



ASSOCIATION OF CONCERNED AFRICAN SCHOLARS
P.O. BOX 791, EAST LANSING, MI 48823

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ACAS CONSULTATION ON NAMIBIA

April 20, 1979

Sarah Delano Roosevelt House, Hunter College, 47-49 East 65 Street (between Madison and Park), New York City

The ACAS consultation will center around the theme "A Free and Independent Namibia." Discussions will be held on the various proposals for Namibian independence and their viability in terms of the interests of the Namibian people. If the U.N.-sponsored election is being held at that time, the meeting will consider the prospects of success of the electoral solution in the light of the past and the future.

The format of the consultation will be built around three scholarly papers and two major addresses, with commentaries by the various parties involved, including representatives of the U.N., SWAPO, the United States and activist organizations. Some recommendations may be made from this consultation to the general membership of ACAS at its annual meeting to be held at Howard University in May. The papers and some of the commentary of the Namibia consultation will be published in a summer 1979 issue of *Africa Today*.

The papers to be presented include:

Professor Richard Dale, Political Science Department, Southern Illinois University

The Background to the Rise of Namibian Nationalism

Professor Ben Magubane, Sociology Department, University of Connecticut

The International Conflict Over Namibia

Professor George Shepherd, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver

The Basis of a Free and Fair Settlement

SWAPO and the Front Line States, as well as the views of South Africa and the Contact States, will be represented. Reservations should be sent to Dean Tilden LeMelle, College of Arts and Sciences, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

ACAS RESEARCH COMMITTEE MEETING

The Research Committee of ACAS will be meeting together with the Research Committee of Trans-Africa to formulate a long term research strategy. The meeting will take place in New York Saturday, April 21, at 9 a.m. in the Church Center for the United Nations, directly across from the U.N. In addition to the members of the two committees who can arrange to attend, participants will include representatives of the southern African liberation movements and liberation support movements.

The aim of the meeting will be to formulate a long-term research strategy and organize a national network of faculty members and other concerned scholars who are or would like to be conducting research in that context. The agenda will include:

- reports from the liberation movements on the kinds of research that they consider needed;

- reports from the support movements on the kinds of research they are doing and what more is needed;

- the nature of the existing outlets for publication of further research, to avoid duplication and ensure a build-up of the kinds of research materials that will contribute most effectively to the needs of liberation and development in southern Africa;

- proposals for organization of an ongoing research network to meet the needs identified in the course of discussion of the above reports, and consideration of ways to maximize the utilization of the results of research conducted.

The results of the meeting in New York will be reported to the larger meeting of the ACAS national organization in May, and exactly how ACAS could fit into the proposed network will be further discussed then. We would welcome ideas both as to form and content from all ACAS members, and would appreciate hearing from those who cannot arrange to be at the meeting in New York.

Anyone interested in further details may contact Ann Seidman (Sociology Department, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912) or Ron Walters (Political Science Department, Howard University, Washington, DC.)

NEWS NOTES

The newsletter of the National Council for Black Studies (Nov.-Dec. 1978) notes a new film, Black Trash from South Africa. The newsletter editor describes the film as a slick Hollywood-style sex/violence feature set in -- Soweto! A black African newspaper reporter (named Chaka) with his best friend, an Afrikaner police officer, foils the evil plots of a Black American mafioso named Martin King.(!) The editor notes this film as an affront to all peoples of African descent, and further notes the plethora of free materials distributed to our schools and libraries by South Africa's propaganda machine. As most of these books and films are beautifully produced, it is not always apparent at first glance that they are indeed propaganda. The editor points out the need to monitor the resource materials on South Africa in our schools and libraries, and to protest the indiscriminate use of propaganda from South Africa.

*

A very specialized new anti-apartheid organization is the *South African Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF)* 138 Berkeley Place, Brooklyn, NY 11217. SAMRAF aims to assist deserters from the South African defense forces to find asylum in this country or elsewhere, and to publicize the moral dilemma of South Africans drafted to serve in a military establishment defending a system in which they do not believe and for which there is no provision for conscientious objection. Write to SAMRAF for further information.

*

The Liberation Support Movement is sponsoring a speaking tour by two of their members who have recently travelled in Southern Africa, worked with the liberation movements, and getting an inside view of events there. They will present a slide/lecture account of various aspects of their trip during the spring. For more information on arranging a program on one of their topics, contact Sylvia Gee, LSM, Box 2077, Oakland, CA 94604. Phone (415) 635-4863.

