stock issue ...

The Board of Trustees' continuing failure to take any action on the South African stock issue indicates moral callousness, not financial common sense.

Some universities have already decided to sell their stock in companies that invest in South Africa. Others have established non-partisan committees to investigate the many questions involved in the issue.

But not Northwestern. In the face of one of the decade's greatest moral issues, Northwestern does nothing except continue to profit from South Africa's intolerable apartheid system.

Contrast NU's attitude with that of Harvard University. A Harvard committee composed of equal numbers of faculty, students and alumni investigated the stock issue at its school. The committee met 25 times, held one open hearing, called upon outside experts, sent representatives to conferences and drafted a final report.

After studying that report for several weeks, Harvard President Derek Bok said, in an April 27 statement, "Attempting to determine what Harvard, as a shareholder can do to support constructive change in South Africa is an extremely complex question with no certain answers."

Unlike Harvard, NU has not made any significant study on the impact of divestiture. Where Harvard found "no certain answers" after an intensive investigation, NU claims to have found the absolute truth after no investigation.

"It (divestiture) would accomplish nothing—it's ridiculous," President Strotz said with apparent certainty last week. That's not the "responsible way to address" the issue.

Two weeks ago, the Harvard Corporation, the university's governing body, voted against divestiture in favor of a case by case review of corporate activities in South Africa. Harvard has also decided to consider supporting shareholder resolutions calling for withdrawal of company operations from South Africa.

More than 3,500 Harvard students protested the corporation's decision after it was announced. But at least Harvard had done its homework. At least Harvard faced up to its moral responsibility to carefully consider the stock problem.

Northwestern does nothing. The Board of Trustees has not documented its position. It has not reported any investigation of alternatives to total divestiture. Its inaction is a failure of morality that disgraces Northwestern.

5/9/78

... no reason for inaction

President Strotz and the Board of Trustees have made some strong arguments against divestiture. But none that cannot be answered.

Allowing the trustees to use the university portfolio for political purposes would set a bad precedent, Strotz said last week.

Since Strotz called students seeking divestiture "unsophisticated," he probably won't listen to the student newspaper's opinion. Then how about listening to The New York Times, surely one of the nation's most sophisticated newspapers?

In an April 2 editorial, the Times wrote, "...they (university trustees) have to draw the line by their own evolving standards of social responsibility, with due regards for deeply held convictions in their communities. Some issues of public agitation are ordinary or transient but some arise from a vital sensibility. It is the job of trustees to recognize the difference. How fast and how far to dissociate from South Africa are still questions for debate, but the direction of movement by Americans should be clear."

Strotz argues that a university should not get involved in a political action such as divestiture.

Again, a response to Strotz from The New York Times: "Ideally the national will and tactics here should be determined by the expressions and regulations of the Federal Government ... There is nothing unusual or deplorable, however, about the definition of public values from below; our standards of conduct are often framed first by the protests of private citizens and institutions."

Another point raised by Strotz is that divestiture would not clear NU's moral conscience because the university would then be burdening others with the stock. "Something that the editorial staff of the Daily Northwestern might do as a next step is to draw up a list of eligible buyers," Strotz said.

The following is the Daily's list of those to whom NU can sell the stock:

Anyone who wants to buy it.

Strotz calls that the "Pontius Pilate bit." We call it an act of moral decency.

Strotz is correct in saying that NU divestiture by itself would accomplish little. But NU is not alone in the struggle against U.S. support of apartheid. Universities, churches, unions and political groups across the nation are speaking out against the South African stock.

Each statement adds to the pressure on those who support corporate involvement in South Africa. Each statement brings America closer to strong government action against apartheid.

NU cannot evade divestiture by saying it is a political issue because right now NU profits directly from the world's most despised political system.

If, after careful study, total divestiture is found to be financially impossible, there are many intermediate measures that can be taken, as Harvard and other universities have proved.

It is time for NU to meet its moral obligations on the South African stock issue. There are no excuses for inaction.

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NU resists firms' sale of S. African interests

By Dale Kasler Tuesday, May 16, 1978

Northwestern has opposed recent efforts by fellow stockholders to encourage corporations to stop operations in South Africa.

NU voted May 1 against a proposal by Motorola stockholders to have the company stop operating in South Africa unless that country ends its apartheid policy, said John Borsch Jr., NU's investments director. The proposal lost by a wide margin, Borsch said.

NU has opposed similar measures recently proposed by stockholders in Eastman Kodak, Continental Illinois Corporation, the Southern Company, Texaco Inc. and others.

THE NU BOARD of Trustees Investments Committee controls NU's votes.

Stockholders receive one vote per share of stock.

Voting against the stockholders' proposals wouldn't be anything but counterproductive," said John J. Louis Jr., Investment Committee chairman. Those companies are "doing more good for the individual black in South Africa than they do harm."

Louis acknowledged that the companies may be supporting the white supremacist regime, "to the extent that the businesses pay taxes to the government of South Africa."

However, he said the companies, "on balance," help blacks more than they hurt them.

LOUIS AND MOST of NU's other trustees have already expressed their opposition to selling NU's \$65 million in in-

vestments in companies that have South African interests.

From 30 to 35 proposals to get out of South Africa or investigate the investments have been raised at corporate stockholders meetings since January, said Kevin Goodridge, senior analyst for Investors Responsibility Research Center, a Washington, D.C., organization that studies corporate investments' social ramifications. Only 17 such questions appeared during all of 1977, he said.

Most of the questions have been introduced by religious groups that are stockholders, he said.

Although Goodridge had no information on recent stockholders' votes, he said "the resolutions are getting a higher percentage of votes this year (than in previous years). There's no question whatsoever that they're getting significantly higher support."

IT IS UNCLEAR how other U.S. universities that hold stock in these companies have been voting because many will not release their votes, Goodridge said.

Nevertheless, the University of Chicago joined NU in opposing Motorola and Continental Illinois proposals. Stanford University voted against a Texaco South African proposal. All three proposals lost.

Although NU has voted against asking the companies to pull out of South Africa, it did vote for a proposal introduced by the University of Minnesota asking Motorola to subscribe to the Sullivan Agreement, a series of six guidelines adopted by more than 55 companies that do business in South Africa. The resolution passed, Borsch said.

Minnesota has persuaded several other firms to adopt the agreement, Goodridge said.

Signers of the Sullivan agreement pledge to pay equal wages for "equal or comparable work." However, apartheid opponents say blacks are prohibited by South African law from doing equal jobs, so they are effectively prohibited from receiving equal pay.

