

SCHOLASTIC

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NOTRE DAME AND SOUTH AFRICA

DIVEST NOW

by Peter Walshe

As I write this, the Board of Trustees has yet to meet on the issue of our investment in South Africa. The Board's Ad Hoc Committee, set up in late August to investigate this matter, is still sitting, at least in theory. Even so, the President of Notre Dame, Rev. Ted Hesburgh, has come out publicly against divestment.



The President of Student Government, Bill Healy, after consulting with the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, told the Student Senate meeting on October 14 that Notre Dame's new policy "absolutely was not going to involve divestment." Apparently the issue has been decided -- all else is a formality. Once again the University's Administration has shown itself reluctant to risk the slightest pressure on corporate America, opting instead for a costless "Christianity" that has characterized Notre Dame's public witness for far too long.

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Peter Walshe is Professor of Government and International Studies, and Director of African Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Walshe is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Board of Trustees on South African Investments.

CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT

by Oliver Williams, C.S.C.



This past summer I was in South Africa researching the ethics of U.S. investments there. After nearly four weeks of traveling throughout the country and interviewing almost one hundred persons -- religious leaders, labor leaders, business executives, members of Parliament, black workers, and so on -- I

had little hope that South Africa would soon be a peaceful land. About that time I had an interview with Bishop Desmond Tutu. As I walked into his office in Johannesburg, I was greeted by an exuberant Bishop Tutu. My first question was to ask him how he kept so hopeful in the midst of such oppression and violence. He said, "Let's pray before we talk."

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Oliver F. Williams, C.S.C., is on the faculty of the department of Management at the University of Notre Dame. He is currently working on a book for Harper and Row titled Overcoming Apartheid. He is a member of the Board of Trustees Ad Hoc Committee on South African Investments

The debate over Notre Dame's investments in South Africa has turned into an embarrassing fiasco. What was once a constructive dialogue between students, faculty and administrators has degenerated into a tangled mess of petty intrigue, political posturing and moral abdication. The Notre Dame community's inability to deal effectively with the present crisis in South Africa reveals deep flaws within the structure of the University. The controversy has revealed an unresponsive and inconsistent Administration, an impotent, disorganized student leadership and an isolated, apathetic student body.

The Administration: The position of the University as stated by Fr. Hesburgh on October 11 is morally indefensible. After years of patience, it is apparent that the policy of constructive engagement has failed. Almost every reputable expert on African affairs has recognized this failure. We challenge Fr. Hesburgh to present any evidence that American investment has lessened the oppression of the black majority or can be expected to lead to the dismantling of the apartheid system. It is puzzling that a man as well-informed as Fr. Hesburgh is clinging to arguments that have long lost their credibility.

Those who run this University constantly speak of a commitment to justice. Justice is not achieved through words but through action. Fr. Hesburgh and the Board of Trustees must bring Notre Dame's actions into line with its rhetoric. If they do not, then grave doubts will be raised as to the sincerity of Notre Dame's commitment to justice. The Administration, however, is not alone in its bungling of this situation. We have not yet spoken of...

Student Government: Student Body President, Bill Healy's handling of the Dettling-Baccanari affair was at best a public relations disaster and at worst a case of kow-towing to the Administration. Healy's dismissal of fellow student government members at the first sign of confrontation with the Administration raises serious questions about his ability to represent the students or take any position contrary to that of the University.

Only Healy can prove that his government is not a puppet of the Administration. He can do this by working vigorously for a student referendum on South Africa and then forcefully pursuing its mandate, even if it places him in conflict with the University. If he fails to take such action, then the image of student government as self-serving resume-grabbers, unrepresentative of the student body, will grow. The choice is Healy's. One final group which has made a poor showing in this controversy is...

The Student Body: Until we, the students, awake from our apathy and demand to be heard, the Administration will continue to treat us as children and ignore our legitimate concerns about University policies. Likewise, we will continue to receive weak student leadership. Furthermore, as long as we allow ourselves to be ignored by the Administration, we will remain impotent on all issues that affect our University.

The time has come for the students to demand a referendum, vote for a moral policy of divestment, and compel student government to act on their decision. The student government must fulfill its role as a representative body by forcefully presenting the student's position to the Administration until we are heard. The Administration, for its part, must recognize the moral imperative motivating this issue and divest Notre Dame of its holdings in South Africa. •

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There are powerful arguments for divestment, but they require some understanding of the currents of South African history and of the forces behind the present unrest. The first point to realize is that the struggle against racism has been going on for a long time -- in its modern form for a century. Moreover, it was not until it was banned and forced underground in 1960 that the African National Congress turned, reluctantly, to an armed struggle. Founded in 1912, the Congress spent fifty years in patient, non-violent protests.

Many people have lost their lives in this struggle over the last few decades, cut down by state violence. Approximately eight hundred individuals have been shot by the police and army in recent months. Hundreds of thousands of children have died as a result of the tightening of apartheid and the destitution, malnutrition and high infant mortality rates it forces on African families. These families continue to be systematically broken up by apartheid's pattern of migrant labor. In addition, four million women, children, elderly folk, and the unemployed have been "resettled" in the "homelands" since the 1960's - expelled from that 87% of the country designated "white" South Africa. These millions, plus those already trapped in the "homelands", have been dumped in these decaying rural backwaters.

