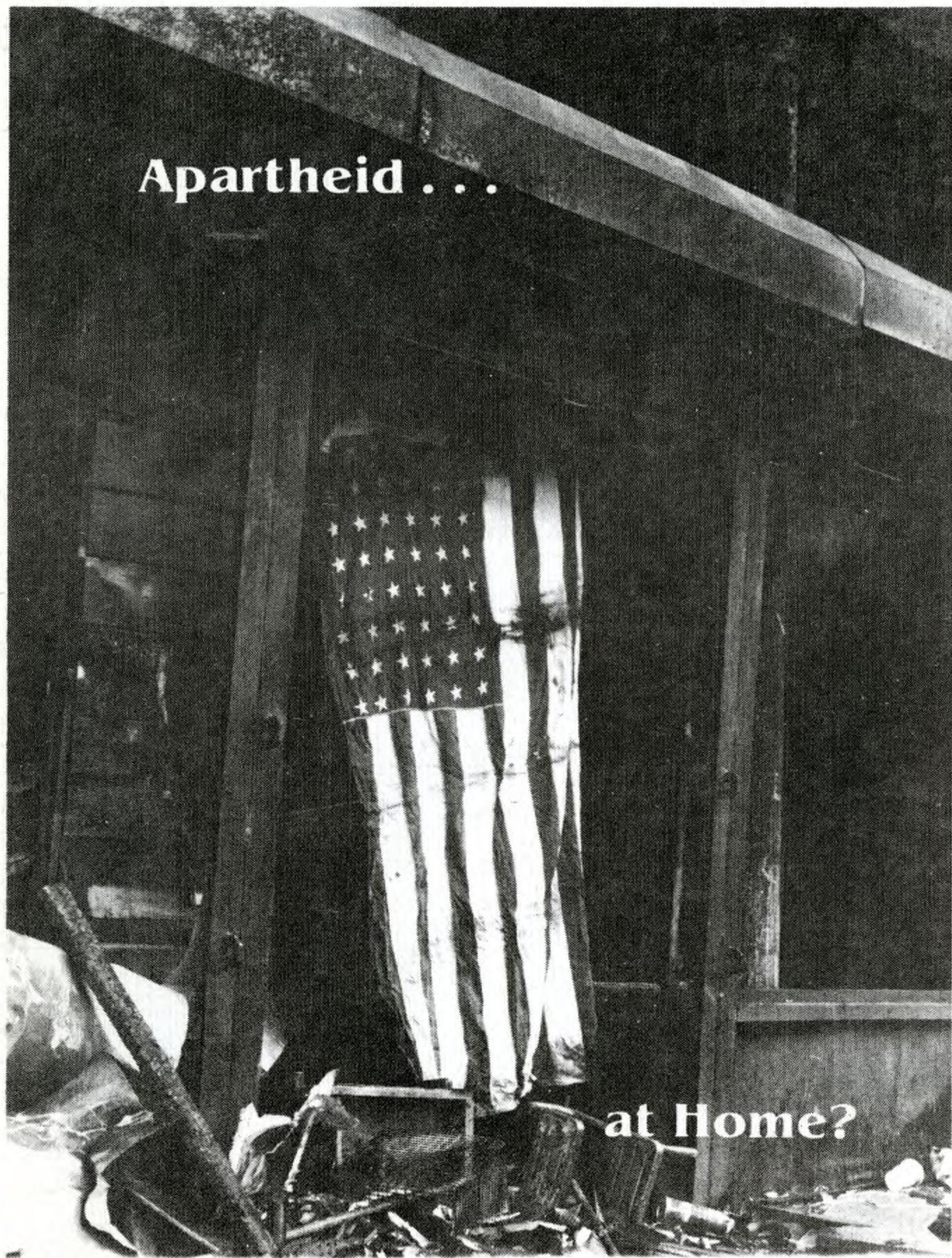


# BLACK HEIGHTS

Fall 1985

Vol.6, No. 1

Apartheid . . .



at Home?



Leroy Lucas

**Stand Up For Your Rights**

# **BLACK HEIGHTS**

**Fall 1985**

**Vol. 6, No. 1**

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## Editorial Note

**T**he question that might come to mind upon initially looking at the magazine will be, "Where is the poetry?" And indeed, there is only one poem in this issue of BLACK HEIGHTS. There was a deliberate attempt to keep a literary influence at a minimum for this first issue, however, because our next issue will be a literary anthology--an issue which will showcase the poetry and fiction of the many talented black student writers on campus. (The anthology will be followed by a "balanced" third issue later in the term.)

The pieces in this issue of BLACK HEIGHTS touch upon a variety of issues. Articles which deal directly with the campus are: an essay regarding the conspicuous absence of a viable AfricanAmerican Studies program at Columbia; a feature focusing on the clerical workers strike; a piece which addresses the central issue of black student involvement with the Harlem community; and pieces which deal with the Blockade last term and the National Student Conference on South Africa and Namibia.

Two articles deal with broader issues which affect us as well. The essay on Louis Farrakhan raises key concerns with regard to black leadership as perceived by white society; and the essay "Apartheid at Home" focuses

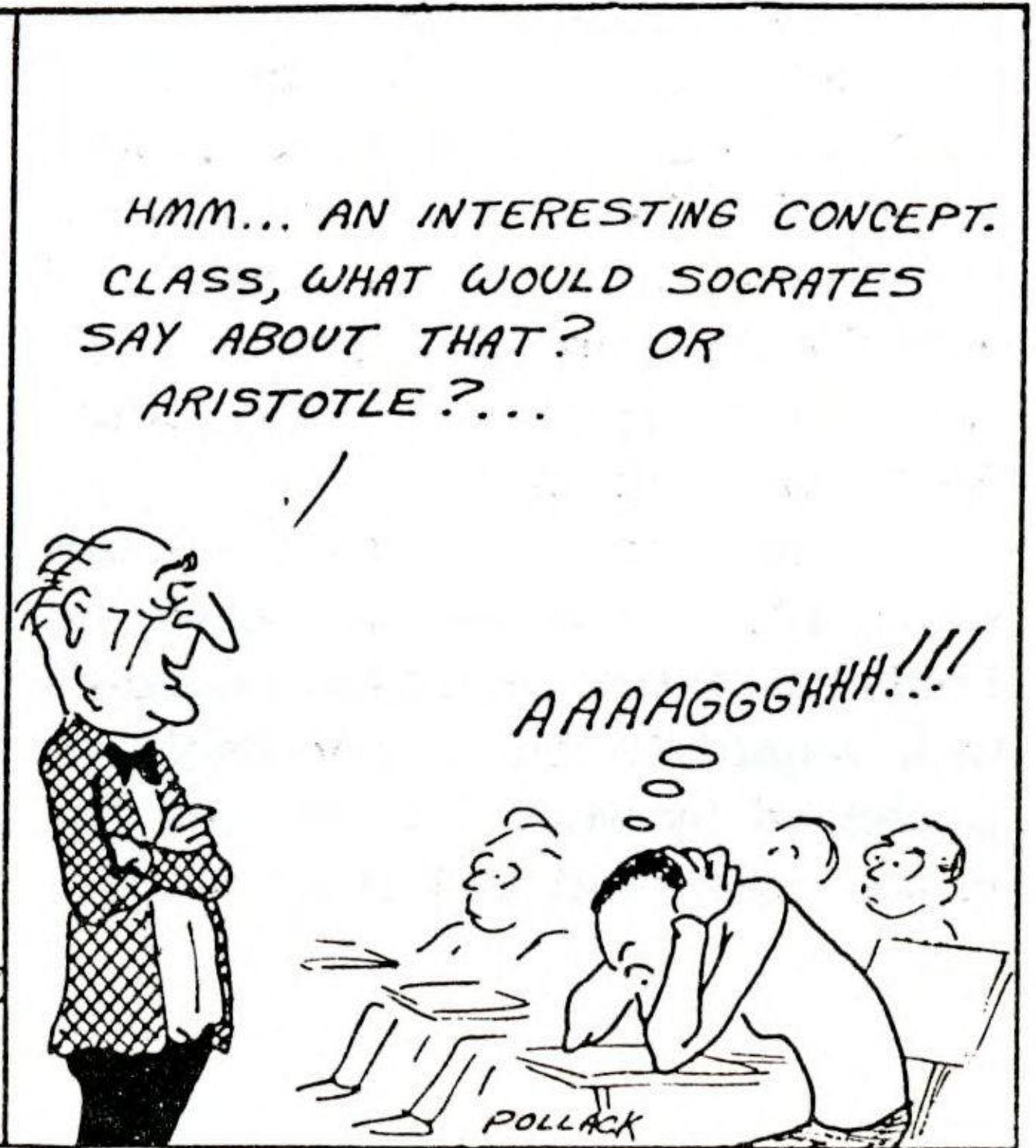
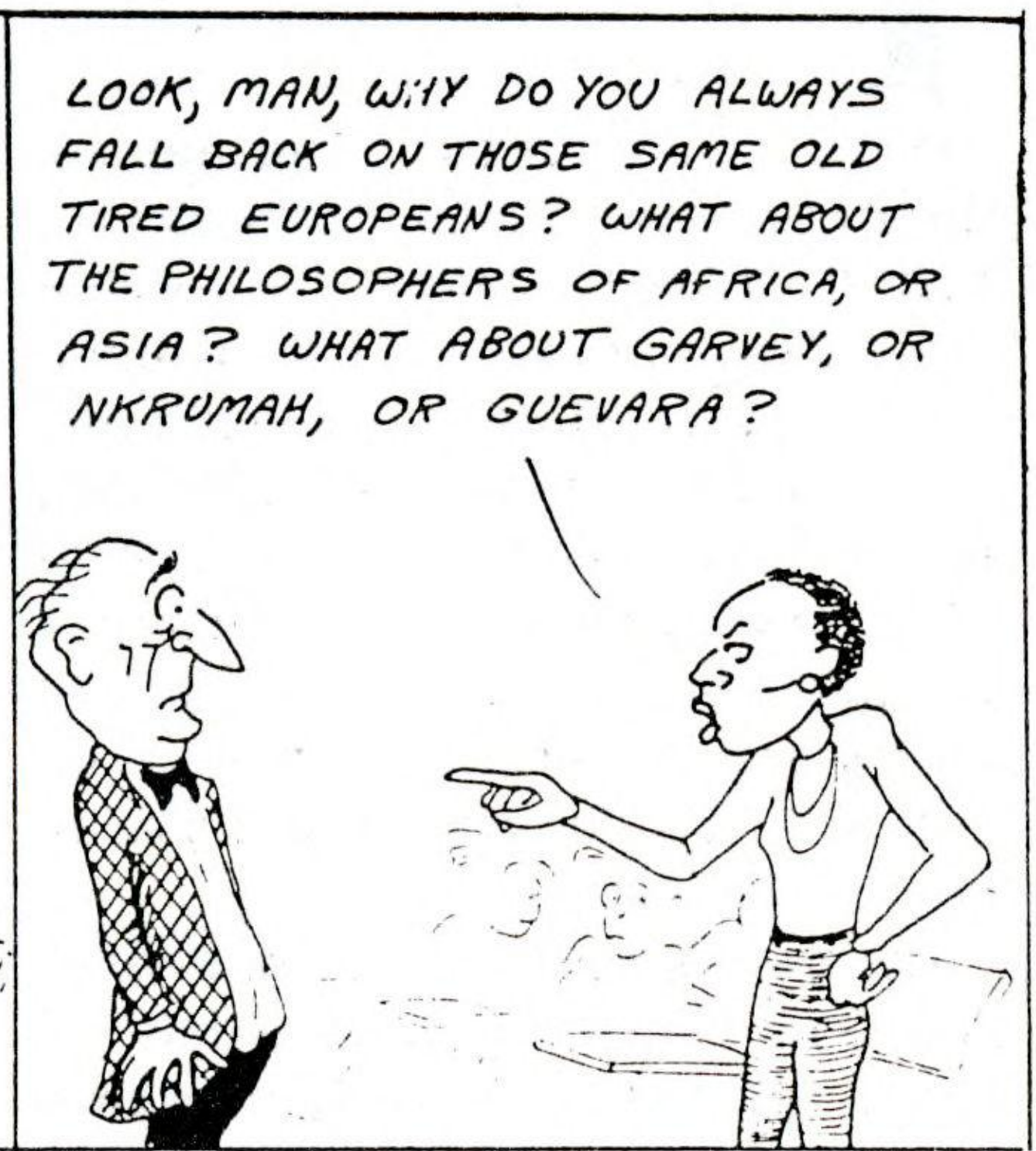
attention on attempts by the U.S. government to obliterate efforts in this country to bring freedom to Southern Africa.