NU CONTROLS about .2 percent of the Motorola stock.

At an April 24 stockholders' meeting, NU voted against a proposal asking Continental Illinois Corporation to report to the stockholders the number of loans made to the South African government.

The proposal lost overwhelmingly, said Ray F. Myers, Continental executive vice president. NU trustee Blaine J. Yarrington is a member of the bank's Board of Directors. NU owns .4 percent of the corporation's stock.

NU also voted against asking Texaco "and any of its subsidiaries to terminate its present operations in South Africa" unless the South African government ends apartheid and grants blacks civil rights.

NU OWNS LESS than .1 percent of Texaco's stock. Borsch said.

NU also voted not to ask Texaco to investigate whether or not Caltex, a subsidiary, has sold oil to the minority government in Rhodesia.

Both proposals were defeated by wide margins, said a spokesman for Texaco in Harrison, N.Y.

NU also voted against asking Eastman Kodak to stop selling photographic supplies to the South African government, and plans to vote May 24 against asking the Southern Company to make a report on its importation of South African coal, Borsch said. The Kodak proposal lost, he said. NU owns .01 percent of Kodak's stock, .1 percent of Southern's.

Meanwhile, Jon Brooks, chairman of the ASG Student Rights and Services Committee, said Monday the committee will study NU's South African holdings.

Some investigating divestiture

Daily Northwestern
Monday, May 22, 1978

Schools differ on stock issue

By Ian Fallis

The Oregon Board of Higher Education on Nov. 19, 1977 became the first university system to vote to sell its stocks in companies with South African holdings.

At the University of Southern California (USC), there have been no student protests and the trustees have taken no action to divest.

These are the nationwide extremes of reaction to South African divestiture. Most college responses fall between these.

THREE WEEKS AGO, the Harvard Corporation announced that it would not make a blanket divestiture.

Students responded with a rally, and 3,500 marched the length of the campus. About 100 students blocked University Hall to keep the faculty out of their offices, said Harvard Crimson managing editor George Sweetnam.

A coalition called the United Front, made up of many campus ethnic groups and the anti-apartheid South African Solidarity Committee, is backing the protests for divestiture, Sweetnam said.

The United Front is planning "to keep the pressure on, but it's hard to keep up the radical spirit," he added.

THE HARVARD ADVISORY Committee on Shareholder

Analysis

Responsibility approved a study May 11 that showed Harvard could lose \$5.7 million to \$16.5 million to begin, and \$6.5 million to \$21.5 million annually if it divests and does not buy stock in companies in South Africa.

In the meantime, Harvard is exercising its stockholder's votes in favor of such measures as forbidding loans to South Africa.

It will also "divest (itself) of, or not renew investments in, banks that do not take moral considerations into account when making loans to South Africa," said a May 4 Harvard Crimson story.

"This (refusal to divest completely) is in connection with the imperial nature of the university," said Ron Bailey, a Northwestern associate professor of African-American Studies who is active in the Coalition to Stop NU Investments in South Africa.

HE SAID THIS "imperialism" comes from the composi-

More on page 8

From page 1

tion of university boards of trustees, which is similar to the boards of trustees of the corporations that invest in South Africa.

"At some universities, (deciding about) their endowment is a much more critical decision than at others," he said. He said public universities can divest more easily from their smaller endowments.

Bailey said NU and the University of Chicago are in the same position regarding their boards of trustees and endowments.

THE U OF C HAS said it will keep its stocks, despite student protests and a petition with 1,500 signatures calling for divestiture.

D.J.R. Bruckner, U of C vice president for public affairs, said last week, "The trustees spent their January 9 meeting going over an appeal from the student coalition (the U of C Action Committee).

"At the end, they changed their proxy policy. The policy instructs the (university) treasurer to examine each stockholder's proposal and management's reply with careful consideration of the issue and of management's intent," Bruckner said.

"If it is a responsible policy, he is to vote for it. In other cases, it is to be referred to the investment committee. Many proposals have already been referred to the committee," he said.

AMY ALPERN, ASSISTANT city editor of the Daily Trojan, USC's student newspaper, said that at USC, "there have been no protests. There have been some speakers (on divestiture), but not that much response.

Peter Chung, USC director of asset management, said, "We have made no analysis (of how much of our endowment is in companies with South African holdings). (But) we are concerned about it."

ONLY AFTER BEING assured that they could "make

the change-over (to stocks in companies without South African ties) without losing money" did the Oregon Board of Higher Education vote to divest, said Tom Wolf, 1978-79 editor of the Emerald, the Oregon student newspaper.

The board administers 13 college campuses including the University of Oregon.

Freeman Holmer, Oregon vice chancellor of administration, said, "Given the small amount of our investment, there are other stocks which are (in companies that are) not involved in South Africa (that we could buy) and still get the same return."

Holmer estimated 30 percent of Oregon's \$10 million endowment would be divested.

UNTIL LAST WEEK, the Oregon Department of Justice stalled the board's decision. The department has decided the board does not "have the authority to sell the stock themselves," a spokesman said last week.

"This is delegated to the money managers, who are appointed by the state treasurer. The board's opinion is being treated as a recommendation," he said.

The money managers have not responded, and the student reaction has been "very negative," said Wally Benson, former editor of the Emerald.

HOLMER SAID THE money manager would decide next month whether to divest or not. He speculated they would not choose to divest.

The Wisconsin attorney general ruled several months ago that the University of Wisconsin's holding of stocks in companies that employed people in countries with human rights violations was against the equal protection of section of the Wisconsin constitution. He ordered the board to divest.

"So far," said Joseph Holter, secretary to the Wisconsin board, "we have divested of \$7.8 million in stocks and bonds. We are in the process of selling \$3.7 million more."

HE ESTIMATED THEY might have a one percent loss from broker's fees, but "we might have sold some (of the stock in companies with South African employees) anyhow."

Bailey called this "a very important ruling." It applies American non-discrimination laws to South Africa, he said.

Other schools which are in the process of complete divestiture are Oberlin College in Ohio, the University of Massachusetts and Antioch College in Ohio.

Chronology of NU stock issue

Differing views on the use of moral judgment have kept Northwestern administrators and trustees opposed to groups that want NU to sell its \$66.8 million in South Africa connected stocks and bonds.

"I don't like the idea of having our trustees, just because they're trustees, deciding that they can take the university's (investment) portfolio and start switching around investments" on the basis of moral judgments, University President Robert H. Strotz said Jan. 23.