ACTION ON ZIMBABWE URGENTLY NEEDED

The situation in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia is reaching a critical turning point. Pressure is mounting in and upon the U.S. Congress to 1) send observers to the elections scheduled for April 20; 2) recognize the Internal Settlement and resulting regime; and 3) lift the application of economic sanctions. Senators McGovern and Hayakawa introduced a resolution on March 1, 1979, calling for a team of 25-50 "impartial observers" drawn from outside of the U.S. government to observe the election. Senators Schweiker and DeConcini introduced a resolution on February 9 that prejudices the Zimbabwean issue, stating that the Smith government has already demonstrated its willingness to negotiate in good faith at an all-parties conference and that free elections to transfer power to a black majority are about to be held (in compliance with the Case-Javits legislation of 1978, in Section 27 of the Internal Security Assistance Act) and that sanctions should therefore be lifted. It is urgent that Concerned Africanists respond to these pressures now. To that end we have prepared this fact sheet, condensed from a large body of well-documented information, and are circulating this petition for your endorsement.

1. The constitution upon which the April elections rest insures the perpetuation of white minority rule within the so-called black majority state. Twenty-eight percent of the seats in the House of Assembly will be reserved for whites. The President will be appointed by Parliament and the Rhodesian Front could continue to have the largest single bloc in that body. Whites will retain control over the police, army, civil service and judiciary. Only one percent of the population approved the constitution and the holding of elections in the so-called referendum of January. To quote the Catholic Institute for International Relations in a statement of November 1978:

To state that the (Salisbury) Agreement does not transfer power from the white minority to the black majority is indeed too mild; the Agreement ensures that no such transfer shall take place....What Smith has imposed by this Agreement is a face-lift whereby white power will continue to be exercised behind a cosmetic facade of black rule.

(Rhodesia after the Internal Settlement)

Moreover, the constitution is a watered-down version of the original Internal Settlement of March 3, 1978. Mr. Smith has won significant concessions since that time. Provisions for a Senate with one-third representation for whites and one-third for chiefs have been made. The name of the country has been altered to "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." Finally, the provision that whites cannot join a coalition to form a government with one or more black groups has been dropped. Whites will now be over-represented in the Cabinet as well as in Parliament and could control one-fourth to one-third of Cabinet portfolios. Mr. Smith has declared himself a candidate for Parliament, and is thus eligible to be

President or Minister of Defense.

2. The constitution does not address the pressing problem of gross economic inequality within the country. The average annual income for urban blacks is \$840, compared to \$8,800 for whites. Black farm workers are even worse off: 75% make less than \$30 per month. The Bill of Rights protects property, which means that it protects the entrenched privileges of Europeans, who own 54% of the land, and that 54% is the most fertile, best watered, most free of tsetse fly, and best served by the transportation infrastructure. To quote the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia in their statement of October 20, 1978:

Making circumstances a little easier for a handful of Africans is monumentally irrelevant.... The rich-poor division in Rhodesian society almost entirely coincides with the white/black division. The statement is completely silent on the question of wage structures which weigh so heavily against the laborers and unskilled workers -- in practice, all Africans.

3. The so-called elections will be conducted in an atmosphere of war, repression and intimidation. The best available information from sources inside the country indicates the following. The war is taking a toll of well over a thousand lives per month. Rhodesian raids into Zambia, Mozambique and Angola have taken at least 3000 lives, most of them civilian. More than 50,000 persons live in make-shift squatter areas outside Salisbury and Bulawayo, and more than 175,000 new Zimbabwean refugees are now in neighboring countries. Atrocities by the security forces of Salisbury outnumber and outweigh guerrilla actions. Two to three thousand political prisoners are still in jail, despite the provision for their release in the Internal Settlement. Starvation now faces at least one million people in the northeast and southeast; over 100,000 persons have just been released from camps and told to return to homes which no longer exist and where they have no farms, no seed, no cattle for plowing, and no prospect for resuming a productive life. Boys over the age of 13 are now being forced to work on white farms, and men between the ages of 18 and 25 are now forced to enlist in the Salisbury armed forces. Martial law exists in 85% of the country because of the growing success of the Patriotic Front, which now controls perhaps 75% of the country. In recognition of this, over 1000 Europeans per month are leaving the country.

4. The elections will be administered in ways that will not permit Africans to express their opinions freely. The possibilities for fraud are considerable. The Salisbury security forces will police the polling places. African voters will not be registered; they will simply show their identity card, birth certificate, or, in the case of women, their marriage certificate. They will not vote for individuals, but for a party. The voting districts will be drawn to emphasize ethnic divisions and give maximum opportunity to the chiefs and other conservative black leaders seeking power. In the words of a group of white businessmen from Bulawayo,

(The black internal leaders) are determined...not to face an election

wherein the people can make their own choice of leaders. This is why they now wish to adopt the "party list system" whereby their own names can top the party lists and they can retain the offices to which they have never been elected, nor would ever be elected by the votes of the people. This is...a total negation of...one man, one vote, and the choice of leaders by the people themselves.