But what of Notre Dame in this struggle? Campus workshops on South Africa date back to the early 70's; the Administration finally produced its first investment policy in 1978. In essence this supported the Sullivan Principles (named after Rev. Leon Sullivan, a member of the Board of General Motors). These Principles focused on the workplace and called on American corporations

in South Africa to desegregate their operations. In subsequent years their performance was patchy. The corporations also continued to sell to the South African government, its parastatals, the army and the police. They injected capital, technology and administrative expertise into the system; they paid taxes to the apartheid regime.

But more importantly, even when the corporations set about desegregating their offices and plants, they did nothing to undermine the basic structures of the apartheid system. As blacks left the corporate premises, they stepped into the apartheid world of pass books, single-sex hostels, inferior education, political powerlessness and police harassment. By the early eighties, the South African government was fully supportive of the Sullivan Principles -- it had nothing to fear from the dismantling of petty apartheid. Indeed, by this time, it was official policy to desegregate certain restaurants, cinemas and hotels.

Last spring, when the Rev. Leon Sullivan was on our campus, he recognized these realities and expressed his deep regret that the Sullivan Principles had, in practice, worked to strengthen the apartheid system. They had, he said, provided a facade of moral legitimacy behind which the corporations continued to pump resources into the apartheid system. Unfortunately, although there had been strong dissenting voices, the extent of Notre Dame's moral leadership in 1978 was to fall unquestioningly into line with the corporations and to back the Sullivan principles.

In November 1984, the Sullivan Principles were revised so as to include an exhortation to corporations, calling on them to work for the ending of the apartheid system itself. The question, of

course, is how is this to be done? There are two levers for change -- black unrest and economic sanctions. It is vitally important that they be used simultaneously to bring the apartheid regime to the negotiating table with legitimate black leaders. Key personalities and the major protest movements in South Africa have called for this strategy -- for the steady escalation of economic sanctions at this particular moment in the struggle for justice. Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rev. Alan Boesak have spoken out. Rev. Beyers Naude, who graced our campus in May when he received an Honorary Doctorate, has been calling for divestment since 1976. The African National Congress and the United Democratic Front have asked corporations to begin moving out of the country. A recent poll of urban blacks showed that 77% of them favored divestment, although they recognized that it could cause them hardship in the short run.

These South Africans are tired of America's rhetoric and many of us are tired of Notre Dame's blarney. The fine points of micro analysis, for example corporations employing a few hundred more blacks or desegregating their toilets, have become irrelevant. The macro issues are now central, made so by the courage of black South Africans as they face the firepower of their oppressors. The question is: How can economic pressure be mounted in support of black resistance so that white South Africa's self-interest will bring it to the negotiating table? The alternative is a period of even more brutal oppression, followed inevitably by an escalating civil war which will disrupt race relations throughout Southern Africa and could send shock waves into America's predominantly black and poor inner-cities.

It should be emphasized again that South Africa has recently modified apartheid so that the system can provide a steady flow of semi-skilled and even skilled black labor for the white-owned economy. The old argument that western investment and economic growth would fracture the apartheid system as the economy required more and more black labor, is widely recognized as outdated and seriously misleading. It must be understood too, that in recent months the South African regime has dug its heels in. Pretoria has refused to negotiate with the African National Congress, detained the leaders of the United Democratic Front and banned the black student's organization, COSAS. The army literally occupies the black townships and, for good measure, it has invaded Angola once again, attacked Mozambique and continues to occupy Namibia.

For Notre Dame to encourage corporations to remain in South Africa in these circumstances, is to abdicate moral responsibility. When the dust of repression settles (temporarily), our endowment funds will remain invested in the new apartheid with its more flexible institutional racism. It is not irrelevant to add the further perspective of our complicity in a foreign policy of "constructive engagement". As Rev. Beyers Naude put it: "Lack of meaningful support for the South African black community and its struggle for liberation has created feelings of deep anger and animosity not only toward Washington and its policy of 'constructive engagement', but also toward many American institutions and initiatives in South Africa. A word of serious warning has to be sounded to the American government and people: Do not be surprised if the anger of black South Africans eventually turns to

hatred or rejection of an American presence in Africa. Take cognizance now of these feelings of anger and bitterness and consider active steps to create a better attitude." (*New York Times*, April 12, 1985)

So, what should be done, now that Notre Dame has lost yet another opportunity to offer ethical leadership, now that we have refused to lend our support to Columbia and Rutgers, the State of Massachusetts, New York City and the Free South Africa Movement that is just beginning to put some real pressure on South Africa? An investment policy that refers to some vague possibility of divesting at some unknown future date will not do, and the Notre Dame administration should be constantly reminded of this. As the Anti-Apartheid Network's petition to the Board of Trustees made clear, we should insist that, if by a specific date (February 1, 1986?) the South African govern-

ment has not committed itself to ending apartheid, and has not entered into serious negotiations with legitimate black leaders, including those of the African National Congress, then:

1. Notre Dame should call on the approximately thirty corporations operating in South Africa in which we hold stock, to start disinvesting -- withdrawing from the apartheid system.