However, the Coalition to Stop NU Investments in South Africa has said the university should set an example as a

moral leader and sell the stocks.

Because of low stock prices, NU could lose more than \$3 million if it sold the stocks immediately, John Borsch Jr., director of investments for NU, said in February.

The coalition has asked the university to move towards "prudent divestiture" of the stocks to prevent financial problems for NU.

Other events in the movement to get the university to sell its stock include:

- A Feb. 5 statement by four trustees, including chairman Thomas G. Ayers, that NU should not sell its stock.
- A Feb. 28 announcement by black trustee George Johnson stating the university should "move toward the immediate and prudent divestiture" of the stock.
- Johnson is the only trustee who has announced support for sale of the stock.
- A March announcement by Ayers that the trustees would not have an open meeting to discuss the stocks after the coalition requested it do so.
- A May 5 demonstration outside Strotz' office during which demonstrators asked Strotz to meet with them and explain his remark that the anti-stock movement was a "PR gimmick." Strotz has not said whether he will meet with the entire group.

—Kevin Gale

Trustees hide from facts

It's bad enough that Northwestern has dogmatically insisted on retaining all its South African-connected stock. But the NU Board of Trustees has gone several steps further.

At recent stockholders' meetings, the trustees cast NU's votes against proposals to stop company operations in South Africa unless that country ends its apartheid policy.

Even more disturbing was NU's decision against questioning companies on their activities in southern Africa. NU voted against an April 24 proposal asking Continental Illinois Corporation to report to the stockholders the number of loans made to the South African government. NU also voted against asking Texaco Inc. to investigate whether a subsidiary firm sold oil to the white minority government in Rhodesia.

These proposals wouldn't hurt NU financially. They wouldn't hurt the companies financially. But they would have supplied information needed to assess the impact of U.S. corporate involvement in apartheid.

How can a rational decision be made on the morality of investing in South Africa without such informa-

tion? This "what we don't see won't hurt us" attitude is appalling.

These companies, and the NU trustees, apparently don't want to carefully examine their role in South Africa. They seem to be convinced that U.S. companies are "doing more good for the individual black in South Africa than they do harm," as John J. Lewis Jr., chairman of the trustees Investment Committee, said last week.

Many others disagree, with good cause. For instance, the subcommittee on African Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee spent a year researching the role of U.S. corporate interests in South Africa. The subcommittee's report concluded that U.S. corporations have strengthened the economic and military status quo in South Africa without making any significant impact on relaxing apartheid or establishing company policies that would offer a model of corporate responsibility.

It's hard to see how U.S. firms help black Africans by bolstering apartheid. It's also hard to believe that the trustees care about South African blacks when they don't care enough to investigate the extent of their involvement in South Africa.

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5/23/78

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
(From the Coalition to End NU's Investments in South Africa)

For the last several months the Coalition to End Northwestern's Investments in South Africa has urged the NU trustees to meet open to discuss this important issue. You have refused to meet openly. More importantly, several trustees and university administrators have persisted in making statements about the situation in South Africa and the role of U.S. corporations there which are not based on fact.

We reiterate our call for an open meeting because of the educational value it would have in fully informing the University community about the different views on this issue. This is consistent, we feel, with the mission of a university. To facilitate discussion, however, we propose a meeting between representatives of the Trustees and a committee organized by the Coalition. This meeting should take place before the June 12 meeting of the Trustees at which time we ask for a formal response of the entire board to our call for immediate and prudent sale of stock in corporations with investments in South Africa.

This committee reflects the broad sentiment of the University community that this University should pursue more rigorous and thorough investigation and discussion of divestiture as an alternative in ending NU's support for minority rule. It consists of:

Professors: Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (Political Science), Marcus Alexis (Economics), Ronald Bailey (African-American Studies/Political Science), Dennis Brutus (English), Abraham Demoz (African Studies), Joyce Hughes (Law), Faye Leary (African Studies), John Rowe (History);

Staff: Basil Clunie (Graduate Housing);

Students: Spain Lashley (For Members Only); Scott Barrett (New Chicago African Liberation Support Committee); Jeff Rosen, Associated Student Government; and a representative of the African Students Organization.

The merits of this issue and the list of American institutions and individuals which are, in the words of a New York Times editorial, "moving toward the exit..." and ending all collaboration with apartheid are too significant to be ignored, especially for a university which claims leadership in the field of African Studies. Not only have several universities acted in various ways, but such bodies as the National Council of Churches, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs and even individuals like Professor Gwendolen Carter, former head of the NU African Studies Program, have spoken out against continued U.S. investment in South Africa.

Here on the Northwestern campus, we have gathered almost 1,000 names on a petition calling on you to sell the stock. The Associated Student Government Forum has voted a resolution echoing these same sentiments. A referendum question was voted affirmatively by the Student Body. Black faculty, staff, and administrators paid for a full page ad in the Daily to urge you to undertake "immediate and prudent divestiture." Even one of the NU trustees, Mr. George Johnson, has expressed his support for a plan that would sell the South African stock and not jeopardize the financial health of the University, but end NU support for minority rule.

Thus, the sentiment at NU is clearly on the side of achieving the basic human and national rights denied to the African majority in South Africa. We support the struggle for "one man, one vote," and an end to all U.S. support for the racist minority government which blocks the achievement of this aspiration. We therefore urge you, as Trustees of Northwestern University, to explore this issue more fully with the people of this University, and to sell the South African stock as an expression of your support for the fundamental principles of human rights, democracy, and freedom.

May 30, 1978

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1978

THE DAILY NORTHWESTERN PAGE 13

Committee proposed to see trustees on S. African stock

By Kevin Gale

A 12-member committee of Northwestern students, faculty and staff was proposed Tuesday to meet with university trustees to discuss NU's ownership of \$66.8 million in South African-connected stocks and bonds.

The meeting "should take place before the June 12 meeting of the board at which time we ask for formal response of the entire board to our call for immediate and prudent sale of (the) stock," states a Coalition to Stop NU Investments in South Africa letter to the trustees.

THE COALITION previously asked for an open meeting with the trustees, but the trustees have refused. Coalition member Ron Bailey, an associate African-American studies professor, said Tuesday.

The coalition still wants an open meeting for its "educational value," said Bailey, one of the faculty listed as on the committee. The group proposed the committee so it wouldn't be accused of keeping discussion of the issue from moving forward, he said.

"What the university is about is not-closed meetings," he said. "The trustees should come to college on this question."