5. The United States and other Western powers are providing increasing clandestine support for the Smith regime, in the form of mercenaries, oil, and sophisticated equipment. A number of developments in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia suggest that the brutal repression by the Rhodesian regime is worsening and that the Western support for the Smith government is growing. The developments are:

a. The flow of American mercenaries to the Smith army continues unhampered by the U.S. government. This helps prolong the Rhodesian agony by months and perhaps by years. The State Department has declined to act on the mercenary recruitment from the U.S. arguing the technicalities that: (1) passports and identity cards are issued to Americans because they have not yet entered the Rhodesian military, which occurs after receiving the passport, and (2) that passports and citizenship can be withdrawn from Americans serving in the Rhodesian military only if "the person intended to relinquish U.S. citizenship by such service." (Emphasis added.) (See "U.S. Policy Toward Rhodesia," House of Representatives Hearing before the Subcommittee on Africa, June 8, 1977, USGPO, 1978, p. 11.)

b. The Western nations have decided not to stop the flow of petroleum products to South Africa which enables her to re-export the vital gasoline and oils to fuel the war against the Patriotic Front. South Africa is short of petroleum herself, especially after the withdrawal of Iranian supplies; nevertheless, she continues the profitable shipments to Rhodesia "backed by the promise of the five internationally-owned subsidiaries to meet any domestic shortfalls..." (See Tami Hultman and Reed Kramer, "U.S. Oil and the Embargo on Rhodesia," New York Times, Op-Ed, Jan. 26, 1979.) The companies are British Petroleum; Shell International Petroleum Company, based in London; Mobil; Caltex; and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (French government). Thus, Rhodesia can enlarge the war in spite of the guerrilla destruction of perhaps one-fourth of her inventories in the mortaring of petrol dumps in Salisbury and Que Que.

c. New military capability has suddenly appeared in Rhodesia through 12 Huey Bell Agusta Helicopters (model B-205) delivered from Italy, via Israel and some Asian intermediary to South Africa, and thence to Rhodesia. These standbys of the Vietnam counter-insurgency campaigns hold more troops and armaments for search-and-destroy operations than did the 48 aging French Alouette IIIs, many of which were destroyed in accidents and by the Patriotic Front. In addition, the Rhodesian bombers in their raids on

Angola, Zambia and Mozambique apparently have new and very powerful fragmentation bombs they have not used previously. And the Rhodesian planes now are operating at night as they had not previously done, suggesting the arrival of new navigational equipment to prosecute the war around the clock.

6. An observer team sent by the U.S. is unnecessary and would lend credibility to the constitution and the election process. Groups within Zimbabwe, such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, are in a position to report much more fully on the elections than any outside group, and without implying any approval of the regime. Any outside observer group would be obliged to accept transportation and security arrangements from the regime. They would not gain access to any significant information from persons or groups opposed to the regime because of the conditions of repression and intimidation. As the African group at the United Nations stated on February 14, 1979:

To send observers to such an election is in fact to give encouragement to the manoeuvres of the Smith regime calculated to defeat a genuine settlement of the conflict in Zimbabwe. Such a move can only comfort Mr. Smith and his collaborators, provide them with a false sense of hope.... It would only lead to the escalation of the conflict and prolongation of the suffering and bloodshed of Zimbabweans.

ACTION ON THE ZIMBABWE ISSUE IS URGENTLY NEEDED. WRITE TO YOUR CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, AND THE PRESIDENT. SIGN AND CIRCULATE THE ACAS PETITION ON ZIMBABWE WHICH APPEARS ON THE LAST PAGE OF THIS NEWSLETTER.

JOIN ACAS NOW!

ACAS MEMBERSHIP DUES are based on income:

Income under \$10,000	\$10.00
Between \$10,000 - 20,000	\$20.00
Over \$20,000	\$30.00
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Name

Address
(zip)

Affiliation

Office phone Home phone

Please send dues for 1978/79 to:

Tom Shick
Dept. of Afro-American Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, WI 53706

RESPONSE BY STATE DEPARTMENT TO PETITION OF
CONCERNED AFRICAN SCHOLARS

The following statement is a response to a letter from the Current Issues Committee of the African Studies Association, in which Assistant Secretary for Africa Moose was reminded that a petition signed by over 600 Africanists had been submitted to the Carter Administration, and specifically to Undersecretary Philip Habib of the State Department, in March 1977. Secretary Moose had not taken the African position at the time, but has responded in his letter to the various points in the petition.

I want to apologize again for the delay in responding to the carefully considered petition signed by over 600 scholars. In the two years of the Carter Administration, we have come a long way in accomplishing the goals which, among other things, the petition was designed to launch. Those of us who are deeply involved in African Affairs are encouraged by the fact that the petition was so widely supported.

What we also need to do is to expand the dialogue and to create a greater understanding of our African policy by those who are not Africanists, who have no professional interest in the area, and who aren't preoccupied with foreign policy problems generally, yet who are troubled by what they read and hear regarding current African developments. This is one area in which we in the Department of State are trying to do much more than has been done in the past.

As I said before, this Administration has come a long way toward meeting the goals you enumerated in the petition. I would like to respond point by point:

-- The policies of the Carter Administration toward Africa have been clearly stated on a number of occasions by the President, the Secretary of State, and other officials. Moreover, the commitment of the Carter Administration to these policies has been demonstrated by the actions that have been taken in this region. We do not think any useful purpose would be served by publicly debating the policy assumptions of previous administrations.

-- The U.S. is fully committed to a policy of encouraging the peaceful transformation of South African society, away from racial discrimination, and towards a system of full political participation for all South Africans. We have publicly expressed our support for this goal and have made clear that its achievement must not be subordinated to other objectives.

The U.S. has not recognized the independence of Transkei or Bophuthatswana, and we have stated that we will not grant such recognition. We do not believe that the homelands policy offers a fair or viable solution to South Africa's racial problems, and we will not support any solution which is imposed on the black majority without their consultation or consent.

-- The U.S. supported UN Security Council Resolution 418, which was adopted on November 4, 1977, placing a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. This resolution has the force of law in the U.S. At the same time, the U.S. government took the additional unilateral step of prohibiting exports to or for the South African military and police. On February 16, 1978, the Department of Commerce issued regulations giving effect to this decision.

-- In furtherance of our general non-proliferation objectives world-wide, and particularly given the special concerns that have been raised publicly about South Africa's nuclear intentions, the U.S. has engaged in discussions with South Africa with a view to securing that country's adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its agreement to place all of its nuclear facilities under international safeguards. During this Administration, there has been no supply of enriched uranium, nor any other nuclear materials or technology, to South Africa.

-- The United Nations will shortly begin implementation of the settlement plan developed by the U.S. and the governments of Britain, France, Canada, and the Federal Republic of Germany. The plan has been endorsed by the U.N. Security Council (Resolution 435) and has been accepted by South Africa and by SWAPO and most other Namibian political groups. Under the plan, free elections under UN supervision and control will take place about seven months from the date the UN Transition Assistance Group begins its mission and Namibia should be able to join the ranks of sovereign nations about one year from that date, thus fulfilling the conditions of Resolution 385.

-- The Administration has consistently supported the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe for self determination and majority rule. The U.S., in cooperation with the British Government, developed the Anglo-American proposals for achieving a genuine and irreversible transfer of political power to the African majority. These proposals recognize the need for an impartially-administered transition process, including UN-supervised elections, in which all parties could participate freely and without intimidation. The U.S. continues to believe that these principles offer the best basis for a settlement of Rhodesia's problems. We are continuing our efforts to promote a settlement and to find sufficient common ground for a mutually-agreeable settlement process leading to genuine majority rule. This Administration has not desire or intention to impose upon the people of Zimbabwe its own ideas as to their choice of political leadership or system of government.

-- At the urging of the Administration the Byrd amendment was repealed in 1977, thus bringing the U.S. into full compliance with UN Security Council sanctions resolutions. The Treasury Department and other Federal agencies have made and will continue to make every effort to investigate alleged

infractions of the sanctions regulations and to prosecute those responsible for sanctions-breaking. The Treasury Department recently re-opened its investigation into the question of possible sanctions violations by the South African subsidiaries of U.S. oil companies. It is our hope that through this investigation the Treasury Department will be able to make a conclusive finding on this question. We understand that the Treasury Department will publish a report of its findings once the investigation is completed.

-- Angola was admitted to the United Nations in the fall of 1976, several months before your petition was delivered to the Department of State. Since the early days of this Administration, the question of this government's relations with Angola has been kept under active review.

In June, 1978, the Secretary stated our desire to work with the Angolans in more normal ways. We have told them that the continuing large presence of Cuban military, as well as the lack of internal reconciliation among the competing forces in Angola, are causes for concern to us, and we are taking these factors into account as we consider how best to implement the policy enunciated by the Secretary.

In this spirit and context, we have had a series of contacts at various levels, including the talks in late November 1978 between Ambassador McHenry and me and the Angolan leadership. We believe these visits have served a very useful purpose in maintaining a regular and open dialogue. We are encouraged by Angola's constructive attitude in regard to Namibia and Zaire, and we look forward to continuing this useful dialogue.

Again, please accept my apologies for the long delay in the response to your petition -- which did, however, give us time to make what I believe is significant progress on a number of the issues covered by the petition.

Best regards,
Richard M. Moose
Bureau of African Affairs
February 14, 1979

* * * * *

TEXT OF THE PETITION OF CONCERNED AFRICAN SCHOLARS

The following is the text of the petition that was circulated by the ASA Committee on Current Issues and signed by over 600 Africanist scholars in 1977.

We, the undersigned concerned Africanist scholars, call upon the President-elect and the Congress to utilize this opportunity provided by a change of administration to undertake a serious reassessment of United States foreign policy toward Southern Africa. Specifically, we urge that the United States:

- make an outright and public rejection of the assumptions of the previous administration about Southern Africa as reflected in option #2 of the National Security Studies Memorandum #39 of 1969.*

- offer full support for the African people of South Africa in their efforts to attain majority rule and reject the South African Bantustan system.

- support a mandatory (rather than voluntary) arms embargo against South Africa.

- prohibit the export (or re-export) to South Africa of U.S. dual-purpose equipment which has a possible military use, of nuclear technology, and of highly enriched uranium by the U.S. government of U.S. corporations and their subsidiaries.

- govern U.S. policy toward Namibia by the plans of the United Nations Council for Namibia to establish majority rule in that country, including conformity to Council Decree #1 ** and Security Council Resolution #385 *** of January 1976, for which the U.S. representative voted. We condemn the use of the veto to prevent implementation of Resolution 385.

- support the struggle of the Zimbabwean people for majority rule by whatever means they consider necessary and reject those financial plans to retain the whites which maintain the economic privilege of the minority white community.

- strictly enforce U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia, including repeal of the "Byrd amendment" and amendment of Treasury regulations in order to apply sanctions requirements to subsidiaries of U.S. corporations wherever they are located to end the flow of petroleum products to Rhodesia.

- give diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of Angola as well as support for its admission to the U.N.

NOTES:

* The "Premise" of Option #2 includes the following language: "The whites are here to stay, and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states...help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence on both for peaceful change..."

** Decree No. 1 forbids the taking of national resources from Namibia without the consent of the UN Council on Namibia. Legal action for impoundment and damages for persons violating this provision is planned.

*** Resolution 385 called on South Africa to present a plan for withdrawal from Namibia by Aug. 31, 1976 to transfer the territory to the people of Namibia and to cooperate in elections to be held under UN control and supervision in order to establish an independent Namibian government based on majority rule. South Africa failed to comply with this call.

UNIVERSITY DIVESTMENT: HOW WE DID IT AT M.S.U.

by the Southern Africa Liberation Committee,
1118 S. Harrison Rd., East Lansing, MI 48823

The Southern Africa Liberation Committee (SALC) is composed of concerned students, faculty and staff at Michigan State University. From January 1978 to January 1979, SALC conducted a campaign for MSU divestment of its stock in corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa.

January through mid-March was spent doing educational work. The film *Last Grave at Dimbasa* was shown in residence halls and classrooms. SALC sponsored a film series on Southern Africa, and another on African feature film to present exposure to Southern African and African concerns. A forum on Southern Africa was held, with speakers from the United Nations and representatives of Black organizations from Southern Africa. A Steve Biko memorial program was held to focus support for liberation in Southern Africa.

Two approaches were used to bring pressure on the MSU Board of Trustees: mass student movement using demonstrations, petitions, and leafleting; and a quieter approach of educating and lobbying the Trustees directly.

On February 28, 1978, the University of Michigan Board of Regents passed a resolution to divest from those companies which did not support the Sullivan Principles. This action prompted further discussion at MSU regarding the actions this university should take on divestiture. At the same time, SALC members had been working with members of the Michigan House of Representatives to secure passage of a resolution urging the federal government to impose sanctions on South Africa. This was passed and was used with other information to inform the MSU Trustees of the facts about South Africa.

Prior to the March 30 MSU Investment Committee meeting, members of SALC prepared a *SOUTH AFRICAN FACTS* folder, which was mailed to every Trustee. Its effect was evident when two Trustees strengthened the weaker original resolution during the Trustees meeting. At the public Investment Committee meeting, knowledgeable Africanists from various academic departments gave factual testimony on the involvement of U.S. capital in South Africa and its role in perpetuating apartheid. Students and faculty made their presence known at this meeting by their numbers and expressions of support.

At the March 31 Board of Trustees' meeting, it was voted to divest; the MSU University Council on Academic Environment was asked to study the resolution to recommend additional indices of withdrawal and to hold public hearings on the resolution. The indices for withdrawal unexpectedly caused delay. The Council on Academic Environment spent weeks attempting to refine and to add indices. All this discussion was of little importance, as no corporations were willing to withdraw. Additionally, the corporations eventually contacted by the University about the resolution and their intentions concerning with-

drawal were more upset about the indices than the University's plan to divest.

A copy of the *SOUTH AFRICAN FACTS* folder was presented to each member of the Council on Academic Environment. Members of SALC attended every Council meeting to debate and rebut any negative testimony and to support the Council members as it became apparent they were acting positively. *Last Grave at Dimbasa* was shown to the Council by an Africanist scholar. The Council approved the resolution and indices.

The next hurdle was the phrase "prudent divestiture" contained in the resolution. Delay and indecision were generated by the University attorney's legal opinion that the Trustees would be individually and collectively liable if they invested University funds on any other basis than monetary return. At this point, letters from respected attorneys questioning the legal opinion were sent to the Trustees, who were also made aware of the possibility of obtaining a State Attorney General's opinion.

The critical move to defuse the "prudent man" issue was the presentation to the Board through one of its members of alternate legal opinions and investment options showing that the University would not have to undergo a loss in investment return by divesting -- that in fact they could be deemed imprudent by continuing to invest in corporations with holdings in South Africa.

At the last Trustees' meeting before the December 1 implementation date, support for the resolution was shown by a student demonstration with speakers, and by SALC presence in front of the Trustee meeting locations. Placards supporting the Trustees and urging divestiture were also displayed.

When the issue of divestment was to be debated in the University Academic Council (the faculty-student council governing academic affairs), the *SOUTH AFRICAN FACTS* folder and information sheets were distributed to leading student and faculty members before the debate. Faculty members who were not members of the Council were scheduled to speak. The Academic Council overwhelmingly approved the Trustees' resolution to divest.

Some student members of SALC established open, reciprocal relationships with members of the University administration, particularly with the Vice-President for Finance, who is responsible for investment operations. This relationship was established by the students raising reasonable, legitimate and logical questions and concerns to the administrators, both publicly and privately.

It should be noted that although SALC is a relatively small group, it has had the correct composition to accomplish a campus-wide campaign -- the backing of some established faculty members, some young faculty members and a core of dedicated students.

RESOURCES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

SOUTHERN AFRICA/GENERAL

ZED Pan Africa Diary, pocket-sized diary with a 27-page introduction to liberation movements and international support groups concerned with Southern Africa, a country-by-country chart of vital statistics, charts showing location of military bases and arms sales to South Africa, facts and figures on economic imperialism, and basic reading guide to Africa and socialism, and much more. \$3.75 from Guardian Marketplace, 33 West 17 St., New York, NY 10011.

"The Third World and Another Development" (articles on alternative educational strategies in Mozambique, Tanzania, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Botswana, etc.) *Development Dialogue*, 1978:2, 156 pp., Dag Hammarskjöld Center, Övre Slottsgatan 2, 752 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

The AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIC CENTER publishes the *African/SADAP Accessions Bulletin*, a bi-weekly publication to assist the research needs of individuals participating in the AID Southern Africa Development Analysis Project (SADAP). The bulletin listings include the most recent periodical and journal articles, documents, and books received by the Center. For copies of the listings, contact the African Bibliographic Center, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 913, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Canada, Scandinavia and Southern Africa: Perspectives and Policy Options, New York: Africana Publishing, 30 Irving Place, NY, NY.

Conflict and Change in Southern Africa: Papers from a Scandinavian-Canadian Conference, Washington: University Press of America, 4710 Auth Place SE, Suite 775, Washington DC 20023.

The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa, by Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, eds. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1977.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Buying Time in South Africa, Counter Information Services, 9 Poland Street, London W1, Anti-Report No. 21. Five pounds for six issues, or 95p each; 1978, 57 pp.

"How the IMF Slipped \$464 Million to South Africa" Special Report, Center for International Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20002. (January 1978, 8 pp.)

The U.S. and the Arms Embargo Against South Africa: Evidence, Denial, and Refutation, Southern African Pamphlets No. 2, Ferdinand Braudel Center, SUNY, Binghamton, NY 13901. \$1.00.

Anti-Apartheid Organizing: On Campus And Beyond (80pp.) \$2.00 plus 10% postage, Southern Africa Catalyst Project, Box 177, Amherst, MA 01002. Sections on student movement, campus case studies, foreign policy, bank campaign, media.

"U.S. Business in South Africa: Voices for Withdrawal," Southern Africa Perspectives No. 1, Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

"General Motors in South Africa: Secret Contingency Plans 'in the event of civil unrest'," by Jennifer Davis, Southern Africa Perspectives No. 4, Africa Fund (see above).

"U.S. Dollars in South Africa: Context and Consequence," Southern Africa Perspectives No. 3, 1978, Africa Fund (above).

"Divestment and Apartheid," by Marcia Burdette and Sanford Duma, published with "Questions and Answers on Divestment" Africa Fund (above).

"Too Little, Too Late: The U.S. Corporation Employment Manifesto for South Africa," Southern Africa Perspectives No. 3, Africa Fund (see above).

"The Disinvestment Campaign," by Suzanne Cronje, *African Business*, November 1978, pp. 18-19.

"Heading for the Exit in South Africa" (editorial) *New York Times*, April 2, 1978.

"Investment Options for University of California Funds," by Community Economics, Inc. 6529 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609, Feb. 15, 1978, 27 pp.

"South African Roulette: Investment Policies of the Board of Regents of the University of California," A California Public Policy Center Analysis, Project on Investment Priorities, 304 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90013, April 1978 (15 pp.)

The Corporate Examiner, a Publication Examining Policies and Practices of Major U.S. Corporations -- with regard to labor, environment, consumerism, equal employment, minorities, women, agribusiness, military production, government, foreign investment. \$25/year for monthly subscription, Corporate Information Center, Room 566, 475 Riverside Drive, NY, NY 10027.

United States Private Investment in South Africa, Hearings before the Subcommittees on Africa and on International Economic Policy and Trade of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 2nd session, June 27-Sept. 7, 1978. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printer, 1978 (number 32--816) (614 pp.)

"Computers in South Africa: A Survey of U.S. Companies" Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, NY, NY 10038 (\$1).

Lobbying the Corporation, by David Vogel contains a chapter on 'Corporate Conduct Abroad' emphasizing Southern Africa, the Church as a Shareholder Activist, Infant Formulas, etc. Basic Books, 10 E. 53 St., NY, NY 10022 (\$14.95)

South Africa: War, Revolution, or Peace? L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. 100 pp. \$5.95 paper.

SOUTH AFRICA

Political Imprisonment in South Africa. A 108-page report from Amnesty International details the political background, legislation, detention, political trials and banishment, treatment of prisoners, civilian killings. \$2.00 from Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

Prisoners of Apartheid. A biographical list of political prisoners and banned persons in South Africa. Contains 180 pages of biographical information on over 400 imprisoned persons and over 200 banned persons. \$6.95 from IDAFSA, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Political Prisoners and Banned Persons in Apartheid South Africa. No. 39/78 of the *Notes and Documents* series from the U.N. Centre Against Apartheid. 56 pp., available on request from the U.N. Information Center, 2101 L Street N.W., Washington, DC 20037.

Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1977. Political affairs, civil unrest, defense, justice, police, prisons, security legislation, media control, employment, homelands, housing, education, health, welfare and international relations are all meticulously chronicled by the South African Institute of Race Relations, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg, South Africa. R6.00 plus postage for the 1977 edition; the 1978 edition is available for R8.00.

South Africa: A Modern History by T. Davenport. \$6.95 from University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

"South Africa - Freedom Rising" a slide show compiled by the ITT Boycott Committee, is available for sale (\$75) or for rent at \$6 to churches and small groups, \$12 to institutions. Other materials on ITT's involvement in South Africa also available. ITT Boycott Committee, Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406

Changing Patterns of International Investment in South Africa and the Disinvestment Campaign., by Simon Clarke. Focuses on the rise of indirect investment through portfolio investment and bank loans. Order from Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ, England (50 p. plus postage.)

The Black Homelands of South Africa by Butler, Rotberg and Adams. \$4.95 from University of California Press, Berkeley, CA 94720.

"Japan's Nuclear Deals with South Africa" from Southern African News Agency, P.O. Box 348, 1211 Geneva 11, Switzerland.

"Fuelling Apartheid," Newsletter of the Council on Economic Priorities, CEP Publication N8-8, December 4, 1978. CEP, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (\$1.)

From Protest to Challenge A documentary history of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, eds. Vol. 1, Protest and Hope, 1882-1934 by Sheridan Johns; Vol. 2, Hope and Challenge, 1935-1952, by Thomas Karis; Vol. 3, Challenge and Violence, 1953-1964, by Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart; Vol. 4, Political Profiles, 1882-1964 by Gail Gerhart and Thomas Karis. Complete set: \$70 from Hoover Institution Press, Dept. F810, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

South Africa, cont.

Objective Justice, vol. 10, No. 3, Autumn 1978 has articles on "Oil Sanctions Against South Africa," "Infringements of Trade Union Rights in South Africa," and "To Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: Declaration and Programme of Action at the World Conference, August 1978."

Centre Against Apartheid, United Nations, *Notes and Documents* "Violations of Human Rights in South Africa," (Sept. 1978, 38/78); "Transnational Corporate Involvement in South Africa's Military Build-Up," by Ann Seidman and Neva Makgetla, (Oct. 1978, 35/78); "International Campaign Against Investment in Apartheid South Africa," (August 1978, 15/78).

ZIMBABWE

"The 'New' Rhodesian Constitution: The Illusion of Majority Rule" The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, NY, NY 10038 (Feb. 1979, 5 pp.)

ZIMBABWE MANPOWER SURVEY: Volume One (confidential) Report on proceedings of Patriotic Front Seminar held in Dar es Salaam, November 1978 (available only to participants or on the request of the Patriotic Front); Volume Two, Final Research Papers 1-8, and Volume Three, Final Research Papers 9-16, are available for Sfr. 5 each, from the International University Exchange Fund, Postbox 108, 1211 Geneva 24, Switzerland.

U.S. Policy Toward Rhodesia, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, June 8, 1977. Available from U.S. Government Printing Office (1978).

Zimbabwe Not Rhodesia: The African People's Struggle for Independence and Liberation. ZANU Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 181, Bronx, NY 10453, 50cents, 16 pp.

The Fight for Zimbabwe: Armed Conflict in Southern Rhodesia Since UDI, Kees Maxey, Africana Publishing Co., 101 Fifth Ave., NY, NY 10003.

Zimbabwe: The Facts About Rhodesia, International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138. (November 1977, 77 pp.)

Patriotic Front/Zimbabwe: Interviews (with Nkomo, Mugabe, Zvobgo, etc.), Liberation Support Movement, P.O. Box 2077, Oakland, CA 94604. (\$1.50).

Zimbabwe Review (Official Organ of ZAPU/Patriotic Front) monthly, subscription \$3/year from Liberation Support Movement, above.

Zimbabwe News (Official Organ of ZANU/Patriotic Front) \$3.50 each, via Chief Representative, ZANU, 211 East 43 St., (Room 902) New York, NY 10017.

"Zimbabwe: Notes and Reflections on the Rhodesian Question" Centre of African Studies, University of Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, Mozambique, July 1977, 47 pp.

The Road to Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Settler Colonialism, National Liberation and Foreign Intervention, by Munhamu Ute (Washington, D.C., University Press of America, 1978 170 pp.)

"Rhodesia is Not Kenya" by Gary Wasserman, *Foreign Policy*, 33 Winter 1978-9, pp. 31-44.

"The Economic Transition to Zimbabwe" *Africa Report* November-December 1978, pp. 39-45.

Rhodesia: After the Internal Settlement, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW 1. 1978, 25 pp.

The Struggle for Health, No. 7 in the series *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London, 1979) Also available from the Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

Mohamed El-Khawas, *Angola: The American-South African Connection*, Habari Special Report, Washington, D.C. African Bibliographic Center, Box 13096, Washington, D.C. 20009, 15 pp.

Allen Isaacman, *A Luta Continua: Creating a New Society in Mozambique* Southern Africa Pamphlets No. 1, Fernand Braudel Center, SUNY Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901.

Adrian Hastings, *Wiriyamu: My Lai in Mozambique* Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1974, 153 pp. \$3.95.

The People in Power Ole Gjerstad relates his experiences in Angola's shantytowns, factories, villages and army camps during the crucial stages of the MPLA-led Second War of Liberation, 1975-6. \$2.45 from Liberation Support Movement, P.O. Box 2077, Oakland, CA 94604.

The Kassinga File, prepared by Gaetano Pagano, a film maker who was in Angola at the time of the South African raid on the SWAPO refugee camp at Kassinga in May 1978. The file contains an eyewitness account, poster, South African press excerpts, and photographs of the incident taken by Pagano and his crew. Write to Southern African Information Programme, International Universities Exchange Fund, Postbox 108, 1211 Geneva 24, Switzerland.

U.S. POLICY

Toward a More Responsive Aid Policy for Africa, House Subcommittee on Africa, Oct. 5, 1977. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.)

Philip C. Habib, former Undersecretary of State, "U.S. Interests in Africa" in *Current Policy*, U.S. Department of State, No. 48, November 1978, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Public Communication, 4 pp.

A Survey of the U.S. Government's Investment in Africa, by David L. Duffy. Crossroads Press, African Studies Association, Epstein Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02154.

Objective: Justice Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1978. Special focus on NAMIBIA including articles detailing a) Security Council plans for Namibian independence, b) Western plan for Namibian independence, c) statements by General Assembly members on the territorial integrity of Walvis Bay and Namibia as one territory, and d) a map of Namibia. 75cents from U.N. Publications, Room A-3315, United Nations, NY 10017.

Namibia: SWAPO Fights for Freedom (Articles, interviews, documents on SWAPO's president, Central Committee, political commissar, People's Liberation Army, women combatants, etc. provides the most current in-depth information available on Namibia and the liberation movement. 1978. \$2.95 from Liberation Support Movement, P.O. Box 2077, Oakland, CA 94604.

ACAS 1979 ANNUAL MEETING

SATURDAY, MAY 19 - MONDAY, MAY 21
HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

PLAN TO ATTEND FOR A FULL PROGRAM,
INCLUDING:

Saturday, May 19:

PANEL SESSIONS ON CURRENT SOUTHERN
AFRICA EVENTS AND TRENDS

Sunday, May 20:

WORKSHOPS ON ACAS OBJECTIVES VIS-A-VIS
U.S. POLICY

ACAS BUSINESS MEETING, INCLUDING
ELECTION OF NEW OFFICERS AND RATIFI-
CATION OF ACAS CONSTITUTION

Monday, May 21:

ACAS LOBBYING ON CAPITOL HILL

Accommodation will be available at Harambee House, adjacent to the Howard University Campus.

Completed schedule will be mailed to all ACAS members shortly.

Conference Chairperson: Professor Robert Cummings, African Studies Department, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059

ZIMBABWE

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- in Rhodesia/

• **Prevalence** = the proportion of a population that has a disease at a particular point in time

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