2. If particular corporations will not start this process, then Notre Dame will begin to divest from them.

If we do not make this modest, non-violent contribution, we will remain collaborators in the new apartheid system that President Botha has tried unsuccessfully to sell to blacks and to the world community. We shall also be contributing to the only alternative means for change -- civil war, without endowment resources at the disposal of the oppressors. •



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We prayed together for several minutes. His prayer called to mind that Jesus Christ came face to face with evil, suffered death at its hands, and finally rose again, overcoming evil once and for all, and that as followers of Christ we believe that that same pattern can be repeated in each of our lives. Bishop Tutu's challenge is not unlike the challenge that we all face: Each of us, in our own way, and in our own circumstances, is challenged to overcome evil with good.

The Problem: All of us know evil from personal experience, but seldom do we encounter evil structured in society so firmly and resolutely as it is in the apartheid laws of South Africa. While there are more oppressive systems in the world, apartheid is the only one based on skin color. Over 300 racial laws in South Africa deny blacks many of the rights we take for granted -- the right to vote, to move about freely in their own country, to attend the better white schools and to own businesses in white communities.

I met any number of blacks who had important executive positions in business firms in South Africa and yet they still had to live in a ghetto -- not because they could not afford better but because, according to the Group Areas Act, land is zoned by race. South Africa's white towns and cities are generally surrounded by black townships, often bleak, dusty and despair-ridden places. Estimates are that 25 percent of the 12 million urban blacks are unemployed. The situation of over 12 million blacks living in the so-called "homelands" is much worse. South Africa is, for the most part, a beautiful and wealthy country. But not for the great majority of its inhabitants. It is dominated by the 5 million whites who control 80 percent of the land.

The Solution is Selective Divestment: For Christians and all people of goodwill, the important question is how can we assist in overcoming this evil. In my view, the unrest and racial violence will cease only when blacks are treated as equals, having all the political and civil rights the whites now enjoy. As long as we in the United States have significant investments in the country, we must be concerned as to how our money is being used. There is a moral dimension to economic decisions, and our investments in companies in South Africa are moral only if they are clearly advancing the welfare of the blacks in the country. In my judgment, most American companies in South Africa are using their corporate power to advance the welfare of the blacks, and therefore the investments are moral and ought to remain there. If a particular company refuses to use its power to dismantle apartheid, then, I believe, moral persons would want to dissociate themselves from that company, that is, selectively divest. The difficult question is what is the best means for U.S. corporations to assist in dismantling apartheid.

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The problem is in the numbers: whites are outnumbered by blacks almost by a factor of six. The whites have tried all kinds of schemes to maintain all the power -- the homelands, white job reservation, restrictions of black businesses, and so on -- and for a while these policies had worked. The strategy of the white ruling class seems to have been to do anything that would hinder the emergence of a unified black political group. The name of the game was survival, and the Afrikaners played it well. Now, however, the nation is at a crossroads. The blacks are, with good cause, increasingly agitating for political and economic rights, to the point of disrupting the white economy. Can the whites broaden the democratic processes to include blacks without losing all they had ever worked for? They must be persuaded that this is their only reasonable option.

Unlike most societies, the business institution in South Africa is one of the more progressive institutions in the land. Some acting from moral conviction, others perhaps from enlightened self-interest, businesses have been actively dismantling apartheid in the workplace for a number of years. Most U.S. companies have been in the vanguard of this movement, largely through the efforts of the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan. Sullivan, a black pastor in Philadelphia and a member of the Board of Directors of the General Motors Corporation, called 12 major U.S. companies together in 1977 and drew up a code of conduct that has come to be known as the Sullivan Principles. If U.S. companies were in South Africa, they must pursue the following policies: 1) Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities; 2) Equal and fair employment practices for all employees; 3) Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time; 4) Initiation

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Bishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for his struggle against apartheid

and development of training programs that will prepare blacks, coloreds, and Asians in substantial numbers for supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs; 5) Increasing the number of blacks, coloreds, and Asians in management and supervisory positions; and 6) Improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities. Even though U.S. corporations employ only a small percentage of the 9 million workers in South Africa, the efforts to dismantle apartheid by American firms have served as a beacon and a catalyst in generating reform throughout business and industry.

Within the workplace, the code and similar measures by non-U.S. firms have long been standard policy, and many blacks told me that their lives were a lot more pleasant because of them. Outside the workplace, land is still zoned by skin color and there are over 300 laws designed to enforce apartheid, the Afrikaans word for "separate development: (literally "Separate-hood"). In 1985, in a bold new development, the Rev. Sullivan and the 128 signature companies added a new requirement to the code: All U.S. companies operating in South Africa would "support the ending of all apartheid laws."

U.S. companies following the Sullivan Code are now actively lobbying the South African

government to end apartheid laws. The lobbying, for the most part, is to be done through the American Chamber of Commerce, (AMCHAM) an industry association of all the U.S. firms in South Africa. AMCHAM has written a hard-hitting document that places industry squarely in opposition to the apartheid laws. Their position paper covered urbanization and influx control, housing, removals, migrant labor, black business rights, and citizenship. It also argued for channels for democratic participation at all levels of government, the means of which were to be arrived at by negotiation and consultation with all leaders of the various constituencies. The final document was officially presented to a special RSA Cabinet Committee and it was widely publicized. Last month, in a dramatic new move, the major business groups of South Africa gave President Botha an ultimatum: He must begin to negotiate with key black leaders to abolish apartheid. To stress the urgency, some of the most prominent leaders of industry flew to Zambia and met with the leaders of the outlawed African National Congress.

Will the South African government respond to the growing demands for change, demands both from within the country and from the international community? I must honestly say I do not know, but I think we must give them some time. Time is running out and they know it. The new South African Ambassador, Herbert Beukes, told me at a meeting at the Brookings Institution last week that "The decision has been made to dismantle apartheid." On a "Meet the Press" show in September he made similar remarks indicating that citizenship and political equality were essential. "Political equality means obviously that everybody should have the right to participate in the process...every person should have

the right to vote...." These are public statements by a representative of the Botha government. If we are to believe them, the Botha government is headed in the right direction. There are always the haunting questions: Do they really mean what they say? What will they do and how fast will they do it? None of us can answer these questions now but the answers will become clear in time. If after two years no major reforms have been enacted to deliver on these promises, it will be time to consider a new stance. For now, in my view, the University of Notre Dame's policy in its new form is the best response to the evil. (The policy entails monitoring all companies that have operations in South Africa and divestment of companies that do not follow the Sullivan Code).

Complete Divestment: The Wrong Policy at the Wrong Time:

There is a movement in the United States to force the U.S. firms who have operations in South Africa to leave the troubled nation. This campaign has several strategies, the most popular being divestment. A number of states and cities have passed laws restricting and forbidding investment of public monies, including pension funds, in firms involved in South Africa. University endowments are under increasing pressure to make similar rulings. The hope of advocates is that divestment will eventually cause U.S. firms to leave South Africa, which, in turn, will pressure the white rulers to change their racist policies.

I understand the passion people have to find a quick way to end apartheid, for I feel it myself. After seeing the situation firsthand and after considerable reflection, I do not think that divestiture is an effective means for bringing about the situation we all want to see in South Africa. The only way that the U.S. disinvestment campaign will

have its desired effect is if the U.S. sanctions are also adopted by the international community. At present Great Britain, West Germany, Japan, Taiwan and Israel carry on significant commerce in South Africa and they

"I do not think that divestiture is an effective means for bringing about the situation we all want to see in South Africa."

demonstrated little interest in sanctions. Taiwan alone opened 20 factories in South Africa in the last two years. I met marketing people in South Africa who assured me that Japanese and European computer firms were already telling customers that U.S. firms may leave South Africa and that they should buy their products from non-U.S. sources. To be sure, I cannot prove conclusively that U.S. divestment would not cause the other nations to join the withdrawal, but I find little evidence to support that hypothesis. Alan Paton, author of

Cry, the Beloved Country, and a liberal who has given most of his life to fighting apartheid, recently summed up my position well: "To believe that disinvestment will bring our government 'to its knees' is to believe nonsense."

Chief Gatsh Buthelezi, the highly regarded leader of the 6 million Zulus, told me in no uncertain terms that, in his judgment, "disinvestment is anti-black." In his words: To stand on American indignant principles by withdraw-

ing diplomatically and economically from South Africa is a luxury that the vastness of American wealth could afford. But indulgence in that luxury for the sake of purity of conscience, whatever genuine motives produce that conscience, would do no more than demonstrate the moral ineptitude of a great nation in the face of challenges from a remote area of the globe. Buthelezi is fighting to keep U.S. corporations in South Africa because he needs their leverage in his fight to overcome apartheid, and he needs their jobs for his people.

Implications of Divestment:

Should we decide to advocate divestment of certain stocks in our University endowment portfolio because we judge these companies to be involved in immoral behavior in South Africa, we must be consistent. That is, if the University of Notre Dame sells, for example, IBM stock on moral grounds, then we must not accept any money from that company for student scholarship support, or any equipment from the company. Faculty and staff supporting this divestment would be obliged to advocate that their personal pension funds invested in the TIAA-CREF national portfolio also sell the stock in question. As I have argued above, I do not support divestiture of stock of all companies operating in South Africa, but if the time comes when we do support such a move, we must be consistent.