The coalition committee "reflects the broad sentiment of the university community that this university should pursue more rigorous and thorough investigation and discussion of divestiture as an alternative in ending NU's support for minority rule," the coalition letter states.

FACULTY PROPOSED by the coalition for the committee are: Ibrahim A. Abu-Lughod, professor of political science; Marcus Alexis, economics department chairman; Bailey; English Prof. Dennis Brutus; Abraham Demoz, director of the Program for African Studies; Joyce Hughes, associate professor of law; John Rowe, associate professor of history; and Faye Leary, assistant director of the Program for African Studies.

Basil Clunie, director of graduate housing, would be the only staff member on the proposed committee.

Students on the committee would be Spain Lashley, former For Members Only coordinator; Scott Barrett, New Chicago African Liberation Support Committee member; Jeff Rosen, ASG president; and a representative of the African Student Organization.

Trustees consent to study South African stock issue

By Scott Tucker

A special committee of six Northwestern trustees will study whether or not to divest NU's stock holdings in companies with operations in South Africa.

The committee, which will only recommend actions to the full Board of Trustees, was formed after the six trustees met with the NU Sell the Stock Coalition June 29.

The committee will meet again with the coalition in late September.

THOSE AT THE meeting said they didn't know if the trustees, who had refused an open meeting with the coalition over the past several months, will soften their stance against complete divestiture of the stock.

NU holds \$66.8 million worth of stocks and bonds in companies with South African interests, about one third of the university's total stock investments.



Abraham Demoz

Professor Ron Bailey, a coalition member, said Wednesday the possible financial impact of a blanket divestiture is the "key reason" for the trustees' refusal to sell the stock.

However, trustee Howard J. Trienens said the financial issue was "only one of many considerations (discussed at the meeting), but certainly not the dominant one."

Trienens wouldn't say what the other considerations were.

COALITION CHAIRMAN, professor Abraham Demoz, said two arguments in addition to the financial impact were brought up by the trustees at the meeting.

"They didn't see how divestiture would help abolish apartheid," Demoz said. Also, "They asked, 'Where do we stop, if we begin making investments on the basis of political issues?'"

Trustees present at the meeting included Trienens, board chairman Thomas G. Ayers, John J. Nevin, John J. Louis, Newton N. Minow and Don Reuben.

Four students, members of the coalition, attended the meeting.

DEMOZ AND BAILEY said they could not predict the coalition's next move if the trustees refuse again in September to sell the stock. Demoz said the coalition would prefer negotiation over other strategies.

NU's Director of Investments John Borsch said Monday he didn't know if sale of the stock would hurt NU financially. He denied saying in February that NU could lose as much as \$3 million through sale of the stock, as he had been previously quoted.

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NU trustees to study stock divestiture

From page 1

Commissions paid while selling the stock and reinvesting the money would "add to any loss and subtract from any profit," Borsch added.

Demoz said that even if NU divested its stock, it "is not going to bring down apartheid," but that the "symbolic gesture, however small," would be important. He called universities "moral leaders of the

nation (which) have to take the first step."

THERE IS A feeling on campuses across the country, "at least among students and faculty," Demoz said, that financial losses are worth the price of divestiture, and that a large-scale divestiture would have some impact on apartheid.

Harvard, the University of Chicago and Stanford have all recently refused blanket divestiture of their holdings in South Africa, despite strong student petitioning

efforts and demonstrating.

At Harvard last May, 3,500 students marched and rallied following the trustees' decision not to divest.

Bailey said in May that the Harvard decision not to divest "is in connection with the imperial nature of the university."

The universities of Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Oregon have sold their stock tied to South Africa.

Sell apartheid stocks, NU trustee panel says

By Jeff Bloch

Northwestern should sell its stock in companies supporting apartheid in South Africa, a special board of trustees committee advised Monday.

However, the report submitted to the board of trustees did not indicate what criteria will be used to determine whether a company supports apartheid.

That decision will be made after much "thoughtful judgment" on a "case by case basis," said John J. Louis, Jr., chairman of the Investment Committee and member of the special committee.

THE INVESTMENT COMMITTEE met Wednesday to formulate a letter of inquiry to be sent to the companies

with South Africa interests, Louis said.

The letter requires careful wording, Louis said, since "the last thing we want to do is alienate the business community" by asking them about their South Africa policy.

Trustee Newton N. Minow, chairman of the special committee, said Wednesday, "We have no indication now that anybody is (supporting apartheid)."

In addition to analyzing NU's investments, the report also made the following conclusions:

- **MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL committee will try to** arrange a meeting with representatives of the executive and legislative branches" of the U.S. government and members of various NU groups "to discuss the South

African problem."

- NU should sponsor a "major conference" on apartheid involving "scholars, business executives and government officials ... from this country and overseas."
- NU should create a fellowship program "for graduate study by nonwhite South Africans to prepare them for leadership roles" in South Africa.

Following the board meeting, Minow said the report was presented to the Coalition to End NU's investments in South Africa, a group of faculty, staff and students.

THE COALITION SPONSORED numerous protests and demonstrations last year advocating divestiture of all stock

More on page 1c

Apartheid stock divestiture urged

From page 3

in companies dealing with South Africa.

The special six-member trustee committee was formed after a June 29 meeting with the coalition.

Abraham Demoz, professor of linguistics and director of the program of African Studies said Wednesday the Coalition has not yet met to consider the report.

DEMOZ SAID HE could not speak for the committee but was "impressed with the sincerity, hard work and devotion of the special committee." However, he added that "the recommendations of the committee have not gone as far as I would have liked them to go."

The committee report questioned whether the selling of all involved stock would contribute toward the South African government or economy, since NU owns only a small fraction of stock in the companies involved.

NU owns at least \$65 million in stock in companies with

interests in South Africa. Five percent, or approximately \$3 million could be lost if NU suddenly sold that stock, according to previous statements by university officials.

The report added that NU, because of its status as an educational institution, has a responsibility to help solve the controversy. "Complete divestiture of investments in corporations doing business in South Africa, if it were possible, would be a mere gesture to disengage from the problem," the report said.

It is possible that some U.S. companies in South Africa are actually helping blacks by promoting equal treatment of employees and by creating the jobs, the report said.

Ronald Bailey, African-American Studies associate professor and member of the coalition, said "the issue is one man-one vote."

Bailey called the report a "victory for the coalition ... especially considering some of the misinformed statements of last year" by the trustees.

September 26, 1978

Divestiture urged

Should Northwestern divest itself of its stock in U.S. companies doing business in South Africa?