While there is no set theme for this issue, a definite connection exists among the articles: all examine relationships. That relationship may be between the United States and South Africa; or between the black student and the community; or finally, between the black student here and the school itself. If nothing else, the articles should prove to be thought-provoking. Comments, concerns, and questions are welcome and should be addressed to:

**BLACK HEIGHTS Magazine**  
**206 Ferris Booth Hall**  
**Columbia University**  
**New York, New York 10027**

One last note. Those interested in being involved with BLACK HEIGHTS in some fashion are encouraged to drop a note at the above address, or to speak to someone on the Editorial Board. The time is rapidly approaching to, among other things, assemble an Editorial Board for next academic year. In establishing this sense of continuity, the progression of the magazine is seen to fruition.

*Winston Willis*



# What Has Not Changed

*"Some day the Awakening will come, when the pent-up vigor of ten million souls shall sweep irresistibly toward the Goal, out of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, where all that makes life worth living--Liberty, Justice, and Right--is marked 'For White People Only'."*

--W. E. B. Du Bois

## **The Souls of Black Folk**

**A** primary concern of black students who attend Columbia University has been neglected for far too long by both the administration and the students ourselves. In academic year 1985-86 there still is no solid African American Studies program here. That may bear some repeating: again, in academic year 1985-86, this prestigious institution does not have a well-defined and dynamic Black Studies program, let alone a university department in that area.

The black student at Columbia is provided with no real counterpoint to offset the Eurocentric curriculum of the university. We can talk of Sophocles and Euripides, Herodotus and Aurelius. Yet, how often do we speak of Hurston and Wright, Du Bois and Malcolm X? Students who come to Columbia expecting to find a firmly entrenched African-American Studies program (not to mention a program which focuses on the entire diaspora) are left numb by a rather cold reality:

No department.

Five tenured black faculty.

The Interdepartmental Committee for Afro-American Studies was established last year to strengthen course offerings and to look into the possibility of adding more black professors. Still though, the idea of an interdepartmental major has not been acted upon.

One wonders if serious inroads will be made anytime soon. Of the 36 courses listed under the general heading of Afro-American Studies in the Bulletin (this year being the first time that pages were devoted to "Afro-American Studies"), only five are "core" courses, or ones dealing directly with the African American experience. Eleven courses deal with the continent of Africa. The remaining 20 courses are listed under the dubious category of 'Substantial Afro-American Content'. The final score, then: SUBSTANTIAL 20, REAL 16.

The committee has established two new positions to be filled by representatives of the Black Student's Organization (BSO). In light of past student participation on university committees (Barbara Ransby and Greg Butler are two such black students), their work will require the support of the BSO. The aim of the students on the committee should be crystal clear, however: the formation of the most comprehensive African American Studies Department in the country.

The Yale model is a case in point. While many Black Studies programs initiated across the country were doomed to fail--and often because school administrations set them up to fail--Yale's program has been a success because it was established with good instructors and solid financial backing. As important, professors at

Yale teach jointly in the Black Studies Department and the department of their general field. Teachers who are involved solely in an African American Studies program have been known to get the "quick axe". A joint position provides both job security and a better overall grounding in their field.

The situation at Yale would be enriched greatly here at Columbia. A Black Studies Department here would be inextricably tied to the Schomburg Center for Research in Afro-American Culture, and would have its almost unlimited resources at hand. Furthermore, this school is located right smack in the middle of Harlem, an area steeped in a black intellectual tradition.

This university should be, should have been, the leading research institution in the world on the African American. And we on this campus should be, should have been, working with black students from CCNY, not to mention others in the community, to solve problems like an abominable dropout rate in the city. More to the point, this university should be, should have

been, an ally of the Harlem community—not its ugly enemy.

Of course, the actual picture is one of isolation by the university and, it is true, by the students as well. And having no Black Studies Department only intensifies the isolation of this elitist place from a community with one of the highest concentrations of African people in the world.

During the Blockade last term students chanted as they circled Low Library, "Hey trustees, haven't you heard, New York ain't Johannesburg!" The truth of the matter, the reality of the irony, however, is that Columbia has cut itself almost completely from the Harlem community. (After all, this is not Harlem. No, this is Morningside Heights!) Indeed--there is an apartheid here. And the absence of a solid Black Studies program only underscores that fact.

Students across the sea continue to fight apartheid. "Some day the Awakening will come... ." And when it does come, we will fight again.

Here.

by Winston Willis

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# Political Committee: Conference Report

**F**ive hundred student representatives of organizations that have been active in the anti-apartheid movement came to N.Y.C. from 35 states and from over 100 schools to participate in the National Student Conference on South Africa and Namibia held on the weekend of Nov. 1st at Hunter College in Manhattan. The Conference was composed of workshops and lectures on issues that included divestment organizing, material aid and direct action campaigns, linking Southern African and Central American solidarity work, developments in Namibia, and political prisoner support campaigns.

The sessions were moderated and presented by representatives of the African National Congress (ANC), the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), TransAfrica, the U.S. Out of South Africa Network, and the Washington Office on Africa. The Conference itself was sponsored by the ACOA in conjunction with N.Y. based student groups that included the Black Student Communication Organizing Network and the Columbia Coalition for a Free Southern Africa.

The objectives of the Conference were to help build and then sustain a broad-based movement to cut off all U.S. support for South African apartheid through:

- 1) Discussing and developing strategies for organizing divestment campaigns that also focus on U.S. corporations illegally exploiting Namibian resources;

- 2) Building political and material support for the liberation movements in So. Africa and Namibia;

- 3) Strengthening regional coordination of the student anti-apartheid movement to build towards effective national protest actions;

- 4) Linking the anti-apartheid movement with the struggle against domestic racism; and

- 5) Strengthening the alliance between campus and community based anti-apartheid movements.

The participants of the Conference concluded, among other things, that they would develop a national legislative network that would help to educate students on the issues concerning U.S. foreign policy towards southern African states like Namibia and Angola; and then would encourage and facilitate letter writing, petitioning, and direct action campaigns directed towards affecting the legislative process.

During the Conference, Damu Smith, from the Washington Office on Africa, asserted that the first concern of such a network should be the growing interventionist movement in the Congress of forces that propose to give U.S. aid to the South African backed National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) and propose economic sanctions directed not towards South Africa and apartheid but against Angola.

On July 31, 1985, Congress gave final approval to a repeal of the Clark amendment, the law passed in 1976 which prohibited any U.S. aid to any group fighting in the Angolan War of



**SWAPO**

# Distant Rumbling

To the heroic peoples of southern Africa...

*Gigantic volcano,  
bursting out, crashing through  
these mountainous repressive years  
of force control  
from silence.*

*Gigantic volcano,  
magnificent black, mother-of-pearl  
as she breaks, shattering  
piece by piece  
brainless cowards...  
brute force  
must bow down to the power  
of this raging furnace.*

*I look upon  
(from distant shores)  
magnificent particles of resistance  
of these faces, young, old, wise  
black faces, magnificent faces  
the women and the men  
the Lion-courage  
of the young premature seedlings  
burdened with the load  
of ancient cedars...*

*I tell you  
Oh! Let me say it now  
these protest faces  
are faces, voices, screams  
liberation dreams of my people in the  
fettered land  
South Africa! South Africa!  
South Africa!*

*Lament of ages, shattered dreams  
four resistance bundles, deep  
like the gaping wounds, festering  
four barren centuries.*

*Gigantic volcano,  
big, bold, black, rising  
I can hear the roaring tide  
of Liberation, I can hear  
a million voices rising up  
a million angry faces rising up*

*and nothing can stop this rising tide  
photographic images  
of Langa, of Sharpeville, Sebokeng,  
Gugulethu  
Cape Town to Soweto  
a million voices, faces  
united,  
like the fingers of the hand  
that folds the lament  
of a million faceless dreams  
into the victorious fist  
of one people.*

*Gigantic volcano,  
of the workers, of the peasants  
of the women, of the youth  
of the fighters in Umkonto We Siswe  
you have sprouted from the embers  
of Sharpeville and Soweto,  
like a gentle rain in a desert  
of lamentation and despair  
you have given life, to barren earth  
and identity to faceless dreams  
you have turned our tears to spears  
we are ready to fight  
to the last drop of blood.*

*Gigantic volcano,  
your timely explosion  
is the surest sign of freedom  
in a land of shackles  
voice of the martyrs  
in a mountain of suppression  
song of the spring  
in a land where winter lived too long.*

*Gigantic volcano,  
we raise our fists in struggle  
and we vow, in the presence of your  
raging furnace  
A luta Continua, Hasta La Victoria  
Sempre!!!!!!*

Zenzile, January 1985

Independence from the Portuguese colonialists; the conflict was won by the Poular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) with the assistance of Castro's Cuban troops. According to the Washington Office on Africa, bill: H.R. 3472, issued Oct. 1st by Cong. Claude Pepper (D-Fla), proposes to provide in fiscal year 1986 \$27 million of "humanitarian" aid to UNITA; bill: H.R. 3598, issued Oct 22 by Cong. Bill McCollum (Fla), proposes economic sanctions against Angola banning loans and new trade investments; and bill: H.R. 3609, issued by Cong. Mark Siljander (R-MI), proposes to provide in 1986 \$27 million in direct military assistance to UNITA.

At a recent visit to Columbia, David Sanders, National Field Director of the Conservative Caucus and lobbyist for U.S. intervention, referred to UNITA as a group of "Freedom Fighters" and asserted that the U.S. interest in Angola was to stop Soviet expansionism and to bring freedom to the people of Angola from their Soviet proxy oppressors, the MPLA. However, he tactfully hid not only South Africa's interests in Angola, but, in doing so, also hid the fact that aid to UNITA is indeed a military alliance with the Pretoria regime. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola was first necessitated by the CIA intervention that was ceased through the Clark Amendment, but also, in turn, by the presence of South African troops attempting to implement their plan of regional destabilization for self-preservation and for the continued exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia, a territory illegally occupied by South Africa.

Having acted as a sanctuary and supplier to the forces of SWAPO, the organization recognized by the U.N. General Assembly as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, Angola thus poses a threat to Botha's government. In fact, according to the International Defense and Aid Fund (IDF), South African military forces have crossed Angolan borders not for a concern for the civil liberties of Angolans, but in order to enact preemptive strikes on SWAPO refugee camps. In one such raid on March 4, 1978 in Kassinga, an Angolan province bordering Namibia, South African planes bombed the Namibian refugees and killed an estimated 900 persons, many of whom were women and children, and according to the IDF, shoveled their bloodied remains into one open grave. Can such genocide be perversely construed as freedom?

With the repeal of the Clark Amendment, it is a fearful truth to consider that such covert acts of war as were enacted by the Reagan Administration against Nicaragua may indeed be occurring in southern Africa against Angola in alliance with South Africa. In fact, a participant in the Conference testified to having spoken with a U.S. soldier who claimed to have just returned from active duty in South Africa. Let not your prayers be silent, write to and petition David R. Obey, Chairman, and members of, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee in opposition to the bills proposing U.S. aid to UNITA. c/o:

The House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

(202) 224-3121

*Mark Lewis*

# Committee Report: Black Caucus

**M**inority representatives participating in the National Student Conference on South Africa and Namibia took advantage of mutual access and began, with the assistance of the Black Student Communication Organizing Network, to create a national network that will meet regionally in order to prepare for the National Black Student Conference to be held in Washington, D.C. in the month of April.

The issues of most concern to the representatives participating in the Black Caucus were racism within the anti-apartheid movement, the accountability of black leaders to their constituency, and the development of a national network to develop and push forward a "black agenda" of political concerns.

Racism in the movement was evident in the lack of significant minority representation in many anti-apartheid organizations and specifically within the administrative, networking, and public relations divisions of the American Committee on Africa.

The accountability of black leaders was stated as a concern; for black political and student representatives were often found to have forsaken the interests of their people for the sake of satisfying other constituencies like the Jewish lobby that had evoked and publicized repudiations of the Min. Louis Farrakhan.

The representatives then declared

the need for developing a black agenda, a political if not ideological platform of our concerns, that can be used both to counteract racism within the anti-apartheid movement and to establish a means with which to hold black leaders accountable to the concerns of their black constituency. Such an agenda would provide anti-apartheid/anti-racism organizations in predominantly white campuses and communities with guidelines for addressing the concerns of black people and for enfranchising black activists into the administration of such movements. In addition, with a clearly defined and outlined agenda, the black electorate can more effectively demonstrate and correct the political improprieties of some black elected public officials and student representatives.

In developing the agenda, blacks must as groups and as individuals discuss and meditate the value of minorities placed in positions of merely symbolic leadership if they eventually forsake common interest for self-interest and ambition. Is the aim of our people to be assimilation through "Affirmative Action" into an oppressive system to reform it or is it to be self-determination and sustenance through identifying and promoting our ethnic interests through the means of our own enterprise. Have we struggled only for the opportunity to work for IBM?

by Mark Lewis

# Justice Now!: District 65's Fight for Equity

by Charles Hodge, Local Officer, Columbia Local, District 65-UAW

**J**oining a union is about empowerment. Since few groups in this society have as little power as minority workers, it should come as no surprise when minority workers choose to join unions.

On October 17, 1985, the Columbia Local of District 65-United Auto Workers went on strike for a fair contract. The economic issues we struck for were: a) an improvement in our medical and dental benefits, b) an equity fund to take care of inequities in pay, and c) an improvement in our wages and minimums. The non-economic issues included: a) affirmative action, b) seniority in hirings and layoffs, c) health and safety, d) new technology, and e) protection against sexual harassment.

On October 22, 1985, the members of our Local voted unanimously to accept the proposed contract brought to us by our negotiating committee. After only 5 days on the picket lines we secured an agreement which represented major improvements in all the areas we had prioritized. The key to such quick success was two-fold: first, years of hard organizing work by 65 members at Columbia, and second, support from other unionists, students, faculty, clergy, politicians, tenants' groups and others.

During the divestment blockade last spring many Columbia activists expressed their determination to fight racism not only in South Africa but on campus also. As the countdown to our

strike deadline neared, it became increasingly clear that the cutting edge of that fight would be 65's demands to rectify wage inequities suffered by minority staff members.

Our bargaining unit is 75% female and 49% minority. A statistical study done by the 65 staff showed that although minority staff at Columbia had on the average 6 months greater length of service than nonminorities, on the average those same minorities earned \$1,000 less per year. In addition, we found that minorities tended to be concentrated in the lowest pay grades: while grade 3, the second lowest grade, consisted of 80% minorities, grade 9, the highest, had only 20% minorities.

In real life, these figures translated into a job ghetto in which minority staffers were shoved into low paying, entry level jobs with little chance for exit and little training.

These inequities, according to Personnel Director Robert Early, were due to minority staff not trying to get out of the lower grades. Michael Sovern blamed them on general societal discriminatory patterns. But our members knew the buck could not be passed so easily. The University had in fact in recent years made it harder to rectify these inequities in 1984 and 1985 by stopping the campus-wide posting of jobs (thus making it harder for minorities to find out which jobs were open and making it easier for the mostly white Administration to exercise favor-

itism in filling jobs) and by stopping affirmative action reviews of Grades 7 through 9.

The union put on the table, and won in our contract, several proposals to begin to address University discrimination. First, we called for a joint union-management affirmative action committee to review promotions into Grades 7 through 9. Second, we called for a non-discrimination clause in the contract, which will enable us to grieve any violations of the rights of our minority and female members. Third, we achieved substantial raises in the minimum wage levels for all grades of employees, with the proportionately highest raises going into the lowest grades in which minority members are concentrated. Fourth, we forced the University to provide what they call a "Special Adjustment Fund" (in our literature we called it an "equity fund", but the University didn't care to admit any inequities actually existed).

In addition, we were able to get Martin Luther King's birthday as an additional paid holiday.

In addition to the improvements in wages and health benefits and the addition of clauses such as new technology protection which benefit all our members, and the special effort made to rectify racial inequities, our members secured important gains protecting our female members. We secured a clause banning "personal work" (i.e., bosses telling their secretaries to make them coffee), protection against sexual harassment, improvements in maternity leaves, and the right of pregnant women to take transfers or unpaid leave if their job involves the use of VDT's.

All these gains were made possible by the organization and mobilization of our members, who repeatedly rallied, marched, signed petitions and

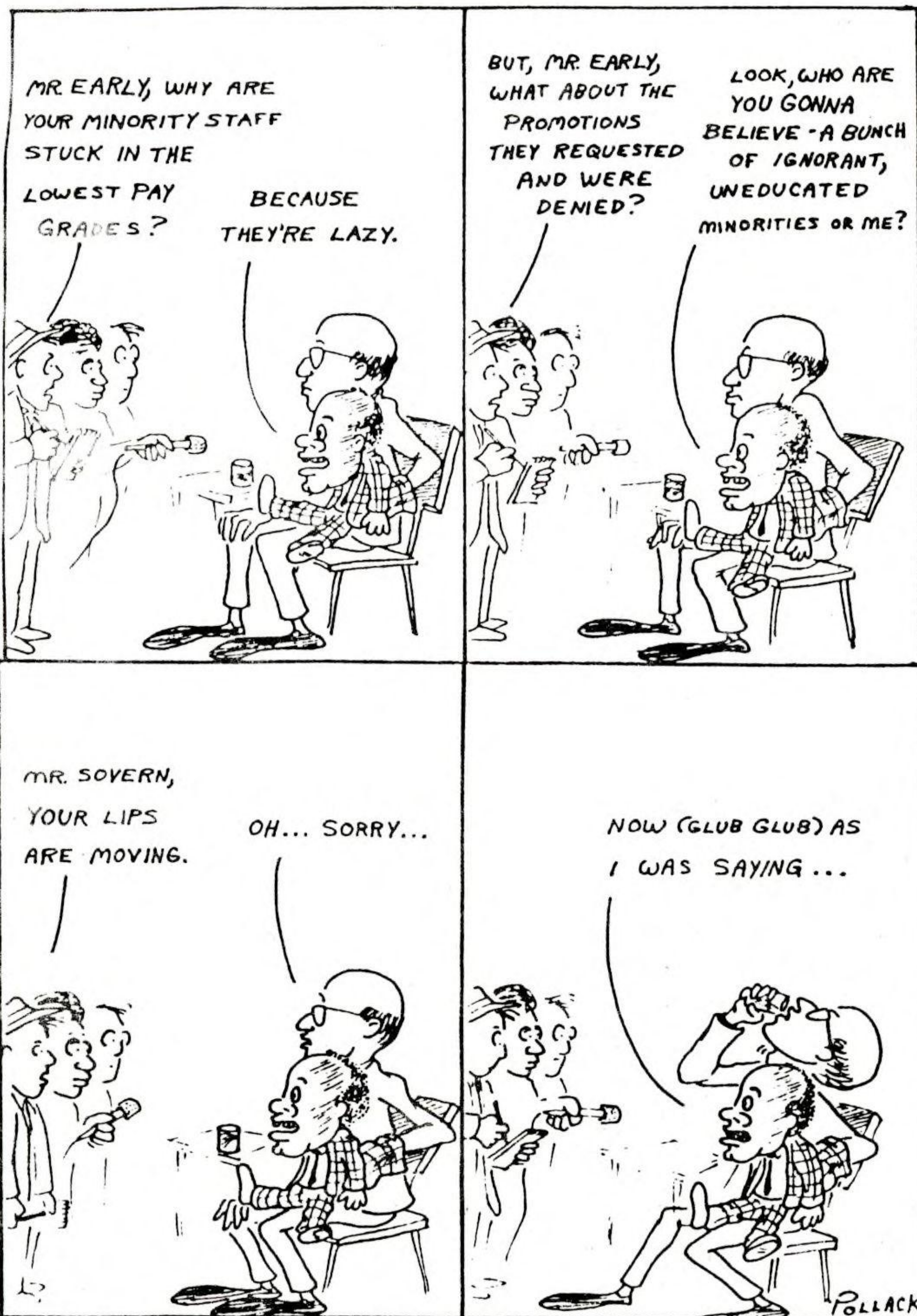
showed the University we would settle for nothing less than "Justice Now!" But it would not have happened without support from others in the Columbia community and in New York. Over 500 classes were moved off campus through the efforts of the Faculty Support Committee headed by Eric Foner; student support (including a sitdown at the Main Gates) was crucial; and pledges of support from tenants, clergy and others let the members know we were not alone. During the summer before the strike when negotiations were bogged down our Local reached out to prominent groups and individuals in the community to let them know we would be calling on them in the fall. We talked to, among others, Rev. Calvin Butts, Wyatt T. Walker, Harlem Fightback, the National Organization for Women and the Morningside Tenants Federation. And of course the links we had forged during the blockade with the Coalition for a Free Southern Africa were strengthened.

But one of the most heartwarming sources of support came from the Black Students' Organization. Members of the BSO walked with us on the picket lines. The night before the strike ended an emergency BSO meeting was called to discuss support for 65. Over 30 BSO members and 6 picket captains from our Local met to discuss the issues and plans for cooperation to resolve the strike. The experiences of working under discriminatory conditions at Columbia were laid out by the picket captains, one of whom likened her fight for justice at CU to a similar fight against racism she'd been involved in during the civil rights movement in South Carolina.

The students came forth with a number of concrete proposals to aid the strikers. One in particular had enormous potential: the idea of form-

ing a "Scab Committee"; since 65'ers couldn't get into the buildings, this committee, composed of students, would have attempted to talk to scabs and convince them to leave work and join the strike. As the contract was ratified the next day, the ideas of the BSO were not implemented; but the sentiments expressed at the meeting and the thoughtfulness of the suggestions for solidarity provided a big morale booster for our members.

The "Scab Committee" proposal was significant in another respect: the creativity of this idea is symptomatic of the type of new thinking which the labor movement needs to continue and strengthen its fight against the attacks of Reagan and Big Business on the labor movement. In this fight we need allies; and when we find supportive AND innovative allies like the BSO, we can be confident that our struggle for justice, now and forever, will be victorious.





# Louis Farrakhan: Much Ado About the Wrong Thing

**I**n their haste to condemn Minister Louis Farrakhan, the American press and public have failed to address several key issues surrounding the whole controversy. First of all, can Louis Farrakhan, beyond a shadow of a doubt, be proven to be racist? Second, if he is indeed racist, how much of a detrimental effect can he have against the world, much less against the United States? Third, if he is indeed racist, and a serious threat, what good will condemnation or any other form of retaliatory behavior do against him? Ultimately, we must ask whether or not the real "problem" is Louis Farrakhan or something else.

The evidence supporting Louis Farrakhan being a racist is dubious, at best. For the most part, the notion of Farrakhan being a racist is predicated on two statements he made last year. One statement refers to Hitler as a great man, the other condemns Judaism as a dirty religion. In his Madison Square Garden speech, Farrakhan went to great lengths to explain that he did consider Hitler a great man, but not a good man, distinguishing between a person's achievements and their moral worth. Farrakhan, in that same speech, clarified his prior comment on Judaism. He claims that he does not believe that Judaism is a dirty religion, but that some individuals have tarnished the name of the religion through their practices. So, what is perceived as a racial problem may really be a semantic one.

We must also recognize that Farrakhan is a Muslim, and as such, some

of his preachings are bound to conflict fundamentally with not only the Jewish faith, but the Christian faith as well. In order to be consistent with the Muslim faith, Minister Farrakhan, to a certain degree, must be anti-semitic. By the same token, a rabbi, in order to be consistent with the Jewish faith, to a certain degree, would have to be anti-Muslim as well as anti-Christian. Thus, in examining the Minister Louis Farrakhan for racism, we must necessarily include in the context of that discussion the inextricably theological implications of his message.

The dubiousness of Farrakhan being a racist notwithstanding, it is not clear how much of a tangible threat Farrakhan poses to the Jewish community. There have been no announcements of a boycott of any Jewish-run business, no calls for the termination of any Jewish organizations and no cries for the punishment of any major Jewish leaders. Despite the misgivings of the press and many individuals, Farrakhan is not and cannot organize Afro-Americans in a racist campaign, seeking the destruction of the Jewish people. The vast majority of Afro-Americans, including the poorest and least educated among them, are a discerning people who examine their leaders with extraordinary care and to assume otherwise, as many who consider the poor to be an easy prey for someone like Farrakhan, seriously underestimates their intelligence. So, we must sincerely ask on what grounds can Farrakhan be considered a threat.

In any case, regardless of how one views Farrakhan, condemnation is not

the proper approach. There have been no serious efforts by any of the groups which hold a grievance against him to establish a dialogue. This entire situation may require personal discussions behind closed doors rather than public denunciations from an open platform. Several leaders of major Jewish organizations have refused to meet with Farrakhan, attempting to confirm with ignorance what they cannot prove with evidence.

Public condemnation has continually proven to be a bankrupt strategy. More than twenty years ago, the American press and public condemned Malcolm X to discredit his movement with the hope of destroying that "racist threat". As the condemnations became stronger, Malcolm X became stronger. Subsequently, the rift between the majority of Americans and Malcolm X and his followers grew wider. After his death, these differences remained, and are now resurfacing with the emergence of Louis Farrakhan, whose message is similar to that of Malcolm X while with the Black Muslims. After all of this time, we still have no resolution. Why then should condemnation even be considered as a means of dealing with Louis Farrakhan? Condemnation cannot contain problems, much less solve them.

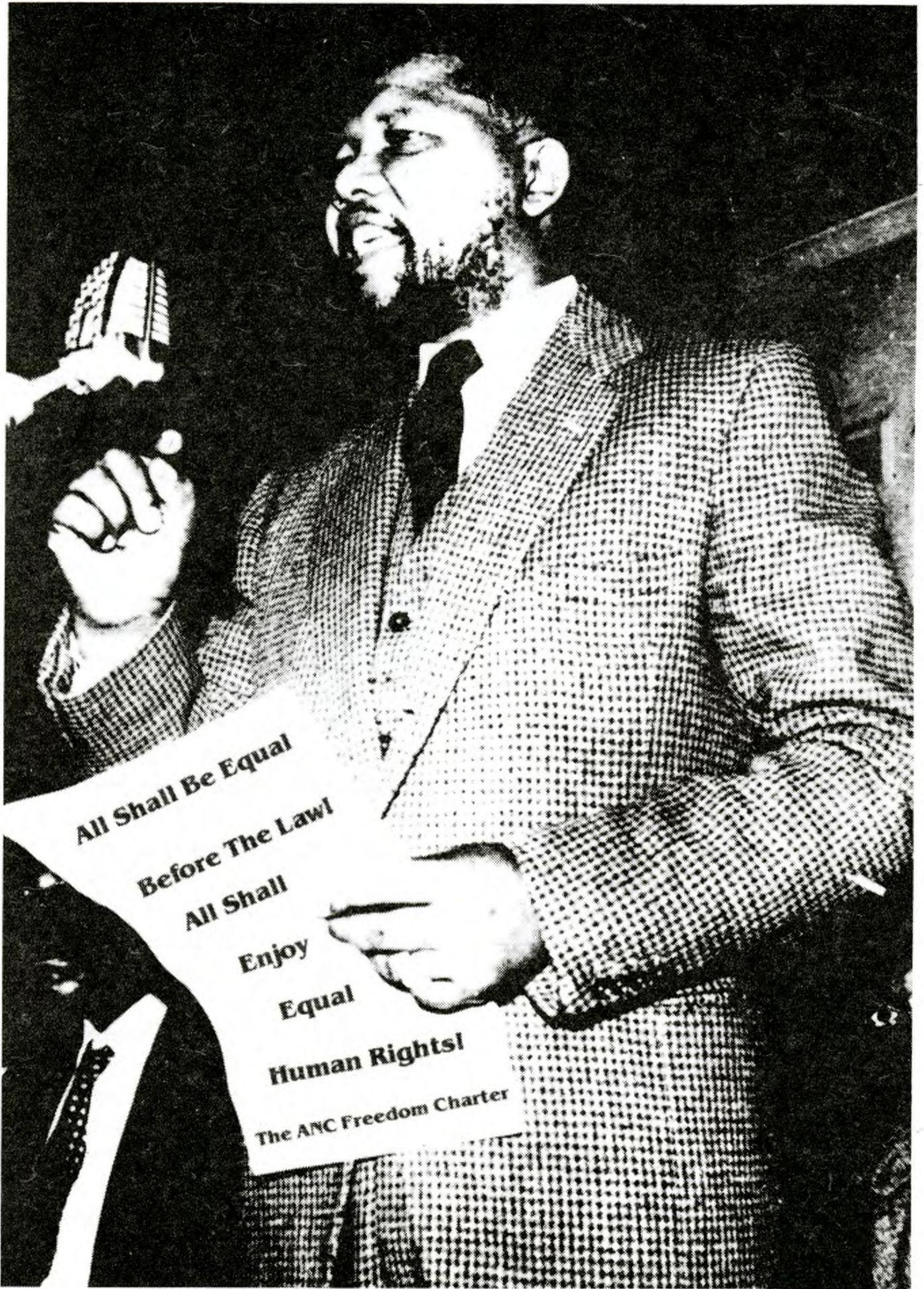
In reality, Farrakhan, if he can be considered to be a problem, is only symptomatic of a much larger problem: the plight of the Afro-American underclass in the United States. The real problem exists not in the rhetoric of Louis Farrakhan, but in the inaction of the United States Government in responding to the needs of impoverished Afro-Americans. While many Afro-Americans have made significant gains enslaved in a vicious cycle of poverty, without the existence and persistence of this socio-economic

reality, Farrakhan could not and would not be a matter of concern.

Little public attention has been given to Farrakhan's proposed solution for the economic revitalization of the Afro-American community: the POWER (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth) program. POWER plans to tap into the large Afro-American consumer market through the sale of basic products starting with toothpaste, mouthwash and shampoo. Profits from this effort are intended to benefit Afro-Americans. For the good of the Afro-American community, a detailed analysis of the POWER program must be given prominence in public discussions. For instance, how long will it take before POWER can begin helping people? How will POWER succeed where other "Buy Black" campaigns have failed? How will Farrakhan insure that the profits from such a venture go towards the aid of many Afro-Americans and not the betterment of just a few?

The real test of a person should not be how much he says, but how much he does. If Farrakhan's true intention is to uplift Afro-Americans, then the POWER program will be a good indicator. If President Reagan, Governor Cuomo, Mayor Koch and other political leaders wish to band together to deal with the "racist" Farrakhan, then they should collectively re-examine their own political programs and determine how to empower and enfranchise Afro-Americans at a much faster rate with a greater degree of success. Of course, this is hard to achieve. In this world, it has been and always will be easier for people to put on their outward looking glasses to see the faults of others than to pick up their inward looking mirrors to see their own.

by Victor Bolden



Nelson Mandela, March 1961

# The Blockade

**H**uman Rights Day, 10 Dec 1962: the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. calls for the total, international political and economic quarantine of the Republic of South Africa, whose domestic and foreign policy of apartheid is synonymous with both slavery and genocide.

National Divestment Rally Day, April 4, 1985: held in remembrance of the assassination of Dr. King, sparks a wave of protests, sit-outs and sit-ins, sponsored by American student activist organizations that provoke the partial and total divestiture of 30 schools of a total of \$140 million since April 1985, \$39 million of which came from Columbia University Oct 7, according to the American Committee on Africa. In addition, the ACOA asserts that, since 1978, divestment protests at American educational institutions have provoked \$346,224,857 having been divested from U.S. corporations doing business in or having business ties with the Pretoria regime.

At 11:00 a.m., National Divestment Rally Day: 300 students at Columbia University march from their protest rally to the front of Hamilton Hall (an academic and administrative building); they then chain the doors of the main entrance shut; they proclaim the building to be renamed "Mandela Hall", after the leader of the African National Congress imprisoned in South Africa since 1964; and they sit-out blockading the entrance demanding that the University Board of Trustees issue a written, public statement of their intention to divest the University of all holdings of companies with business relations with South Africa.

The Blockade was to eventually last, undisrupted by police, for three weeks

that were marked by a 15 day fast by students merely to gain audience with the Board of Trustees, by frequent and important speakers, massive rallies, and solidarity actions of protest that were made by campus and community organizations across the U.S. and specifically those taken at U.C. Berkeley and at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

During the Blockade, as of April 9, a South African black Pre-Med student in the School of General Studies was cited along with 27 other students for contempt of a New York State Supreme Court Restraining Order prohibiting the Blockade; and, along with nearly 100 other students, for serious and simple violations of University rules of conduct. The contempt citations threatened the accused with up to 30 days in jail or with fines of up to \$500; the rules violations threatened suspension and expulsion from the University. The contempt order was later revoked by another judge and the rules violations brought terms of disciplinary warning of from one to three school terms that would not stand as a part of the student's permanent academic record.

However lenient the punishments may seem, the University--in threatening the South African student with contempt and rules violations--subjected him to possible deportation and subsequent arrest upon arrival in South Africa for his action of fasting for divestiture as economic terrorism which under South African internal security laws was determined punishable by 20 years in jail or death by hanging. Although, after facing public embarrassment in the media, the University dropped all proceedings a-

against any South African student participating in the Blockade; the G.S. student was notified of a warrant for his arrest that had been issued during the Blockade and was informed that members of his family had been detained and then released by police in Pretoria.

In addition, solely through the skillful representation of lawyers from the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the faculty and student members of the University Law School, were the respondents in the contempt and in the rules proceedings protected from selective prosecution and processes in the hearing under the rules that attempted to abuse their rights to due process.

The activities of the Blockade were adjourned on April 25: in a march down from the Morningside campus to the Canaan Baptist Church in a symbolic act of solidarity with the Harlem community that had supported the protest action, and with Vernon Mason, lawyer for the students, who was running a campaign for the New York City Office of District Attorney.

The Blockade, sponsored by the Coalition for a Free Southern Africa, was a manifestation of a dialectical conflict between a university corporate administration and a corporate body of faculty workers and student consumers; a struggle over the governing of the institution between the body of student and faculty constituents represented by the democratically elected and appointed collective bargaining agent of the University Senate and the self-perpetuating Oligarchy of the 24 member Board of Trustees: the legal guardians of University endowment and the owners of the University properties. The complexity of the struggle is the conflicts between

the rights of individual citizens and the rights and authorities of corporate individuals.

In a 1983 meeting of the University Senate, the elected representatives of the University corporate body passed an unanimous resolution for total divestiture that was issued from the Student Affairs Committee by student senator and Coalition executive, Barbara Ransby. However, the Subcommittee on Investments of the Trustees, five out of six members of the committee, according to the Graduate Student's Organization, are executives of businesses with South African relations, for the first time in Senate history disregarded an unanimous Senate decision. Instead, they deferred the Senate's request for divestiture for the University's established policy of compliance to the "Sullivan Principles" issued in 1976 by the Rev. Dr. Leon Sullivan, a member of the Board of Directors of the G.M. Corporation. The Trustees, in governing the University, however, an educational institution, according to the Sullivan Code of Conduct, had established a procedural conflict of interest and of identity by adopting the ethics of G.M., an investment house. In this conflict of interest and identity, Columbia is not alone; for, according to the National Public Radio News Service, nearly 80% of all U.S. corporate investment is from the large endowments of public and private educational institutions. In turn, these endowments are also administered to by executives of such South African-invested businesses, often despite the will of public consensus or the University corporate community, who merely claim their fiduciary responsibilities for their refusal and do not justify their procedural conflicts of interest and of identity according to the tenets of the Univer-

sity or the College constitution.

The abusive conflicts of interest and of identity don't merely stop at a general disregard for democratic representation, but, in fact, dare to go so far as to submit adult citizens of the U.S. to the en loco parentis jurisdiction of the University rules and University courts through charges of rules violations that constitute breach of contract and thus should be decided by a higher civil authority out of respect to the rights of Due Process and to the

investment of funds relating to the contractual agreements of admission or employment. A member of a recognized union has the right to disrupt corporate activity by shifting classes without being accused of breach of contract; whereas students and faculty have no such rights to either disruption or to civil proceedings. One need not walk further than the steps of their University to confront repression of civil liberties.

*by Mark Lewis*

## National Divestment Rally Day



**David Mdaba - ANC**

**Goodrich**



**Ruth  
Messinger**

**Goodrich**

# The Blockade

Goodrich



April 4, 1985

They chained the doors . . .

Goodrich



and sat down.

# A Long Day's Journey . . .



## Into Night





# The Coalition Speaks



Coalition Steering Committee member, Tony Glover

Goodrich



South African Danisha Baloyi, "...until they divest."

Goodrich

Students Across  
Nation Focus  
On Apartheid

**Divest day to be  
marked by rally**

## **Divestment debate heats up**

Coalition begins S. Africa invest  
protest fast today freeze has not  
ended buying

**UC anti-apartheid protests  
spread across U.S. campuses**

### **Students Protest GU Investments**

*School Urged to End Ties With Investors in S. African Businesses*

**100 still camped out in Berkeley**

**22 Arrested at Federal Building**

**38 faculty members arrested in UC sit-in;  
Gardner predicts change in investments**

THE TRIBUNE, Oakland, California

**New arrests bring total to 161  
in UC anti-apartheid protest**

# 2000 Rally at Mandela Hall



**"The love affair with South Africa has no dignity."  
Jesse Jackson, April 15**

Okoh



**Standing room only**

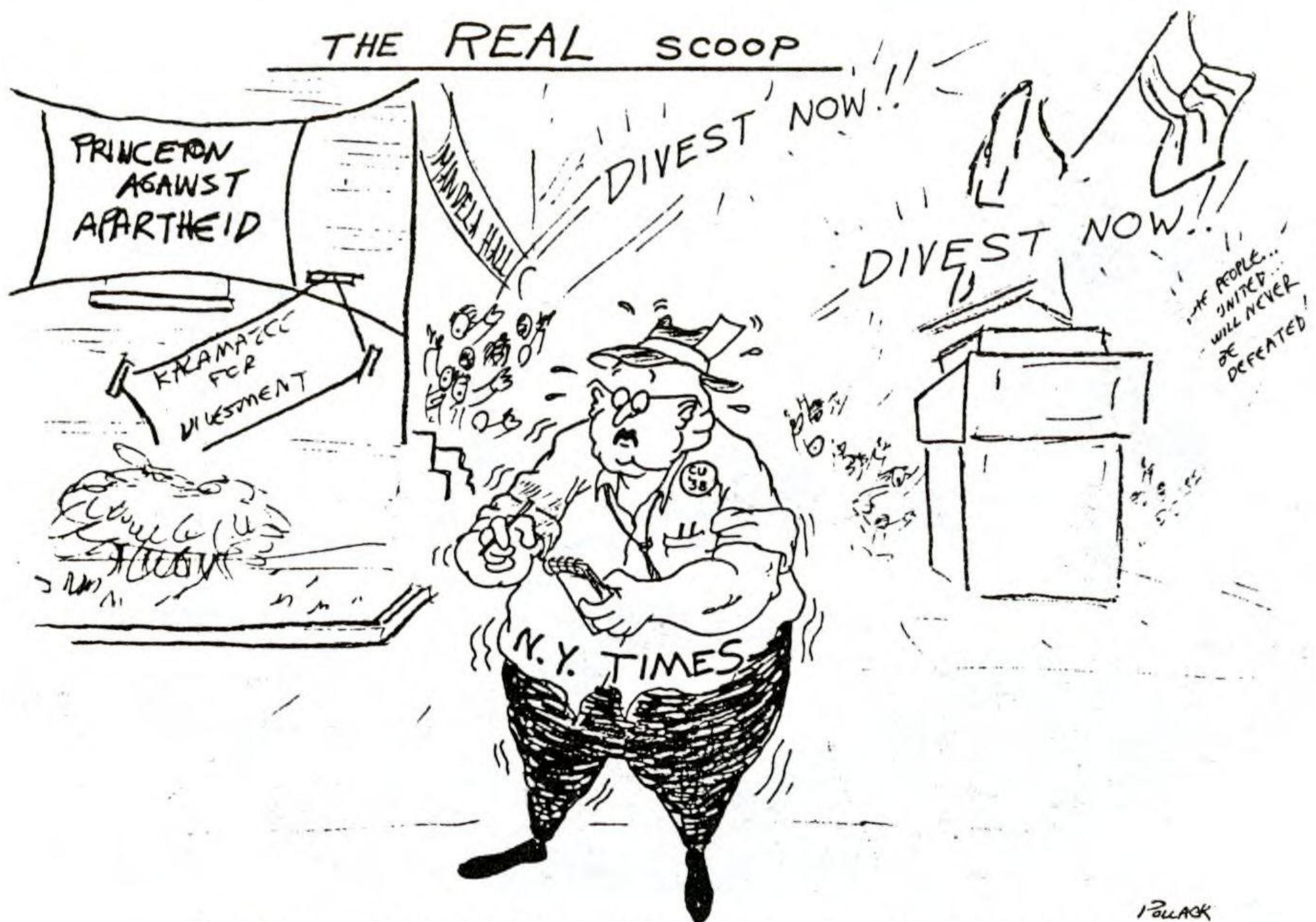
Okoh

# Randy! Randy! Randy!

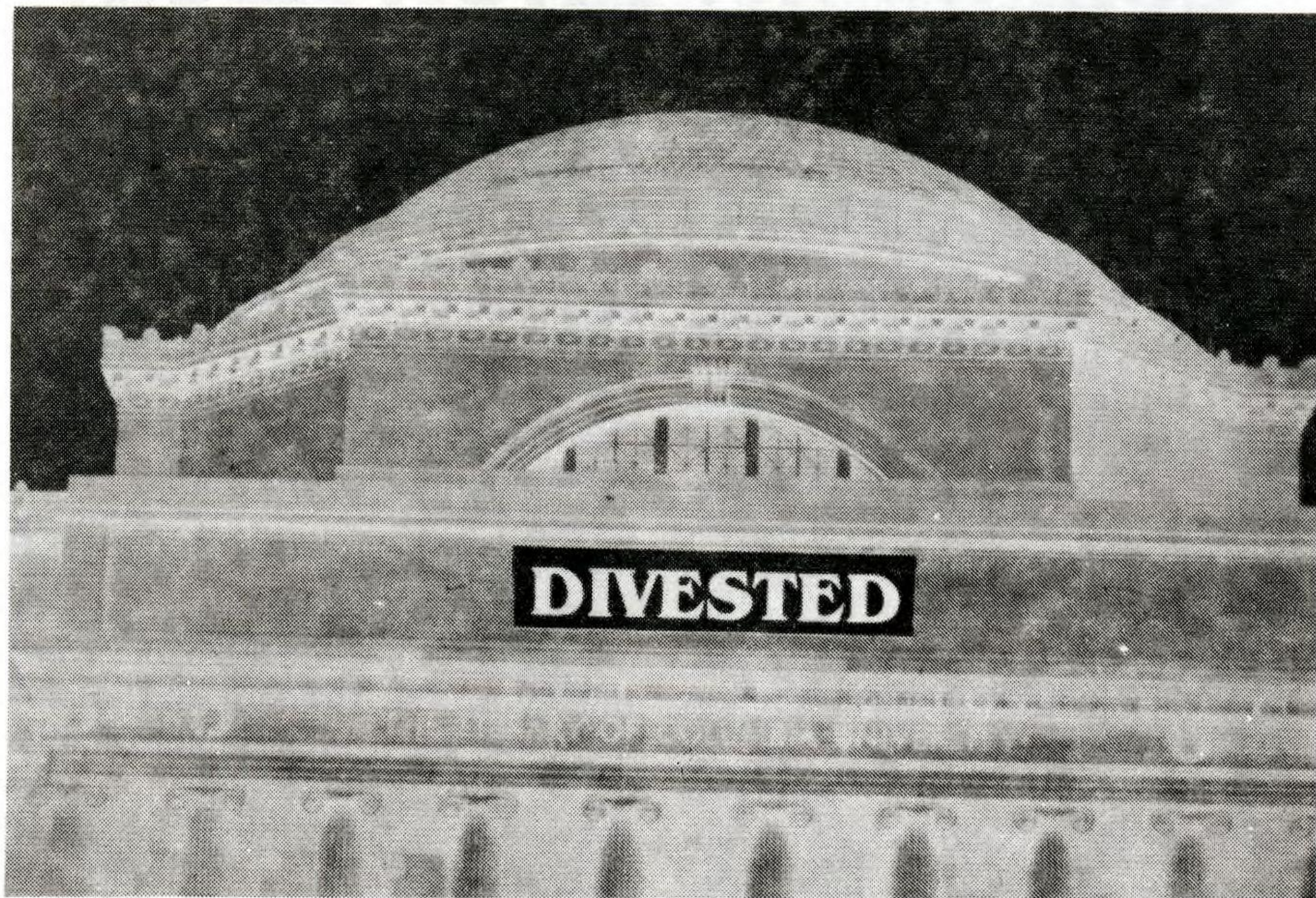


Goodrich

**Randolph Scott McGlaughlin: Center for Constitutional Rights**



"Let's see ... 'Scared students end blockade'...no...uh... 'Nervous protesters , knuckle under to Judge'... no, that's no good ... Oh, drat, those chants have me so rattled I can't even get my story straight!"



Okoh

***“Coalition represents a philosophy in a dialectical conflict with the theory of racial segregation inherent in the philosophy of Apartheid. With a strategy of education and with the spirit of Liberty, we shall prove the stronger.”***

# Community Involvement

**W**hen I first came to Columbia, the main reason I chose it over places like Franklin and Marshall or the University of Virginia was because New York City offered a wide range of opportunities for entertainment and education. Like a lot of freshmen, I went out naively into the city, looking for good night clubs, museums, and the best bargains on the clothes and shoes I so desperately needed. And all of this was because of the wonderful descriptions I found in the "Guide to New York" telling me all of the best places to go to learn more about New York City and the so-called Manhattan "community" around us. But the one thing that both I and the Guide to New York had wrong was the definition of the community "around us".

The definition of a community (per Webster's Dictionary) is "a body of persons or nations having a common history or common social, economic and political interests;" and for a black or latino student at Columbia, the community they are inherently a part of is the Harlem community they are living in, not the Village or the upper east side of Manhattan, as so described in the Guide to New York. How we can ignore one of the largest, most historically and culturally fulfilling black and latino communities in Manhattan, is something we all need to ask ourselves. We must reject Columbia's renaming of Harlem to "Morningside Heights" and placing it instead, "down near 125th Street." Harlem officially, borders on the Harlem and East Rivers and stretches approximately from 110th Street to 147th Street, which means that whether Columbia likes it or not, we are all

right smack in the middle of Harlem. The amount of education both culturally and socially, that we can gain through the connections with the Harlem community has never been fully exhausted by Columbia or more importantly, its black and latino students.

We as black students at Columbia need to give to the children and elderly of this community, that which we have received from our own community here or back home. It is not enough to be thankful to the parents, teachers and religious institutions of our community for the strength and knowledge they have given us (for without them, we probably would not have come this far). We must also show them that we know how to return the love that they have given us out of the hope in their hearts for a successful community.

Building up our community is as much of an advantage to us as it is to the community. The most important advantage is that in making our people strong, we make ourselves stronger. If you take the time to care, and to make someone else's life a little better, you are learning from others while strengthening your own personality and sense of ideals. And because you have taken the time to support them, they will in turn grant you an enormous amount of support in whatever it is you choose to do. If we do not go out into our community and rebuild its pride and economic status, we will end up not having a community to aid when we go out into our various professional areas. If our black and latino communities are not strengthened by us, we in our professional areas will have no alternative but to aid in the overwhelming success of

the white race, simply because the economic and political bases of our black and latino people will not be strong enough to utilize the advantageous aspects of the corporations, legal processes, and other social institutions that we will be aiding the success of.

We need to educate our people so that they will reap the same benefits as all other races. They should know about their rights to education, and how to go about improving their economic status, so they can take advantage of the medical advancements available to society. Economic advancements must be accompanied by political power, and we must educate our people about the advantages of their right to enfranchisement so we can develop our community into a strong political power. Rebuilding our community's pride and faith in itself through cultural and historical education, will promote its advancement in the economic and political arenas of society.

In essence, this is a plea to the black and latino population of Columbia University to become more involved in organizations under the Community Volunteer Services Committee (CVSC) of Columbia, along with other institutions that serve to aid the Harlem community including the implementation of black fraternities and sororities on the Columbia campus. The CVSC is a coalition of student community service groups at Columbia University committed to volunteer work. It serves to facilitate interaction among volunteer groups, the university and the community.

An example of the types of things that the CVSC does as a coalition of groups is the annual "Hot-Dog" day which raises funds for the community organizations that they support. As a

member of a volunteer group you can volunteer your time to help the homeless, the elderly and the youth. The CVSC also leaves room for those who choose to take the initiative and start a new community service project or add a new volunteer student group to the Committee, and will also place volunteers with outside organizations such as the Urban Renewal Project, the Counseling or Tutorial Services and the Legal Advocacy Service to name a few. Such programs as these are certain to provide valuable experience and education for those heading towards the legal, medical or public service fields.

The CVSC also supports the existing student volunteer groups by providing financial support, administrative assistance and office and meeting space. It aids in recruiting volunteers through semi-annual Open Houses, special events, forums, workshops and publicity of events. It also centralizes all volunteer efforts and group referral services. The current student community service groups under the Community Volunteer Service Center are: Big Brothers/Big Sisters, Blue Key Society, Clown Troupe, Columbia/Barnard Community Lunch Program, Columbia/Barnard Help for the Homeless, Community Youth Program, Dorot, Earth Coalition, Jewish Office Project for the Homeless, League of Student Voters, Lifesavers, School Volunteer Program, Students for UNICEF, and Tutoring at P.S. 165 and these are only some of the many things we can become involved in with the CVSC.

Presently, the majority of community service volunteers involved with the organizations under the CVSC are white, and the fact that the black and latino students of Columbia aren't finding the time to help their own

people is a slap in the face to the people that need their help the most. It is definitely a shame that white students are the only role models that our black and latino children have, and the only shoulders our elderly citizens have to lean on. So, if you are at all interested in reaching out with your heart and touching the life of someone else, please get involved in community service. In order to find out more about the actual functions of the above student community service groups and the CVSC in general, please contact Ray Welsh, President, CVSC at 280-5113 or Jeannine Timmins, Coor-

dinator, CVSC at 280-5113. If you have ideas about what the black and latino organizations on campus can do for the Harlem community, please contact Tonita Austin, Community Liason, UMB at 280-6840. If you would like to look into the formation of a chapter of a fraternity or sorority on campus to serve the Harlem community, please contact Carlton Fambro, Assistant Director of Student Activities at 280-3611.

And let's change the course of history -- together.

by M. Tonita Austin

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# Apartheid...at Home?

**H**eribert Adam, a noted analyst of South African politics asserted in his book *Ethnic Power Mobilized*, that the Republic of South Africa had derived its totalitarian powers from a wide range of internal security laws that allow the suppression of political opposition through powers of banning organizations like the African National Congress or the United Democratic Front with unlimited terms of police detention without charge enacted on their leaders. According to Adam, such powers are made possible for the lack of a South African Bill of Rights and through the effective elimination of judicial control achieved by the provincially based Afrikaner Nationalist Party's having usurped the functions of the South African Parliament between the electorate and the executive.

Similarly, the Reagan administration has entrenched American politics in an ideological alliance with the South African Nationalists not only in the policy of "Constructive Engagement", but also through proposed and enacted internal and external security laws and attacks on the U.S. Bill of Rights.

According to the N.Y. 8+ Legal Defense Committee and the Center for Constitutional Rights: bill: H.R. 5613/S.2626, issued but not passed by the Reagan administration in '84, would make it a crime for any U.S. citizen to provide support services to any country, group, or faction arbitrarily designated by the Secretary of State as "Terrorist": support services include propaganda, lobbying, education services and funding, all of which are actions protected under the First Amendment; the bill further prohibits

anyone charged under it from arguing that any organization or government listed by the Secretary had been wrongly included and would punish them with up to 10 years imprisonment and fines of up to \$10,000.

Continuing, Executive Order #12333, issued December 1981, authorized the infiltration, manipulation, and destruction of political organizations in the U.S. by both the FBI and the CIA and the use of electronic surveillance without judicial control so long as the pretext is international intelligence. Finally, National Security Directive 138, signed into law in '84 without congressional approval, gives the FBI and the CIA the right to create paramilitary squads for anti-terrorist operations and a total of 26 federal agencies the right to develop counter-terrorist plans including both retaliatory and "pre-emptive" attacks on alleged terrorists. Such forces and tactics had been used to arrest N.Y. 8+ Grand Jury resisters and Columbia and Barnard Alums, Roger Wareham and Collette Pean who have been held without right to bail intermittently since their initial arrests in '84 for conspiracy charges.

Similarly repressive, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese condemned the incorporation theory of the 14th Amendment as abusive to state rights and asserted that any state could, regardless of the Bill of Rights: close down newspapers that criticized public officials, establish a state religion, and require defendants in criminal cases to testify against themselves, in an address to the National Bar Association reported in the New York Times by Anthony Lewis, Sept. 30, 1985.

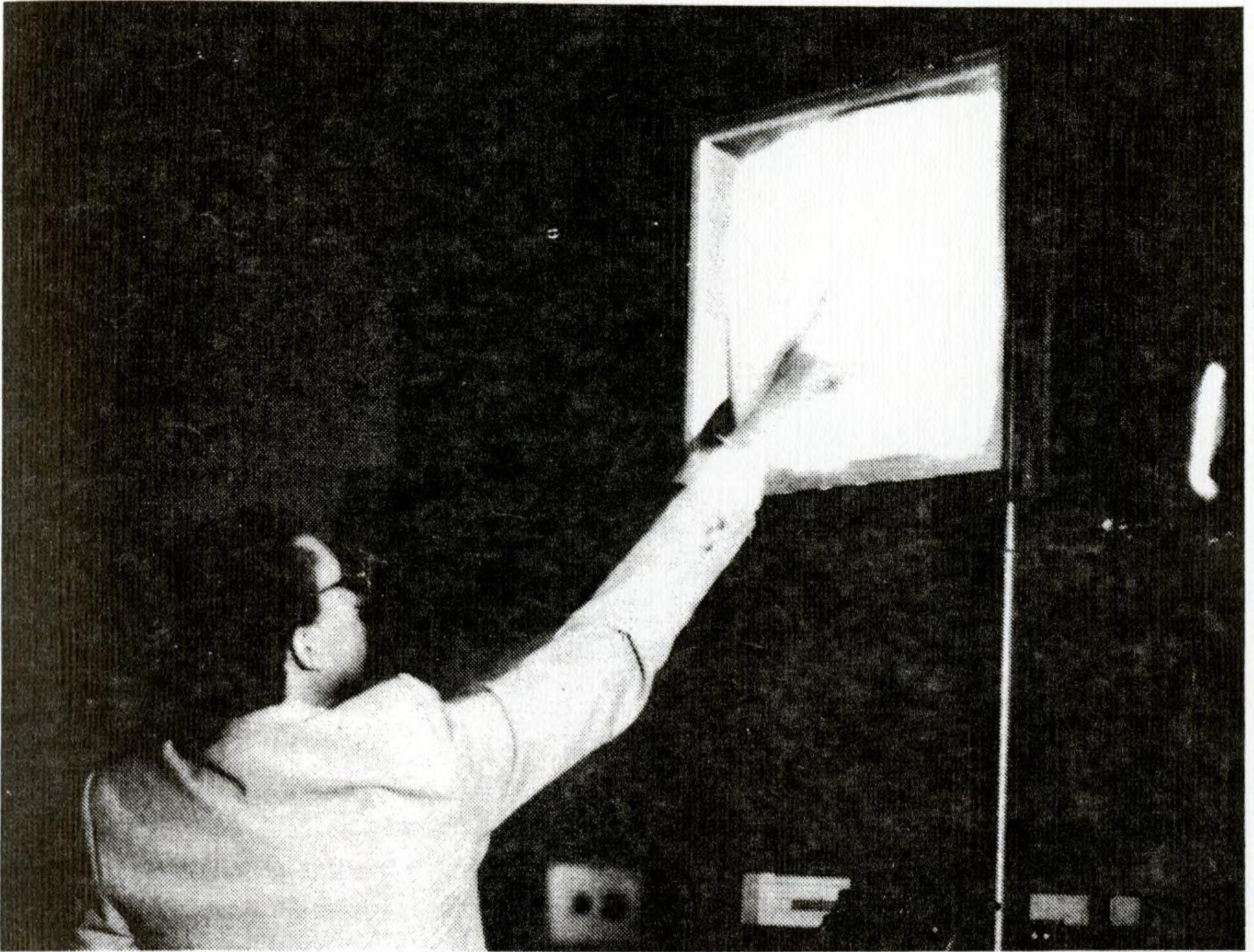
What causes the hypocrisy of flag waving and preaching about the freedoms of democracy while underhandedly subverting democracy through repressive legislation and attempts at centralizing power in a totalitarian provincial federation of states? President Reagan has continued to mislead the American people by referring to the Republic of South Africa as an ally that had fought for the Allied interests in WWII.

Any accurate representation of his-

tory will prove that the Afrikaner Nationalist Party that engendered the Apartheid system and redefined the Union of South Africa to the Republic in 1961 was elected into power in 1948. In fact, members of the present South African Parliament, including the Prime Minister, were imprisoned during WWII for rebelliously protesting the Union's involvement in the War on the side of the Allied forces and against those of Adolph Hitler: Think about it!

*by Mark Lewis*

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**A General Studies Administrator attempts to identify anti-apartheid demonstrators from videotapes made by Columbia Security. The University submitted the tapes as evidence during disciplinary hearings held earlier this summer.**

**BLACK HEIGHTS, copyright 1985**