In conclusion, the moral policy for the University, in my judgement, is to support firms to stay in South Africa and overcome apartheid. At the same time, we should do all in our power to have our government take a firm and resolute stand against racist policies by the South African rulers. Government to government action is the most effective way to assist our black friends in their struggle for freedom. •

Size:

471,234 square miles (three times the size of California)

Religion:

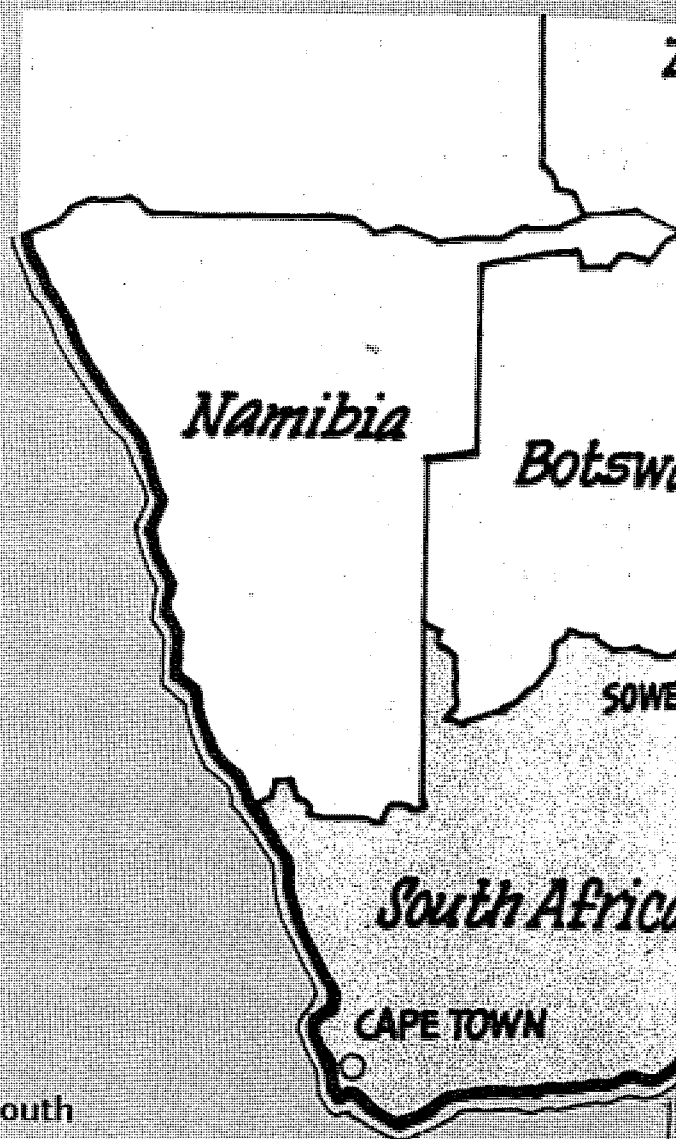
80% Christian, 1.6% Hindu, 0.8% Muslim.

GNP:

\$74.38 billion (1982)

Biggest Buyers of South African Exports:

Japan	\$1.53 billion
Britain	\$1.30 billion
U.S.	\$1.21 billion
Switzerland	\$0.94 billion
W. Germany	\$0.78 billion
France	\$0.41 billion





Population:

(1981 figures)

Total: 28.5 million. Made up of four major racial groups.

1. African: 20.8 million, 72%
2. Colored: 2.6 million, 9%
3. Asian: 0.8 million, 3%
4. White: 4.5 million, 16%

Military Expenditures:

15% of government budget

Annual Increase: (1984)

Military Spending: 21.4%

Police: 41%

Biggest Exporters to South Africa:

(1982)

W. Germany	\$2.47 billion
U.S.	\$2.50 billion
Britain	\$2.02 billion
Japan	\$1.70 billion
France	\$0.71 billion
Switzerland	\$0.29 billion

CONFLICT or COMPROMISE

by John Affleck and Ted Kelleher

Student Leaders Address The Apartheid Controversy

The debate over investments in South Africa could have major implications for student leadership at Notre Dame. This debate has turned into a showdown, of sorts, between those leaders who believe that student goals are best served through quiet negotiation with the University and those who believe that the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that open confrontation is the only path. Thus, this controversy is as much an issue of various student approaches to leadership as it is a tale of South Africa.

John Dettling proudly says that no issue presented to Notre Dame's Board of Trustees through student initiative has ever had as much effect on University policy as the issue of South Africa.

"We have more student input on South Africa than anyone on bottom line policy making," he said.

Dettling, a senior, is vice chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Network at Notre Dame and a member of the Ad Hoc committee of trustees, administrators, faculty and students examining University investments in South Africa.

Eight months of discussion in student government and among trustees on Notre Dame's response to apartheid in South Africa, initiated by Dettling, culminated this month with an anti-apartheid rally on the steps of the Administration building and the release of a new Notre Dame policy regarding the issue.

The policy does not include the immediate threat of a process of divestment in South Africa, which Dettling and fellow student committee member Pat Baccanari advocated. "We have exhausted all the legitimate channels." The question is "what next?" according to Dettling.

"I think we should threaten the companies [in which Notre Dame invests] with a process culminating in divestiture. Companies have had no reforming effect in the macro sense in South Africa. At the same time companies have pumped money, products and technology into a white-controlled economy. It is critical that external pressure be applied now or all hope of a non-violent solution will be lost," said Dettling.

An alternative policy supported by Dettling and the Anti-Apartheid Network calls for a process of divestiture to begin February 1, 1986 if companies in South Africa are not able to force the government to begin negotiations to dismantle apartheid by that date.

Student government involvement with the anti-apartheid movement began in February when Dettling approached then Student Body President, Rob Bertino with the idea of setting up a committee to examine University investments in South Africa.

"We decided the best way to approach the issue was through legitimate channels," Dettling said. Bertino agreed to the proposal, placing Dettling at the head of the committee.

Bill Healy included Dettling's position in his cabinet when he came to power in April, renaming the group the Committee for Responsible University Business Practices and increasing the number of issues it would examine.

Later in April Dettling made a presentation to the Student Affairs Committee of the Board of Trustees, suggesting there be a meeting between the trustee's investment committee and administrators, faculty and students to discuss University investments in South Africa.

As a result of the presentation, the trustees formed the Ad Hoc committee of trustees, administrators, faculty and students to examine the issue. "I suspect the board did this because, one, they saw a need in South Africa and, two, we did not approach the presentation in a rash manner," Dettling said. "We were not antagonistic. We had a protest against the Board of Trustees called off because we did not want to approach the board with animosity."

Board of Trustees Chairman, Thomas Carney invited Healy and Dettling during the summer to sit on the committee as student representatives. Dettling said he asked Healy to step down from the committee, allowing Baccanari, who was more informed on the issue, to take his place. Healy refused, saying his place on the committee was a step toward getting a student on the board full-time, Dettling said. Healy asked Carney if Baccanari could

be added to the committee and the request was granted.

Early this fall the Ad Hoc Committee met to try to form a new policy. That two hour meeting was the basis for a rough draft of the policy, which was sent to committee members. "We were to respond to the draft by letters," Healy said.

Dettling said all three students dissented from the first draft because there was "not even the threat of divestment." Healy counters, "I wouldn't say we dissented. I thought we wrote about things we thought the committee had decided would be in there that were not."

After reviewing the responses to the first draft, a second proposal was written and presented to the student representatives for the first time by Carney at a breakfast meeting on October 4. Once again Dettling and Baccanari found the proposal unsatisfactory and expressed this to Carney.

A week later, at the first anti-apartheid rally on campus, a major split developed between student leadership on the South Africa issue when it was announced that Dettling and Baccanari had been dismissed from their student government posts, in part because of their actions at the breakfast meeting.

"It was a management decision. I don't regret it," Healy said. Their behavior was not worthy of what they were trying to accomplish. They were unprofessional—I thought they were rude. I had hoped it might be possible to bring them back on the cabinet, though." Dettling, however, maintains that, "We weren't rude. We didn't insult Carney or raise our voices. We were just up front with him."

Now student leadership is visibly divided over the best approach to achieve student goals.

The question is which path to take now. Healy said the release of the new policy does not end the student voice on South African investment. He believes it is crucial that the Ad Hoc Committee remain in existence because the situation in South Africa is so volatile that a policy change might be needed at any time.

"The South Africa issue is important because the students deem it to be important. It is a priority," Healy said. The student government is going ahead with plans for a referendum on campus to get a better understanding of student opinion on the issue.

When asked if he thought the students had received enough education on divestment, Healy said he hoped to proceed with the referendum with a week of education on the issue. The result of the referendum would then be presented to the Trustees' Student Affairs Committee.

"The student government can only do so much," Healy said. You must deal with the Administration. If you say 'I'm not going to deal with the Administration because they're tyrannical, well then you might just as well give up the ship.'"

"We can march all we want but that won't get us anywhere.

We can't rant and rave for ranting and raving's sake because they won't listen to us. Which is what they usually get away with. We need a united front and airtight arguments. Then how can they refuse us?"

Dettling thinks students should now react to the new policy. "Students should look at the policy over history and in South Africa right now to see if they think it's moral." When asked how he viewed the future of the Anti-Apartheid Network in light of the conflict between itself and Notre Dame policy Dettling said, "We have irreconcilable differences with the Administration. The struggle is just beginning for the Anti-Apartheid Network. It needs to rally student support around the threat of divestiture and they should vocally and visibly show their dissatisfaction. How far that goes depends on how much people are willing to sacrifice to end apartheid."

It is clear that unless our student leaders can resolve this fundamental question of approach, student government will remain paralyzed, unable to affect change on any level on this campus. The next few weeks will necessitate a choice on the part of the student body as to which path to take to achieve their goals: cooperation or conflict. •



STUDENTS RALLY AGAINST APARTHEID

by Patrick Mullen

Professor Peter Walshe, Director of African Studies, has made the eradication of apartheid his life struggle. He brought this struggle with him to Notre Dame in the 1960's. In the 70's he initiated a student movement that culminated in the 1978 University Policy on South African Investments. The 1978 policy limits Notre Dame's investments to companies that abide by the Sullivan Principles. Prof. Walshe has repeatedly labeled this policy as timid. The recent protests and violence in South Africa allowed Prof. Walshe to revive the anti-apartheid movement at Notre Dame.

Last semester, with the intention of awakening Notre Dame to the violence and injustice of apartheid, the Black and African Studies Department sponsored a series of movies and lectures. Among the lecturers were Randall Robinson, one of the initiators of demonstrations at the South African embassy in Washington, who told students to push for divestment; and Reverend Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Principles, who called on Notre Dame to change its policy in light of recent revisions he had made to his guidelines.

In April, after one of the series of lectures at the request of Prof. Walshe, a group of students and faculty members met in the Center for Social Concerns and the Anti-Apartheid Network was formed. Its goal was to create increased awareness of apartheid and its effects on South Africa as well as to raise the issue of divestment as a possible Notre Dame response to apartheid. Those present at the meeting were concerned with the University's reluctance to take a bold stance on the issue. They felt the University should use its influence in the Catholic and University communities by taking a leadership role in condemning apartheid and acting to help end it.

The Network was to be a coalition of various University groups all of whom would send a representative to a steering committee that met weekly. John Detling and Pat Baccanari, members of the Committee for Responsible University Business Practices, were appointed as student government representatives to the AAN, and Steering Committee members elected Margarita Rose as chairwoman.

Despite the fact that a few Network members had strong pro-divestment views, the group decided on an initial strategy of dialogue rather than confrontation. That is, instead of immediately confronting the Administration and demanding that its obligation as a Christian institution was to divest, the AAN opted to draw the Administration into a debate. In this way the pros and cons of divestment could be discussed in a rational manner, enlightening members of the Notre Dame community while aiming for a revised investment policy in the future.

Father Richard Zang, the University Investment Officer, was invited to debate Prof. Walshe, but refused, citing past encounters with Walshe as producing "more heat than light." AAN members were unable to meet with University President Theodore Hesburgh, but did talk to Executive Assistant Fr. William Beauchamp, who suggested that

"Fr. Hesburgh's speech indicated that divestment is still out of the question"

they approach the Board of Trustees since it was the body responsible for investment policy. Overall, the Network found the Administration rather reluctant to publicly defend its investment policy. University leaders also refused and continue to refuse to disclose in what companies Notre Dame invests.

Disappointed but not discouraged, the AAN turned to

the Board of Trustees which was meeting on campus in early May. Contact was established, and Robert Wilmouth, Chairman of the Investments Subcommittee agreed to allow a group of AAN members to meet with the subcommittee. At the meeting, the group presented board members with a petition containing almost 1000 signatures. The petition called on the Board to "initiate dialogue with the administration, faculty, and students on South African investment policies with a view to revising the 1978 University Principles." Contemporarily, John Dettling met with the members of the Student Affairs Subcommittee of the Board.

Approaching the Board yielded the AAN some success. An Ad Hoc Committee on South African Investments was established and met in late August to examine the investment policy in further detail. Pat Bacanari, John Dettling and Student Body President Bill Healy attended the meeting as representatives of student government and Peter Walshe acted as faculty representative. The results of the committee's meeting are as yet confidential, but the Board is due to issue a policy statement after its next meeting in October. Preliminary indications are that the new policy would not bring significant change.

Meanwhile, the AAN regrouped after the summer and decided that instead of merely sitting tight and waiting for the Ad Hoc Committee's statement, it would be useful to bring the issue of divestment more into the public light. It was important that the entire Notre Dame community participate in making the final decision on divestment, not just the Administration and the Board of Trustees. This required more members of the community to become informed both about the nature of apartheid and about the arguments surrounding divest-

ment. In John Dettling's words, the issue had to be brought "from the periphery to the center of campus."

When Prof. Walshe suggested the Network plan a rally to coincide with National Anti-Apartheid Protest Day on

"Despite the fact that a few Network members had strong pro divestment views the group decided on an initial strategy of dialogue rather than confrontation."

October 11, all members were in agreement. A rally would serve for publicity and to send a definite message to Notre Dame's leaders that divestment is an issue with which it must deal.

With the AAN gathering weekly under the leadership of Rose, plans slowly fell into place. The "Rally Against Apartheid" was to be preceded by an "Apartheid Awareness Week" designed to familiarize Notre Dame with the evils of apartheid and the discussion of divestment. With the help of the black studies department, the AAN sponsored movies, lectures, and an information table in the library. The Net-

work wanted to get the attention of as many students and faculty members in time for the rally.

Late in September, Santiago O'Donnell pointed out to the AAN members that there were only a few weeks left before the rally was to take place, and that the great majority of students on campus had never heard of apartheid, much less of the Anti-Apartheid Network. As chairman of RASTA, Santiago had some concrete suggestions for bombarding the campus with information about apartheid and the AAN.

With the design help of Elaine Jackson, the Network produced buttons that were to be sold during the Awareness Week. Flyers and posters of all kinds were distributed and pinned up around campus. AAN members wrote editorials. In addition the network circulated a petition calling on the University to divest by February 1 if certain improvements have not taken place in South Africa. The petition was signed by over 1200 students and faculty members and presented to the Board of Trustees at their October meeting.

By October 11, apartheid and divestment had become campus issues. A crowd of 400 turned out for the "Rally Against Apartheid" to hear Fr. Hesburgh, Professor Walshe, Motumbo Mpanya, Bill Healy and John Dettling address the question of Notre Dame's role in helping to end apartheid.

Fr. Hesburgh's speech indicated that in the eyes of the Administration divestment is still out of the question, and it appears that the AAN still has a long uphill battle ahead. The Network has, however, succeeded in bringing this issue to center stage at Notre Dame and, if nothing else, generating political debate on a largely apolitical campus. ●

SOUTH AFRICA FACT SHEET

WHITES

BLACKS

Population:

4.5 million, 16%

20.8 million, 72%

Land Distribution:

87% (rich farmland, mines, urban areas)

13% (barren rural areas)

Education:

Free, compulsory

Parents pay, by choice

Per Capita spending:

\$1,115

\$170

Teacher/student ratio:

1:18

1:39

Percentage of students in school-

Primary:

55%

83%

Secondary:

30%

16%

Post high School:

15%

2%

Right to Vote:

Yes

No

Health:

Infant Mortality:

13 per 1000

220-320 per 1000

Doctor Availability Ratio:

1:330

1:91,000

Hospital Bed Ratio:

1:61

1:337

Average Monthly

Wage:

Mining:

\$1,395

\$260

Manufacturing:

\$1,290

\$320

Agriculture:

\$3,383

\$20-40

A HOUSE DIVIDED

by Bill Kraiss

In 1948, apartheid became law in South Africa. The policies of racial segregation, however, affected the black majority for many years before '48. Today, apartheid flourishes under the presidency of Peter Botha, and blacks continue to be prohibited from partaking in many of the rights enjoyed by whites.

Apartheid is the legal separation of blacks from whites. Theoretically, apartheid allows for "separate but equal facilities", but in South Africa, the facilities are far from equal. The whites have ruled with an absolute authority, restricting the personal freedoms of blacks including the freedoms of speech and movement, the right to a free and equal education, and the right to vote.

Whites comprise 15 percent of the total population of South Africa while Blacks (73 percent), coloreds, and Asians make up the remainder. Yet, even though they make up a very small percentage of the population, the white minority controls the South African economy. Whites own 87% of all the land including most of the mines and the richest farmlands. The blacks, however, own only 13% of the land, most of which is classified as "barren, rural areas." The blacks, through "pass laws" which state that they must carry passes with them at all times in order to move about their own country, are unable to get up and move to the suburbs, or apply for a different job elsewhere.

The South African Constitution prohibits blacks from participating in the national government.

Blacks are forbidden to vote in national elections while whites, on the other hand, are entitled to vote and are represented in the South African Parliament and in the all-white House of Assembly, two of the governing bodies in South Africa. Black representation is limited to the "homelands". This type of representation is inadequate because the national policies affect the blacks more adversely and more directly than grass roots politics.

Perhaps the single greatest factor contributing to the suppression of blacks is education. For whites education is free and compulsory. For every eighteen white students, the government provides one teacher and spends an average of \$780 annually per student. For blacks, however, the story is quite different. Parents, many of whom are impoverished, must pay for their children's education out of their own pockets. Furthermore, education is not compulsory for black children and the teacher-student ratio is 39:1 and the per capita expenditure on education for blacks is \$110 annually. As a result of many unfavorable circumstances, 54 percent of the African schoolchildren are forced to drop-out before the end of third grade.

Discriminatory conditions exist in the job world as well. Whites are permitted the right to unionize. Blacks, however, are not allowed to form unions, except under strict limitations, and collective bargaining is "virtually illegal". White ownership consequently becomes disproportionately wealthier, as they hoard profits and grant few if any sub-

stantial concessions to their black employees.

The average annual earnings for workers last year is also grossly disparate. Whites earned an average of \$8,260 while blacks were forced to survive upon \$1,815 a year. In 1983, no whites were reported to be living below the poverty level while, in that same year, over 60 percent of the blacks in both Johannesburg and Durban were struggling under the poverty level.

The disparity between whites and blacks is most striking where health issues are concerned. The infant mortality rate is 27 times greater for blacks than whites. Whites have one doctor per 330 people while blacks have one

The infant mortality rate is 27 times greater for blacks than for whites

doctor to tend the needs of every 91,000 people. These statistics display a deplorable health crisis of epidemic proportions. One of the most alarming facts, however, is that the life expectancy for whites is 70 years while black life expectancy is only 57.

These statistics reveal the underlying problems of today's South Africa. It is clear that the violence will continue until equality is achieved for blacks. Apartheid can only lead to bloodshed in South Africa. •

NEXT ISSUE: INSIDE THE ND \$PORTS EMPIRE