The question lends itself to knee-jerk reactions. Few Americans support, or admit they support, South Africa's apartheid policy. Most find such an overt implementation of bigotry abhorrent and, without stopping to think, condemn Northwestern's stockholdings with South African interests.

Answering the divestiture question, however, is a formidable task. The issues involved are not as clearly defined as many people believe.

One thing complicating the picture is that two schools of thought, both anti-apartheid, advocated diametrically opposed courses of action.

One school says all U.S. companies should withdraw all their South African investments as long as apartheid exists. This move, or so the argument goes, would bring extreme economic pressure to bear on the South African government, and could conceivably topple the apartheid policy.

The other school maintains that American companies provide the only hope for non-white South Africans to achieve job equality, which they interpret as a stepping-stone to general equality and freedom for non-white South Africans. Hence, withdrawing American business would be a blow to the oppressed, rather than the oppressor.

The issue is a sticky one, particularly when the investor is a major university like NU. Can an institution professing dedication to enlightenment and equality invest

in South African interests and be consistent with that dedication?

We believe the answer is no, and that NU should divest itself of all stock in U.S. companies companies with South African interests.

We see the investments as a tacit endorsement of apartheid, and entirely inconsistent with the goals of an institution of higher learning.

We commend the efforts of the special trustee committee appointed to study the divestiture issue. Their 16-page report, released Sept. 19, reflected careful study and thorough research.

Unfortunately, the result was more a scholarly triumph than a practical answer to the divestiture question. The report states, "If it is determined that any company or bank in which the University invests is supporting apartheid, the Board of Trustees should divest the University's holdings in that company forthwith."

The report does not specify what constitutes support of apartheid. Hence, it is vague on the issue where specificity is most important.

That vagueness could mean an even longer delay in the university's taking any concrete action on the divestiture issue. The longer the delay, the greater the blow to the university's credibility as an institution advancing education and equality.

We are not so idealistic that we believe divestiture by NU will have a direct impact on conditions in South Africa. Divestiture would be one small step in action against apartheid.

But it would be a step in the right direction.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Re: Report of Special Trustee Committee to
Consider Northwestern University
Investment Policy with Respect to
United States Corporations Doing
Business in South Africa

Introduction

For some time, the South African government's official policy of apartheid has caused growing concern throughout the United States. Various individuals and groups have urged institutional investors to express their condemnation of apartheid by selling their stock in all United States corporations doing business in the Union of South Africa. During the past year, several major universities have issued statements and reports on this issue.¹

Some Northwestern faculty members and students during the past year called upon the Board of Trustees to sell all of Northwestern University's stock in such companies. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Thomas G. Ayers, appointed this Special Trustee Committee to consider the question. Members of

¹ We have reviewed a number of such reports, including those of Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Smith, Stanford, Princeton, the University of Wisconsin and the University of Chicago. We have also reviewed the policy statement of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., November 19, 1977.

Committee have met with representatives of the each of the following groups: Coalition to End NU's Investments in South Africa (a group of faculty and staff members and students), the General Faculty Committee and the Associated Student Government. The Committee has met seven times over the summer, sought information from other knowledgeable individuals with a variety of viewpoints, and examined much of the available literature.²

The Committee submits the following report:

Findings

Northwestern University has a unique educational interest in South Africa because the study of modern Africa was pioneered in this country beginning in 1929 by a distinguished Northwestern anthropologist, Professor Melville J. Herskovits; and in 1948, Northwestern was the first American university to establish a formal program of African Studies.

Northwestern University has been and is seriously concerned with the social and moral implications of its actions in all areas, including the investment of University funds. In the investment of funds, the law imposes a heavy responsibility on trustees to exercise the judgment and care in making investments "which men of prudence, discretion and intelligence

² In addition to materials gathered by the Committee, additional materials made available to the Committee by Professor Demoz, Director of the Program of African Studies and a member of the Coalition, have been carefully reviewed.

exercise in the management of their own affairs, not in regard to speculation but in regard to the permanent disposition of their funds, considering the probable income as well as the probable safety of their capital."³ This legal responsibility is echoed in the Trustees' ethical obligation, as custodians of the University's endowment and affairs, to maximize the University's ability to fulfill its primary mission -- education -- by providing the necessary funds to supplement student tuition for the payment of faculty and staff salaries, to provide for student aid and to support research.

The Trustees' individual moral or social views may not, accordingly, be given precedence over this fundamental educational mission. This is not to say, however, that moral and social concerns are irrelevant. A University's dedication to human knowledge presupposes a commitment to the freedom and human rights which enable knowledge to develop and be disseminated.

These considerations counsel a careful evaluation, on a case-by-case basis, of the scope and interrelationships of the University's various educational objectives (and the investment policies necessary to support them) and ethical principles. We conclude that, in discharging their fiduciary and ethical responsibilities, the Trustees may allow social or moral concerns to influence investment decisions only

³ The quoted language is from Illinois Revised Statutes, ch. 148, §105; this language is virtually identical to the classic statement of the common law "prudent man rule" set forth in the case of Harvard College v. Amory, 26 Mass. (9 Pick.) 446, 461 (1830).

under the most compelling of circumstances; and then not to achieve a particular end deemed by the Trustees to be socially or morally superior, but only to avoid the University's involvement in demonstrably antisocial or immoral activity. We find that social or moral concerns should influence investment decisions only if each of three conditions is met:

- (1) The social or moral issue is substantial and would be so recognized by a broad national consensus.
- (2) The investment action taken would in all likelihood be a meaningful or significant response to that social or moral issue and would thus fully justify a reasonably prudent man incurring the costs to the University which might result.
- (3) Any action taken would not unnecessarily and adversely affect innocent third parties.

We conclude that the policies and practices of the government of the Union of South Africa raise social and moral issues that are substantial and are so regarded by a broad consensus of this nation. Each of the individual members of the Trustee Committee feels strongly that the policy of apartheid is obnoxious and abhorrent to fundamental rights both in concept and in the brutality and terror that mark its imposition on the nonwhite population. We are unable at this point to compare the human oppression in South Africa with that in such countries as Uganda, Cambodia or the Soviet Union today, or Nazi Germany of the recent past; nor is there

any need for such grisly analysis. Suffice to say that we know of no country other than South Africa where an official, announced government policy to deny basic rights solely because of race is so pervasively implemented.⁴

The moral repugnance of South African policies, however, does not alone determine the moral appropriateness of continued American investment in that country, let alone the further attenuated moral issue of the University's continued investment in corporations that have investments in South Africa. Complex moral, social, political, and economic considerations bear on the problem, and these have given rise to grave uncertainty and enormous good faith differences among the many individuals and groups who have considered the impact of the sale of stockholdings in United States companies doing business in South Africa.

⁴ "What sets South Africa apart from other countries which have equally oppressive and, in some cases, quantitatively worse records of human rights violations is that (1) South Africa's policies are based on race as the sole criterion of discrimination, (2) its human rights violations have been made 'legal' through legislative and regulatory actions that have institutionalized racism into the fabric of society, and (3) its policies are justified in the name of defending the Free World of which South Africa claims to be a member." U.S. Corporate Interests in Africa; Report of the Subcommittee on African Affairs to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, January, 1978 (hereafter cited as "Clark Subcommittee Report"), at 5. See also Editorial, "Heading for the Exit in South Africa," New York Times, April 2, 1978 ("[N]o other contemporary government...has dared to define itself as the embodiment of white supremacy."); Clyde Ferguson and William R. Cotter, "Comment and Correspondence," in Foreign Affairs, April, 1978, at 656 (South Africa "is the only country in the world where all political, social and economic rights are completely ascribed by race.")

A number of groups, including the Coalition, believe that all United States corporations should cease doing business with South Africa so long as the policy of apartheid persists.⁵ Under this approach, any operations of a United States corporation in South Africa serve to prop up the existing Government and its apartheid policies.⁶ The theory is that whatever the importance of United States corporations to the overall economy of South Africa, their withdrawal would tend to weaken that economy and lead to an overthrow of the present government and its policies. It is also argued that withdrawal or divestment would have a symbolic significance that would exert further moral pressure for change on the South African regime.

Others contend that United States corporations are among the most enlightened of the businesses in South Africa in their treatment of nonwhite employees, and thus provide the best hope for progress in the struggle of the nonwhite population for equality and freedom. Managements of United States

⁵ On March 1, 1978, the Student Forum of the Associated Student Government of Northwestern adopted a resolution urging divestment; and in the Spring of this year the vote in a Northwestern student referendum on a proposal urging divestment was 1096 yes, 1050 no, 294 undecided.

⁶ E.G., Donald Woods, "South Africa's Face to the World," in Foreign Affairs, April 1978, at 525-26; Resolution of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Convention at Portland, Oregon, July 1978; Statement of Jennifer Davis, Africa Fund, American Committee on Africa, New York City, Clark Subcommittee Report at 225; Julian R. Friedman, Basic Facts on the Republic of South Africa, published by the Ministry of External Affairs, India, in cooperation with the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, at 69.

corporations with operations in South Africa are said to have a responsibility to their employees, including their nonwhite employees; if their current employers withdraw, these workers might not find alternate employment at all, much less with employers with progressive employment practices. It is also argued that South Africa's economic development has led to a shortage of skilled workers which, in turn, led to substantially increased opportunities for nonwhites; to the extent withdrawal weakens South African's economy, it has a disproportionate impact on the nonwhite population.⁷ This view has been endorsed by respected civil rights leaders such as Vernon Jordan, President of the Urban League,⁸ and formerly imprisoned black South African journalist Percy Qoboza.⁹ Others who have called for strong pressures by the United States government and business

⁷ Herman Nickel, "The Case for Doing Business in South Africa," *Fortune*, June 19, 1978. As Harry F. Oppenheimer put it, "The fact is that the only economic situation which is compatible with apartheid is one of stagnation in which development of the modern sector of the economy is limited to a level at which the majority of the skilled work can be handled by the whites and the black participation is kept to a minimum." "Invest in Peaceful Change" in *Africa Report*, African-American Institute, New York City, July-August, 1978, at 58.

⁸ Leslie Maitland, "Investment in South Africa," *N.Y. Times*, June 28, 1978

⁹ Tiuu Lukk, "Special Report" in *Africa Report*, African-American Institute, New York City, July-August, 1978, at 25.

have stopped short of advocating economic withdrawal from South Africa.¹⁰

After considerable study, even if we were to presume to decide what is best for the nonwhite population of South Africa, we have not been able to say with certainty that either of the above-stated disparate views on this difficult subject is morally superior. We are impressed with the sincerity of the views expressed on both sides of the question, and readily comprehend the sentiment that the forcefulness of the University's response should match the magnitude of the undeniable moral outrage. But we are not persuaded that Northwestern's selling of its investments would have any discernible ameliorative consequences. Northwestern has not invested and does not invest in companies whose primary operations are in South Africa. Most of Northwestern's stockholdings are in major United States corporations which do business in this country and world-wide. Typically, the investment of a United States corporation having operations in South Africa represents much less than 1% of the company's total assets; United States corporate investment there represents only 1.2% of the total foreign investments of United States corporations.¹¹ Northwestern owns only a

¹⁰ See, for example, the statements of the following, all appearing in the Clark Subcommittee Report: Sen. Dick Clark, at 14; Steven J. Solarz, Representative in Congress, State of New York, at 207-08; Hon. Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations and former Representative in Congress, State of Georgia, at 209-10.

¹¹ "Corporate Activity in South Africa," 1978 Analysis J, March 9, 1978, at J-3, Investor Responsibility Research Center, Inc., Washington, D.C. [IRRC].

small fraction of the stock of each company in which it invests. Therefore, no significant part of the investment income received by Northwestern can be attributed to business in South Africa.

Even if all United States corporations were to withdraw all of their investment in South Africa, the prospect is that there would be little impact on the South African economy or government. The American firms' assets would likely be taken over by South African or other foreign investors at a bargain price and the sale proceeds, under South Africa law, could not in many cases be repatriated to the United States.¹² There is no assurance, and considerable doubt, that such purchaser would be as solicitous of its nonwhite workers as the selling United States company.¹³

We have also been advised that many United States corporations, particularly in recent years, have substantially increased their efforts on behalf of their nonwhite workers to provide equal pay for equal work, to overcome the barriers

¹² The IRRC report, ibid., Supplement No. 1, April 4, 1978, at J-38 indicates that under South African law, a company cannot repatriate capital earned on sale of assets without waiting for five years, unless the buyer was a foreign company or the proceeds were used to purchase bonds of the South African government (selling in overseas markets at a 30% discount.)

¹³ See William H. Wells, "Campus Qualms," in Christian Science Monitor, July 5, 1978. See also Robert I. Rotberg, "Corporate Opportunity," in ibid.

against promotion of nonwhite workers to jobs with greater authority and compensation, and to end segregation on the basis of race on the job. Many of these actions by United States corporations are in violation of strict adherence to the policy of apartheid, yet the white South African establishment is accommodating itself to these changes, however reluctantly.¹⁴ Sale by Northwestern University of the stock of such companies, simply because they are doing business in South Africa and without regard to their work toward equality and greater freedom of the nonwhite South African worker, would unjustly condemn the managements and shareholders of such companies.

Moreover, it is an illusion to think that any institutional investor, even if it wishes to, can completely divest itself of the stock of all United States corporations involved in South Africa. Three hundred and fifty United States companies have subsidiaries there, and six thousand more do business through sales agents and distributors. Thus virtually every major United States corporation is involved in South Africa.¹⁵

¹⁴ See, e.g., "General Motors in South Africa," 1977 Report issued by General Motors Corporation, at 39-40; statement of Jerry Funk, Deputy Executive Director, African-American Labor Center, AFL-CIO, New York City, Clark Subcommittee Report, at 216.

¹⁵ "Corporate Activity in South Africa," note 10, supra, at J-3.

These considerations counsel that a divestment program should be approached with the gravest caution, particularly because no moral consensus has emerged in favor of such a course. We find that one basic reason for the vast differences concerning the appropriate policy for investments in South Africa is the total absence of any clearly announced policy on this subject by our government. Vice-President Mondale has expressed the general goal of fostering a process in which all South Africans play a part in determining the future of their country;¹⁶ however, the government has failed to articulate the concrete means of achieving this goal. It may be that our government is itself subject to the prevailing uncertainty as to the correct course of action concerning investments in South Africa. In any event, the Trustees and the University are ill-equipped to assess the subtle ramifications of international relations involved in formulating an appropriate South African investment policy,¹⁷ and in this respect, we must look to guidance from the national government. We urge the United States government to adopt a clear, comprehensive, firm and announced policy on the proper role of United States investments in South Africa,¹⁸ and suggest that the

¹⁶ C. Ferguson & W. R. Cotter, ibid., at 266.

¹⁷ For two opposing viewpoints which are illustrative of the range of opinion, Compare George Ball, "Asking for Trouble in South Africa," in Atlantic Monthly, October, 1977, at 43-51, with Clyde Ferguson (Professor of Law, Harvard) and William R. Cotter (President, African-American Institute), "South Africa: What is to be Done," in Foreign Affairs, January, 1978, at 253-74.

¹⁸ The Clark Subcommittee Report, at 13-14, makes a number of suggestions for United States government action, but neither Congress nor the President has acted on these recommendations.

likelihood of the adoption of such a policy would best be advanced if advocates of a particular course of action press their views through the political process.

We recognize that our government has taken a few isolated steps: The Department of Commerce earlier this year expanded the previous embargo on the export of arms to South Africa to include an embargo on exports of all United States goods and unpublished technical data on the military and police in South Africa and Namibia; the United States took a leadership role in the United Nations Security Council in mandating an international arms embargo against South Africa; the State Department has issued reports on labor practices of companies doing business in South Africa and recommended that such firms take certain steps to improve labor practices with respect to nonwhite employees.

But there are precedents for firmer action, and the failure of our government to invoke them in South Africa contributes to the controversy as to the correct investment policy by private organizations. For example, an intervening exemption of three strategic materials from the ban on imports from Rhodesia was repealed by Congress in 1977, so that the embargo imposed by Presidential executive order in 1967 is again fully in effect. This summer, the State Department blocked an Export-Import Bank loan to Argentina

for twenty large turbines and other equipment for a major hydroelectric power project, on the grounds that Argentina has not done enough to improve the status of human rights in that country. Recently, also, the President blocked the sale of computer technology to the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the conviction of two dissidents.

President Carter and the Congress must articulate a clear policy on South Africa to eliminate the present uncertainty and confusion concerning South African policy and the resulting public controversy.

In formulating Northwestern's response to the South African situation, we have also considered at length those steps which can be most expressive of the University's philosophy and character. The basic purpose of a university is the performance of its educational mission. Northwestern in particular, because of its longstanding interest in Africa and the extensive resources it has developed in the field over the years, should draw upon this unique expertise as part of its response to the South African problem.

Conclusion

(1) We believe it appropriate and proper for Northwestern University to call to the attention of the United States corporations in which the University owns significant

amounts of stock its deep concern over the South African government's policies. We will inquire of such companies whether they have adopted any statement, guideline or policy with respect to apartheid in South Africa. Many corporations have endorsed the "Sullivan principles", drafted by Reverend Leon Sullivan; other guidelines have been proposed by such diverse groups as the European Economic Community Council of Foreign Ministers and the South African Council of Churches. The University will also seek information from the several banks in which it owns stock as to their policies regarding loans to the South African government and its agencies. If it is determined that any company or bank in which the University invests is supporting apartheid, the Board of Trustees should divest the University's holdings in that company or bank forthwith.

(2) Members of the Committee, in their individual capacities, will undertake to arrange a meeting with representatives of the executive and legislative branches of the United States government to discuss the South African problem. Representatives of the various Northwestern constituencies, including representatives of the Coalition, will be invited to such a meeting. This meeting is intended to provide an opportunity for those present to urge such actions as they believe to be necessary and appropriate.

(3) As suggested at a meeting of the Committee with representatives of the General Faculty Committee, Northwestern University should sponsor a major conference on the subject of the responsibilities of corporations as well as the United States government with regard to the South African apartheid policy. Scholars, business executives and government officials reflecting the diversity of views on this subject should be invited from this country and overseas to participate. Such a conference should help crystallize the issues and constructively resolve some of the present uncertainty. It should also involve a broad cross-section of the Northwestern community in a consideration of the issues and aid in calling attention to the South African problem, not only within the Northwestern community but also beyond the campus.

(4) Northwestern University should establish a fellowship program, as recommended by the University administration, to provide for graduate study by nonwhite South Africans to prepare them for leadership roles in the struggle against apartheid, in the majority rule government which we fervently hope will soon replace the minority white regime, and in other sectors of the South African nation. Northwestern should seek full support for such students including tuition, transportation, housing and other expenses.

The offensiveness of the racial policies in South Africa cannot be contested by anyone of conscience. Regrettably, however, the relevant political, social, and economic factors are extremely complex, and defy simplistic solutions. After careful thought, the Committee believes complete divestiture of investments in corporations doing business in South Africa, if it were possible, would be a mere gesture to disengage from the problem. Instead of divestiture, we believe the Northwestern community should engage the issue by the most effective means available, such as those discussed above, until nonwhite South Africans are afforded their fundamental human rights in full.

Respectfully submitted,

Newton N. Minow, Chairman
Thomas G. Ayers
John J. Louis, Jr.
John J. Nevin
Don H. Reuben
Howard J. Trienens

September 1978

number of Black people in higher education: Bakke, revised admission policies, cutbacks in financial aid, denial of tenure, and attacks on Black Studies and academic support programs.

In South Africa, Blacks are also ripped off in education. \$18 was spent to educate the average African child, \$159 for whites. (Reminds us of how the white controlled Chicago school board steals money allocated for inner-city schools and spends it in the suburbs.) The students of Soweto and university students led by the South African Student Organization, founded by Steve Biko, have revolted against this educational slavery. Today they are waging militant protests and strikes, making a real contribution to defeating racist minority rule in South Africa.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BAKKE DECISION!

DEMONSTRATE AT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT IN

WASHINGTON, D.C. SATURDAY APRIL 15, 1978

FOR DETAILS ON TRANSPORTATION CALL US AT 374-9616

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE WHAT CAN WE DO TO FIGHT BACK?

ORGANIZE: Support the struggle against University investments in South Africa, circulate the petition, do research to pull the covers off your University's support of South Africa.

MOBILIZE: Start building support now for

—Conference on Africa in May (details later)

—AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY DEMONSTRATION IN CHICAGO
May 27, 1978

STRUGGLE: Join us in striking a blow at **FIRST NATIONAL BANK** for selling the Kruggerand and making loans to South Africa. Demonstration at annual stockholders meeting, Friday, April 14, 11:30, DeaBorn at Monroe

**LET SOWETO BE OUR SPARK!
BUILD OUR STRUGGLE INTO FLAMES!**

THE NEW CHICAGO AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC)
P.O. BOX 87141 Chicago, IL 60689 (312) 374-9616 PLEASE POST

ALSC LIBERATOR #3

NEW CHICAGO AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE
POST OFFICE BOX 87141 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60600 USA

U.S. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION = IMPERIALIST INDIGINATION! 1ST NATIONAL IS GUILTY AGAIN!

Most colleges and universities in Chicago are part of the imperialist system which is ripping off "blood money" profits in South Africa. The two largest have almost \$125 million invested in corporations which do business in South Africa and help maintain minority rule: Northwestern—75 million, U. of Chicago—50 million. Most Chicago-area colleges have trustees who also sit on the Boards of these same corporations which rip off the South African people and their rich resources.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK, which still sells South Africa's gold coin in this ripoff. It helps to control several schools because 1st National's board members and officers are also trustees of many colleges and universities: five at Northwestern, seven at U. of Chicago, two at I.I.T., one at Loyola, and one at Roosevelt. Many universities also have bank accounts in First National, like Chicago State. Thus, the refusal of University trustees to sell the stocks and bonds owned by these schools in banks/corporations which do business in South Africa is made in the board rooms of such imperialist corporations as First National Bank and not in open discussion on the university campus.

These same colleges and universities which rip off the masses of Black people in South Africa have historically discriminated against Black people in admission and employment. For Blacks 25 and over, only 44% went beyond high school, as compared to 64% for whites. A few years ago, only 1/2 of 1% of university teachers were Black. The struggles of Black people did score some victories. But today there are many attempts to reduce the

(turn to back page)

JOIN THE

BATTLE AGAINST FIRST NATIONAL BANK

All over the U.S. college students are rising up angry to protest university support for minority rule in South Africa! Here in Chicago, the struggle at Northwestern, U. of Chicago, Chicago State, U. of I.-Circle is also growing. Our research below shows that Chicago-area schools support the racist South African government through: owning stocks in companies which do business there, through deposits in banks which sell the Krugerrand and make loans to South Africa. Many of these banks and corporations which ripoff the people of South Africa have officers and directors who sit as trustees of several universities: they profit in South Africa and keep on raising tuition and cutting financial aid here! JOIN WITH NEW CHICAGO ALSO TO PROTEST 1ST NATIONAL'S SUPPORT FOR MINORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA!

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA	SO. AFRICAN CORPS. ON TRUSTEE BOARD	TRUSTEES ON BOARD/STAFF OF 1ST NATIONAL BANK	# STUDENTS # BLACK--%
NORTHWESTERN	\$75 million in stocks and bonds of more than 40 corporations and banks	1st National, Continental Bank, GM, American Hospital Supply, IBM, GM, Searle	Chm. Avers (Commonwealth Ed.), Freeman and Thomas (1st Nat'l), Nevin (Zenith), Swift (Sears)	15,205 1,167 7.6%
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO	\$50 million in 21 U.S. corporations that have substantial investments in So. Africa	1st National, Continental Bank, Ford Chase Manhattan, International Harvester	Chm. Reneker (Continental Bank), Abboud (1st National), Anderson (Atlantic-Rich.), Field (Sun-Times), Graham, Heineman, Ingersoll	9,310 273 2.9%
ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY	SOME of their \$15 million of investments but they won't say how much!	1st National, GM, Abbott Laboratories Motorola, Borg-Warner, ITT	Neil McKay (First National), Frederick Jaicks (Inland Steel)	6,737 342 5.0%
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY	FIND OUT!	First National, GM, Continental Bank, Chase Manhattan, First National City of N.Y.	Louis Menk (Burlington Northern Railroad)	13,358 1,023 7.7%
ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY	THEY WON'T TELL US EITHER!	First National Bank, TWA	Lucius P. Gregg, V.P. for Urban and Corporate Affairs, 1st Natl	7,347 2,215 30%
DEPAUL UNIVERSITY	FIND OUT!	Chase Manhattan, Heller International, Continental	None	11,052 1,497 13.5%
UNIVERSITY ILLINOIS-CIRCLE	First National, Continental, GE, Ford, International Harvester	None	None	20,261 3,240 16%
CHICAGO STATE UNIVERSITY	Bank account at First National	None	None	6,880 4,610 67%
NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY	In addition to bank accounts, state and city supported colleges have millions of \$ in funds like the STATE UNIVERSITY RETIREMENT SYSTEM which owns stock and bonds in Exxon, Ford, GM, Mobil, International Harvester, Caterpillar, etc.	None	None	10,040 1,016 10%
NORTHERN UNIVERSITY			None	20,261 3,240 16%
CITY COLLEGES OF CHICAGO			None	92,802 -45,676 49%

PULL THE COVERS OFF OF YOUR UNIVERSITY'S SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA!