

Fast to protest S. Africa policy

COT
11/3/86

By ROBERT S. CORRINGTON

For the second time, members of the Penn State community have decided to make their abhorrence of apartheid known in the form of a public fast. Since the first fast in March, many more universities have divested their holdings in those corporations which continue to provide economic comfort to the racist regime in South Africa. We have seen our own government adopt punitive economic sanctions in spite of a presidential veto. We have seen a growing number of U.S. corporations make their exit from this divided land. And we have heard the pleas of most of the black leaders within South Africa urging us to divest our holdings while there is still a chance for peaceful change. But our trustees and administrators are still unmoved.

Archbishop Tutu and others have told us repeatedly that blacks in South Africa are willing to undergo short term hardships in order to obtain their liberation. They have asked us in unambiguous terms to take away the financial props from a government that has no compunction about murdering innocent children. Why then do we not listen? The answer, I believe, stems from a lingering form of white paternalism which insists that it knows what is best for the disfranchised in South Africa. A paternalism which assures us that it is appropriate to train a few South Africans for the post-apartheid reality while ignoring the economic conditions that make apartheid so desirable to the ruling class. A paternalism that ignores the legitimate voting bodies within the Penn State community that have demanded divestment. And, finally, a paternalism that assures us that the business of the university is business and not moral and social education.

I am persuaded that the only way to overcome paternalism is through some form of personal and

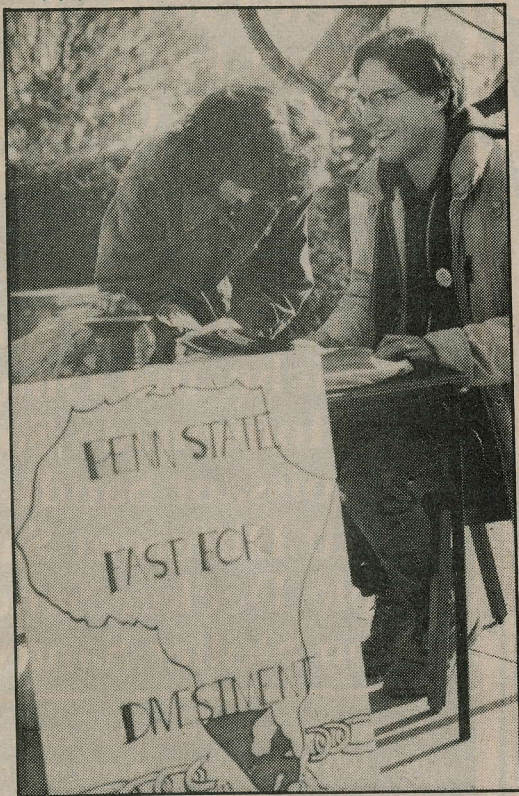
GUEST COLUMN

institutional sacrifice. But here we should be cautious. No one of us can claim to be free from those racist feelings which have so marred cultural evolution. No matter how much we may champion the cause of liberation, we must be alert to those forces within us which bind us to the oppressors. Consequently, the value of an act such as fasting becomes clearer. Insofar as we are willing to undergo personal physical hardship, no matter how brief in intensity or duration, we become exposed to dimensions within ourselves which crave power and security more than justice. Once we have been into this abyss we can find the strength to live in insecurity and to fight against all forms of injustice whether here or elsewhere. Only then do we have the moral authority to criticize others.

The necessity for sacrifice is forcefully stated by Mahatma Gandhi, "If a government does a grave injustice, the subject must withdraw cooperation wholly or partially, sufficient to wean the ruler from wickedness. In each case conceived by me there is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering it is not possible to attain freedom."

Suffering is redemptive whenever it allows us to understand the pain of those who do not live as comfortably as we do. It would be a mockery, of course, to compare the momentary suffering of a fast to the brutal living conditions created by apartheid. Yet it is through efforts such as these that we begin to find our way toward the justice that is desired by us all. Consequently our struggle is not only about divestment, but about the future direction of our university

The author is an assistant professor of philosophy at Penn State.



CDT photo / Steve Coon

PROTEST: PSU student Marie Miklos signs up for three days of fasting to draw attention to the plight of blacks in South Africa. Organizer Todd May, a graduate student, will fast through Friday. May and Robert Corrington, a professor of philosophy, will be on the steps of Old Main daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

CDT 11/7/86



CDT photo / Steve Coon

FAST FOR FREEDOM: More than 90 university and community people are fasting for between one to three days to protest apartheid in South Africa and urge Penn State to stop investing in companies that do business there. Fasters are manning a table in front of Old Main to

publicize their actions. From left are: Todd Wolff, who had been fasting for two days as of yesterday; Panos Alexakos, one day; Todd May, five days; Angella Ting, one day; Kathy Byrnes, two days; Robert Corrington, five days, and Al Werner, three days.

Hunger strike

Campus fast enlists 90 opposed to apartheid

By CHRISTINE ERB
Times Staff Writer

Now in its sixth day, a fast protesting apartheid in South Africa has drawn more than 90 people from the community and from students and faculty at Penn State.

The fast began Sunday.

Five people are fasting for seven days each, said Robert Corrington, an assistant professor of philosophy who led a three-day fast in the spring.

An additional 90 people have agreed to fast for anywhere from one to three days, he said.

The fasters are trying to convince Penn State to stop investing in companies that do business in South Africa. The university currently has about \$8.7 million in investments.

"I think the fact that we're willing to fast for seven days indicates our seriousness of intent, and that we're not going to go away until the university changes its policies," Corrington said.

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— Robert Corrington

Last spring 65 Penn State faculty and staff members fasted for one to three days in support of divestment.

"The support's been very gratifying. We haven't had the arguments we had the last time, except one person who came up and said Bishop (Desmond) Tutu is a Communist. We said Tutu is a Christian, one of the greatest Christians alive."

One of the people who signed up to fast for one to three days was a 12-year-old boy from State College, who said he'd read about it in the newspaper and wanted to participate, Corrington said.

The fasters are maintaining a table on the plaza in front of Old Main, the administrative building on campus. They and other protesters plan a rally for this afternoon at Old Main, moving to Kern Building where the university trustees are holding a bi-monthly meeting.

Corrington said the fasters consume nothing but water and juice.

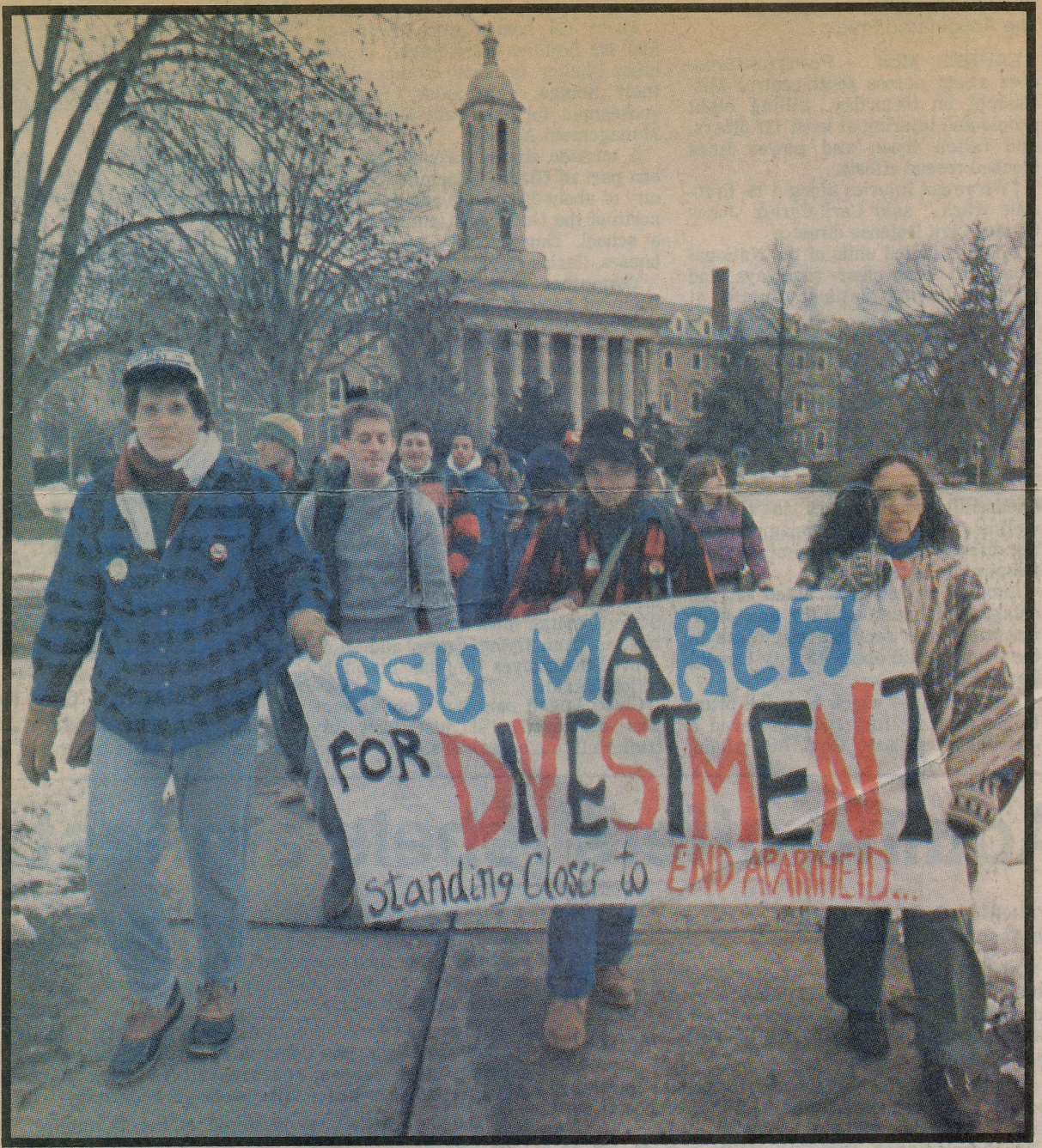
"It's been quite exhausting. I think I hit bottom this morning," he said yesterday. "I could hardly move."

"You find yourself not thinking as clearly as you did. But you're a lot clearer as to why you're doing this."

"It's a way for moral transformation. It changes your consciousness, sometimes permanently."

CPT
11/7/86

Divestment march 3/1/87 CDT



CDT photo / Pat Little

PROTEST MARCH: Penn State students and supporters started a six-day march to the state capitol in Harrisburg yesterday in an effort to pressure the university to sell its South Africa holdings. Marchers also hope to get legislative support for divestment of all state funds from South Africa.

Students head for Harrisburg

By PHIL McDADE
Times Staff Writer

Twenty-six Penn State students and their supporters set off yesterday on a six-day march to the state capitol in Harrisburg in an effort to pressure the university to sell its stock holdings linked to South Africa.

"This is not a power play," said Robert Corrington, a Penn State philosophy professor. "It's an appeal to people's conscience."

Organizers said the march is to call attention to Penn State's South Africa holdings and garner legislative support for divestment of all state funds from South Africa.

Penn State officials in January said the university

holds shares valued at \$5.8 million in 22 companies with operations in South Africa.

March organizers said those holdings support the country's system of racial separation known as apartheid.

"It's the first time we've taken any part of the (divestment) movement outside the area," said Stephanie Cooper, a Penn State senior. Cooper heads the Committee for Justice in South Africa, a student organization that is sponsoring the march.

"We're trying to...bring statewide attention to the divestment issue. It's absolutely something we're very concerned about and this shows it," she said.

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March

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Todd May, one of the organizers for the march, said he was pleased with the number of participants. Most were Penn State students, but the group also included a few high school students, faculty members and area residents, he said.

"I'm real pleased. We're not talking about a march or a rally. We're talking about people giving up their spring vacations to march for six days," he said.

"I want to show my fellow students that there's more to Spring Break than indulging in your own pleasures," said Paul Sample, a Penn State junior.

He said he hopes the march convinces state lawmakers to support a set of bills introduced this year by Rep. David Richardson, D-Philadelphia. The bills call for divesting all state funds from South Africa, including those held by state-related universities like Penn State.

"I believe in divestment," added Monica Clark, a resident of Bellefonte. "I guess I don't believe (the march) will do a whole lot, but I hope it'll make people recognize that we care," she said.

The marchers gathered at 9 a.m. on the plaza of Old Main underneath gray skies and 41 degree temperatures. Most brought sleeping bags and backpacks, which were loaded in a van. The van drove the supplies to Belleville, where the marchers were scheduled to stay overnight.

Rev. Cecil Gray of the United Black Fellowship Church in State College read a benediction.

"All people would do well and are obligated while on earth to do justice, be merciful, and walk humbly in the presence of one another," he said.

The marchers planned to follow Route 26 south to McAlevys Fort, then head east to Belleville, according to May.

The walk from State College to Belleville is 25 miles, and May said the marchers planned to cover 17 miles yesterday by foot. They were scheduled to be given rides for the remaining eight miles, he said. Yesterday was the only day of the march that rides were planned, he said.

The march will cover 102 miles, averaging 15 to 16 miles a day, May said. About 23 of yesterday's marchers planned to walk the entire trip, while another 10 plan to join the march in progress, he said.

They are to arrive in Harrisburg Thursday afternoon and hold a press conference at the capitol at 3:30 p.m.

PSU trustees vote to divest

COT
9/19/87

By PHIL McDADE
Times Staff Writer

In a surprise move, Penn State's Board of Trustees yesterday voted to rid the university of investments linked to racially segregated South Africa.

The vote to divest, with only one dissenting vote, came after a dramatic statement by board Chairman Obie Snider during the board's finance committee meeting.

Snider, previously an opponent of divestment, said the issue has divided the board, and divestment would serve the greater interest of the university by uniting the board.

"It is time to put this divisive issue behind us . . . The debate on

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divestment has already taken too much of our time, energy and good will toward one another," he said in introducing the divestment resolution. It was quickly approved by

the committee and later in the morning by the full board.

Snider said he made his decision to call for divestment within the past several weeks.

Lawrence Foster, one of the board's most ardent supporters of Penn State's South African investments, was the only trustee to oppose the resolution.

"I do not believe that voting in favor of harmony for this board is a justifiable reason for compromising one's strong convictions on a major moral and social issue like South Africa," he said.

The board's action reversed a number of votes in the past decade to continue investments. It followed

"I do not wish to leave as my legacy to Penn State a divided board."

—Obie Snider



a spring and summer of increasing pressure on the university, and growing isolation of its position.

Gov. Robert P. Casey, who took office in January, had urged the university to divest. The state and other public universities have aban-

doned South African investments.

Moreover, the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia withdrew his influential support in June for continued investment in companies that fol-

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Current Penn State holdings in U.S. firms with operations in South Africa

COMPANY	MARKET VALUE
Borden Inc.	\$427,874
Dow Chemical Corp.....	700,237
FMC Corp.....	144,399
Johnson & Johnson Co.....	249,375
Merck & Co. Inc.....	1,287,562
Mobil Corp.	668,750
Monsanto Co.....	47,250
NCNB Corp.	32,700
Phelps Dodge Corp.....	301,012
RJR Nabisco Co.....	54,400
Smithkline Beckman Corp....	956,725
U.S.G. Corp.	405,000
Union Carbide Corp.....	505,312
Unisys Corp.	496,725
United Technologies Corp.....	46,100

\$6,323,421

Divest

Continued from page A-1

lowed his guidelines, the Sullivan Principles, designed to promote racial equality in the workplace.

Under the board's resolution, U.S. companies operating in South Africa in which the university has investments have until June 30, 1988, to withdraw from South Africa. If they do not, Penn State will sell those investments by Dec. 31, 1988.

Penn State currently holds stock valued at \$6.3 million in 15 companies with operations in South Africa.

Casey applauded the move.

"By its vote today, one of America's great universities is taking a stand on the side of freedom, tolerance, and equal opportunity for all," he said in a statement released by spokesman John Taylor.

The board's resolution, adopted on a voice vote, decides an issue that has occupied the trustees since 1978. At that time, the board voted to invest only in companies with operations in South Africa that signed the Sullivan Principles.

Since that time, the university's South African investments have been the focal point for numerous student protests, including the construction of mock South African shanties on campus last year.

University President Bryce Jordan, who had previously supported the university's South African investments and in January urged the board to maintain them, voted in favor of the divestment resolution.

"It is an issue that tested the board keenly, and I am encouraged that board members' dedication to Penn State has allowed them to move forward," he said at a news conference following the trustees meeting.

Trustee H. Jesse Arnelle, one of two blacks on Penn State's 32-member board and perhaps its leading supporter of divestment, praised the action.

"I'm delighted, of course. I think it's a sign of where this board was going to go," he said.

Student divestment supporters also praised the board's action.

"It's a great day in the history of Penn State and a testimony to what a persistent movement for justice can accomplish," said Todd May. A graduate student in philosophy, May helped organize a 25-student march from Penn State to Harrisburg in March that called for the university to divest.

Yesterday's vote came two months and one day after Snider and Jordan received a firm letter

from Casey, calling for Penn State to divest.

Casey administration officials and board leaders denied that political pressure was either intended or felt as a result of Casey's letter, delivered to the board in July by Helen Wise. Wise of Spring Mills is Casey's legislative secretary and a leading divestment supporter on the board.

"I have come to the conclusion that it is time for me to reverse my position and vote for total divestment," Snider told the finance committee. "... I do so not because my views on divestment have changed, nor because of any perceived political or other type of pressure."

But Arnelle said Casey's action was a factor in the decision to divest.

"You can't discount that as being helpful," he said.

Six months ago at the trustees March meeting in Hershey, the board rejected, 19-11, Arnelle's proposal to prohibit any new investments in businesses with operations in South Africa. At the time, the university had investments worth \$4.2 million in 14 South African-linked companies.

At the start of the meeting, Snider announced he had an item that was not on the agenda. He acknowledged the disagreement among board members on the divestment issue.

"This board of trustees has been united in its opposition to the repugnant system of apartheid in South Africa," he said. "However, there has been deep division over the means by which it should express its opposition."

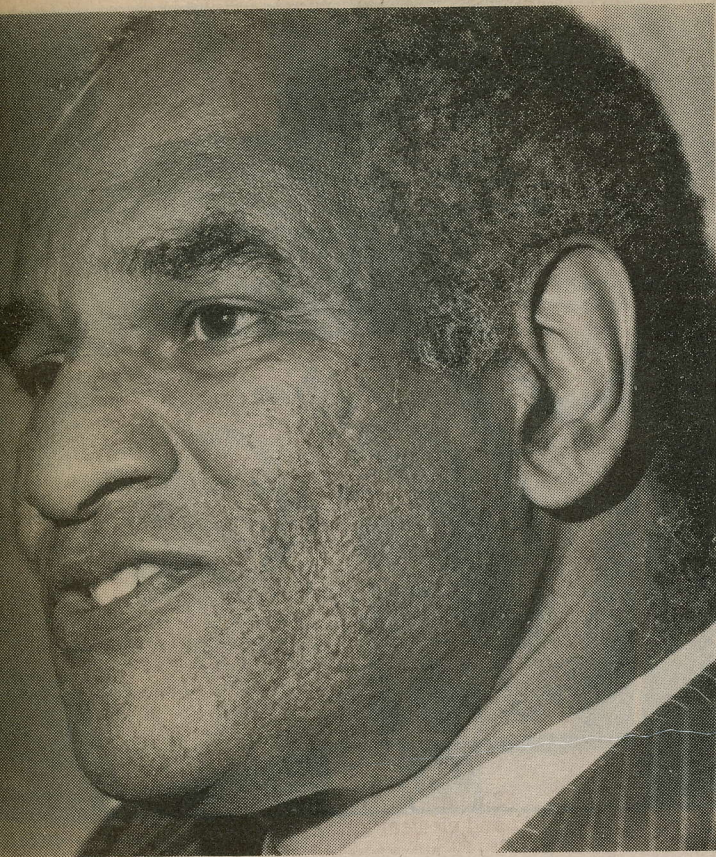
Snider will give up his chairman's position in January, and he said that played a part in his decision.

"I do not wish to leave as my legacy to Penn State a divided board," he said.

Foster argued that the board should not set policy out of concerns for its own harmony. Foster is corporate vice president for public relations for Johnson & Johnson Co. of New Jersey, which has operations in South Africa. Penn State owns stock in the company and will have to sell it under its divestment policy.

After the meeting, Foster said his support for the university's investments in South Africa is not linked to Johnson & Johnson's interests in the country.

"We make no profit there," he said. "We haven't for years."



CDT photo / Pat Little

PLEASED BY RESOLUTION: Trustee H. Jesse Arnelle praised Penn State's Board of Trustees decision to divest. "I'm delighted, of course. I think it's a sign of where this board was going to go."

Chronology of events

1978

Penn State trustees vote to urge companies in which they invest to sign the Sullivan Principles. They later sell \$600,000 in stock in companies that haven't.

April 24, 1985

The first of two spring rallies on the steps of Old Main draws nearly 300 people after the Committee for Justice in South Africa writes to trustees asking them to divest \$4.4 million invested in companies doing business in South Africa.

July 13, 1985

The trustees reaffirm the 1978 resolution and promise to look at the issue again in January after further study and a survey of student opinion. Eventually, five student and faculty groups pass resolutions favoring divestment.

Jan. 27, 1986

Fourteen black student groups form the Black Student Coalition Against Racism to fight for divestment and for an improved environment for blacks at Penn State.

March 10, 1986

Students build a shantytown next to Willard Building. The administration doesn't interfere, although police keep watch as counter-protesters, carrying posters threatening to tear down the shanties, appear.

March 24, 1986

Sixty-five faculty begin a week-long fast to protest investments.

April 21, 1986

Penn State announces a five-part program to fight apartheid including divesting, by December 1987, of holdings in companies not making progress toward equality for blacks in South Africa.

Sept. 12, 1986

Two hundred turn out for divestment rally in front of Old Main.

Jan. 18, 1987

PSU divests of three companies because they were not actively promoting equality in South Africa, but maintains holdings in 22 others.

March 14, 1987

PSU board passes, by 19-11 margin, a resolution prohibiting any new investments in South Africa.

July 17, 1987

Gov. Casey sends a letter to university trustees urging them to divest.

Sept. 18, 1987

PSU divests of \$6.3 million in 15 companies with operations in South Africa.

Divestment is becoming a reality. Now what?

During the recent campaign to persuade Penn State to divest itself of its holdings in corporations practicing in consort with the racist regime of South Africa, a number of parallel concerns emerged. A sort of underground debate developed concerning the role of large institutions in working toward a fully democratic international order.



Robert S.
Corrington

On one side, a number of persons argued that moral transformation was the responsibility of individuals alone and that institutions, especially educational institutions, could not advocate a particular social or political perspective. On another side, some argued that only governmental bodies could put pressure on other nation to improve the life of their citizens.

On yet another side, some argued that all institutions, especially in light of their enhanced power and wealth, were under an obligation to promote universal justice.

Clearly, the various groups struggling for divestment embraced the third alternative. Now that divestment is becoming a reality, it is even more important to explore the inner logic and meaning of these views and to find some reasonable framework within which to transform the mission and role of Penn State.

Central to the divestment movement was the commitment to non-violent social change as envisioned by Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Both reformers insisted that no campaign was viable that violated the unconditional worth of the

opponent. Further, the long-term success of any democratization process could only be insured when all parties understood and participated in the pain and humiliation of the disenfranchised.

The tactic of fasting was chosen during the campaign because of its power to transform an imperial state of mind into one that lives in and through the absolute imperative of justice. For those of us who happen to be white, this inversion of our inherited racial arrogance has become a necessary moment, always to be repeated, in personal and social transformation.

The genius of traditional liberalism, in spite of a dangerous tendency toward paternalism, is its ability to sustain a vision of justice against the twin forces of greed and ideology.

Yet, such liberalism often fails to expose itself to those demonic forces that govern and devastate the lives of millions. Ghandi's more radical vision of *satyagraha*, perhaps best translated as "truth-force," speaks from a dimension of experience that supports and empowers the more traditional liberal values of freedom and dignity.

Without such empowerment, no social movement can bring about the transformation desired. I am persuaded that the divestment movement on this campus won its victory because of its complete commitment to these values. By the same token, the tactic of *satyagraha* must now taken on new life and meaning in the post-divestment life of Penn State.

In particular, we are compelled to ask this question: what must an institution like Penn State do to contribute to the further emancipation of the disenfranchised of this world? In answering this question we must, of course, be sensitive to the oft-repeated charge that such actions compromise the mission of the university and politicize a structure that is held to owe its health and continued well being to its freedom from ideological bias.

In response to this one can obviously point

"Are our values consistent with the movement of "truth-force" or bound to self-encapsulated and self-interested structures?"

to the deeply entrenched political and economic interests of any institution. Insofar as an institution is embedded in larger social and economic orders, it will receive part of its meaning and validation from those orders.

Clearly, Penn State is no exception. Consequently, the debate cannot progress if we assume that Penn State has somehow managed to detach itself from specific value commitments. The deepening relation between our university and the surrounding business communities should provide forceful evidence against such a naive view.

If it is clear that any institutions will have embedded values and social preferences, then it follows that the constant analysis and query into those values is an absolute obligation. Are our values consistent with the forward movement of "truth-force" or are they bound to self-encapsulated and self-interested structures?

Can the values of our institution confront and challenge those anti-democratic forces that govern most social orders? If not, how can we change those values so that they will converge toward the ultimate demand for radical justice?

During the divestment campaign the opposition between the two sides was fairly clear and distinct. Consequently, merely dualistic thinking sufficed to guide those desiring a change in Penn State policy. The situation has now become far more complex. Where do the energies of "truth-force" go once the specific victory has been won? How does one struggle for institutional and personal change when it is less clear what that change should be?

The answer to these questions begins to emerge when we realize that, as members of

institutions, we are all part of the structures of oppression that function to hold back the emancipatory forces of history. No matter how much we may be consciously committed to the democratic vision, we are still unconsciously embedded in vast and powerful structures that threaten the operation of "truth-force." Let me conclude with several specific suggestions.

First, I think we must recognize that the concept of sacrifice has become central to our understanding of institutions. By this I mean that we must always be sensitive to the correlation between our own triumphalist claims and the needs and aspirations of those who might suffer from the realization of these claims. Put more forcefully, who pays for our success?

Second, while it has been easy to look upon the government of South Africa as an obvious source of evil, it is much harder to come to grips with the forms of apartheid in our own midst.

If *satyagraha* is to prevail at all, we must be willing to face our own racist attitudes. It should be obvious that no one is exempt from this task. Part of any "truth-force" campaign is the continual education of the oppressed and their oppressors.

Finally, I think that we need to be open to the positive emancipatory forces in our own midst. The divestment movement has made us much more sensitive to the possibilities for change within this institution. This has opened up the possibility of hope for further transformations. For me, this is the most important legacy of the divestment movement.

Robert S. Corrington is an assistant professor of philosophy.

A higher theology — that of refusal

In recent years a great deal of attention has been given to the revival of certain forms of politically oriented religion in our culture. These movements have attempted to correlate the claims of the American empire with the older claims of the Judeo-Christian heritage.

In particular, these exponents of militant religion have argued that their God has promised them jurisdiction over an empire that will encompass all the kingdoms of this world. Ignoring the New Testament injunction against an idolatry of worldly powers, these self-appointed purveyors of empire have tragically absorbed the liberating power of religion in a vision that is as demonic as it is fundamentally undemocratic.



Robert B.
Corrington

In claiming that the march of God through history is manifest in the aspirations of the American Empire, the new theocrats have violated the fundamental message of the religion they claim to embody and represent. Contrary to the claims of empire are the deeper and more compelling claims of the Kingdom of Justice.

The key to this Kingdom cannot be found in the self-validating expansion of a religion that swallows up genuine prophetic protest. It can only be found in the much quieter and more reticent movement of faith that points toward a Kingdom that is not a product of worldly powers. The Kingdom of Justice has no traits in common with the aspirations of any nation state or racial group.

In a striking sense, the Kingdom of Justice actively overturns all of our attempts to fill it with worldly content.

More importantly, the Kingdom of Justice lives as a promise within all social and personal aspirations. It announces itself whenever autonomy and dignity are threatened by corrupt powers. It announces itself whenever a religion turns its back on its prophetic roots and attempts to suppress genuine doubt and inquiry. It an-

nounces itself whenever persons are broken by the forces that govern empires. And it announces itself whenever all hope seems to be shattered in the relentless movemet of history.

Such a Kingdom can no more be the self-expression of a worldly power than the tool of a given group with its own private revelation. It lives as the hope that overcomes even the most pervasive suffering.

Allan Boesak, the South African theologian, argues that there are two fundamental theologies operative in his society. The first is a theology that accepts and attempts to justify the status quo of white power and domination. Such a theology rewrites history in such a way as to make the bitter oppression of non-whites seem a part of God's plan.

Such a theology is demonic and corrupt to its core. But contrasted to this is a higher theology — a theology of refusal. It is a theology that refuses to accept oppression and violence.

In the words of Boesak, "... a theology that refused to accept that God was just another word for the status quo; a theology that understood that the God of the Bible is a God who takes sides with the oppressed and who calls persons to participate in the struggle for liberation and justice in the world."

The forces working against justice and liberation in this world use the language of religion to give the illusion that they are working toward the Kingdom of Justice. Such pseudo-theologies make the tragic mistake of forgetting the fundamental distinction between the sacrifice of the cross and the delusions of glory.

"The key to this Kingdom cannot be found in the self-validating expansion of a religion that swallows up genuine prophetic protest."

In the early 1500s Martin Luther pointed out that the world of the cross and the world of glory were radically distinct. He stated, "A theologian of glory calls evil good and good evil. A theologian of the cross calls the thing what it actually is."

These words reinforce Allan Boesak's distinction between the theology of the status quo and the theology of refusal. The theology of glory calls the evils of empire and the delusions of nationalism the true goods of life whereas the theologian of the cross knows that such claims are to be firmly rejected in the face of that Kingdom which can never be part of the worldly powers.

The symbol of the cross reminds us that God does side with the poor, the hungry, the oppressed, and the cursed, and not with the self-anointed builders of empire.

How does one work for the Kingdom of Justice if it is so elusive and so unlike the powers of oppression that threaten to engulf it? Is it enough to simply give voice to a prophetic "NO" against all the claims of the status quo? What is the positive content of the realm that is opened out on the other side of glory?

We have some sense of the Kingdom of Justice when we experience an empowerment that moves us through and past the powers that threaten to destroy our hunger for a justice that is greater than that known in the political kingdoms of this world. We find this empowerment in those moments in which the liberating power of hope breaks free from the darkness and closure of our world.

We find this empowerment when we face into the crucifixions in our own life and through this dying experience a New Being that lies beyond death. In the words of Paul Tillich, "Resurrection is not an event that might happen in some remote future, but it is the power of the New Being to create life out of death, here and now, today and tomorrow."

This new life can only be found within the Kingdom of Justice that lies beyond the living death of the status quo. This new life can only be found on the other side of the theology of glory that places the claims of empire before those of the cross.

And, finally, this new life can only be found in that prophetic courage that refuses to let the liberating power of religion become the tool of the oppressors.

Robert Corrington is an assistant professor of philosophy at the University and is a guest columnist for The Daily Collegian.

3/19/89

The recent student occupation of the Telecommunications Building has served to crystallize several key issues currently under debate at Penn State.

In a measured yet forceful use of non-violent civil disobedience, these students have made it possible for the rest of us to sharpen and focus our understanding of the anti-democratic forces in our midst. In a climate in which communication has broken down it is a fitting symbol that the Telecommunications Building was chosen as the site for the protest.

That civil disobedience was necessary should be obvious to anyone with the patience to analyze the current environment at Penn State. While it would be presumptuous of me to speak for the students concerned, it is possible to explore issues that are highlighted by their action. I wish to take as my point of departure a quote from the philosopher John Dewey.

In *The Public and Its Problems* of 1927, Dewey states, "There is a social pathology which works powerfully against effective inquiry into social institutions and conditions. It manifests itself in a thousand ways: in querulousness, in impotent drifting, in uneasy snatching at distractions, in idealization of the long established, in a facile optimism assumed as a cloak, in riotous glorification of things 'as they are,' in intimidation of all dissenters — ways which depress and dissipate thought all the more effectually because they operate with subtle and unconscious pervasiveness."

Dewey analyzed this social pathology within the context of his conception of radical democracy and the emancipatory forces of genuine social inquiry. In what follows, I hope to show the aptness of his formulation.

The reconstruction of institutions is a long and arduous process involving acts of creative intelligence and the courage to criticize those ideological and class-biased forces that work against democratization. In an institu-

tion such as Penn State, this task assumes a high degree of urgency because of the unique charter and mission of a university.

If, as some in recent years have argued, a university is primarily a locus for business and entrepreneurial interests, then the idea of democratic reconstruction becomes severely damaged. The triumph of the managerial model over the older and more appropriate collegiate model reduces genuine reform to a paternalistic granting of special rights and privileges.

This in turn creates a caste system that undermines the deeper egalitarian impulses of education.



Robert S.
Corrington

All of this is not to deflect from the issue of racism that has come to the fore in recent months. The peculiar social pathology of the contemporary American university reflects a deeper pathology within society as a whole. Clearly, Penn State is not alone in being forced to come to grips with the breakdown in race relations.

I am increasingly persuaded that the rise in racism, both in its underground form as manifest in the peculiar sickness of white supremacists groups, and in its public and more "polite" form which speaks of reverse discrimination and the decline in 'standards,' stems from a basic failure to take the demands of democratization seriously.

The managerial model, which grants power from above, develops its own relentless logic

"Penn State is not alone in being forced to come to grips with the breakdown in race relations."

when it insists that all reform and all empowerment pass through its criteria and its processes of selection.

The student occupation of the Telecommunications Building reversed this process by demanding, quite rightly, that the movement of emancipation come from the bottom and move toward the center of power. True democratization is never the result of the gifts and graces handed down from above but emerges in the light of creative confrontation in which the disenfranchised grasp and secure that which should have belonged to them all along.

Without a doubt, this process is painful to all concerned. But the pain generated is of a different quality than that often endured in silence and submission. It is the kind of pain that can free all sides from an unwillingness to confront the forces of estrangement.

Democratic reconstruction entails an endless process of social inquiry in which antecedent structures and powers are tested against future goals and needs. In the current social climate of personal greed and race supremacy, perhaps based on an underlying insecurity about the economic forces that sustain us, it is easy for many to dismiss the ideals of democratic reconstruction on the grounds that they are symbols of an outmoded and bankrupt liberalism.

As a consequence, issues such as racism become reduced to matters of personal attitude and social preference. What this strategy fails to recognize is that institutions, more than individuals, support and sustain racism by remaining insensitive to the emancipatory

forces that are simmering just below the seemingly quiet surface of the status quo.

Civil disobedience breaks through this stagnant and barren structure and elevates the debate beyond its previous highly grooved and predictable channels.

This renders the "prepared statement" obsolete as a tool of social control and prepares the way for a genuine reciprocity that can have no preordained outcome.

It is important to remember that the issues of racism and the deepening economic cast system are issues that confront most, if not all, social orders. Our experiences here at Penn State are analogous to those elsewhere. We do, however, have a distinct advantage over non-university structures.

Within our past history lie models of social reconstruction and reform that can be resurrected even in the age of the "business university." I firmly believe that universities are the most important centers of democratic reconstruction in this country. This imposes its own burden on us but also gives us some specific clues as to the goals and aspirations that we wish to give to the culture as a whole.

The concept of democracy entails that of an egalitarian social order in which class, gender, sexual preference, and race distinctions are never used to thwart the advance of universal justice. Instead of getting our social model from the business world we should be exporting our older and more profound collegial model to those corporations that hope to benefit from our resources.

If economic privilege and racism go together, then it follows that we must work tirelessly to undermine both forces here in our own institution. By the same token, we must remember that our successes will provide the inspiration for such reform beyond our walls.

Robert S. Corrington is an assistant professor of philosophy at Penn State and is a guest columnist for The Daily Collegian.

Tutu Packs Penn State, Delivers Emotional Plea

By Angela Rogers

Archbishop Desmond Tutu came to Penn State Saturday, attracting thousands who heard his familiar, yet still emotional plea that sanctions are necessary to help free black South Africans from apartheid.

"I speak on behalf of millions when I say to you, thank you . . . for your tremendous support of our struggle for a new South Africa . . . Thank you for SHARE . . . I salute you for your divestment policy," the Archbishop told thousands at Penn State University Eisenhower Auditorium last Saturday. He said he came to Penn State "because they're friends." Some University officials say they think he would not have come had Penn State not divested its holdings in South African companies in 1987.

The SHARE program was created in 1985 to promote academic exchange between the University and black, colored and Indian South Africans, in response to growing demand from groups on campus for the University to divest its holdings in companies in South Africa. But at the time divestment was not viewed as a method for dealing with apartheid.

The Archbishop helped Penn State create SHARE. He said that at that time he did not say the first thing that came to mind regarding the Universities reluctance to divest, but hoped it would change.

SHARE is an acronym for Scholarship, Help, Academic exchange, Review of equity holdings and Education. Since its implementation, SHARE has supported 16 South African students, six of whom have finished their degrees and returned home and five Faculty Fellows who visited for a semester long collaboration with Penn State faculty and Staff, according to the University. It is the only program of its kind.

The program was criticized by some groups on campus as far short of the divestment felt by so many to be the only moral choice for an institution of higher learning. The University did divest its \$6.3 million investments in companies in South Africa on December 31, 1988.

Committee for Justice in South Africa and the Black Student Coalition Against Racism built a shantytown in front of Willard Building on campus to symbolize the conditions under which blacks in South Africa had to live and to protest the University's refusal to divest. The CJSA held numerous rallies and all-night "Teach-ins" until the University agreed to divest its South African stocks.

Penn State was slow to divest compared to other institutions but divestment was a turning point in realizing the racial problems here, Robert Corrington, a philosophy professor who also participated in the fast, said.

Racial problems came to a head in 1988 when the students encircled Old Main causing administrators to lock its doors. The students demanded a meeting with top administration officials. A meeting was promised but later canceled.

Nearly a week later, on Monday April 11, 88 students were arrested for holding a sit-in at the Telecommunications Build-

ing to protest the cancellation. Later all were cleared of all criminal charges.

On April 19, 1988 administration officials held an unprecedented meeting with students who called themselves Concerned African Americans at Penn State. They demanded increased black faculty and staff, a vice president of cultural affairs, better black student retention and an improved atmosphere for black students.

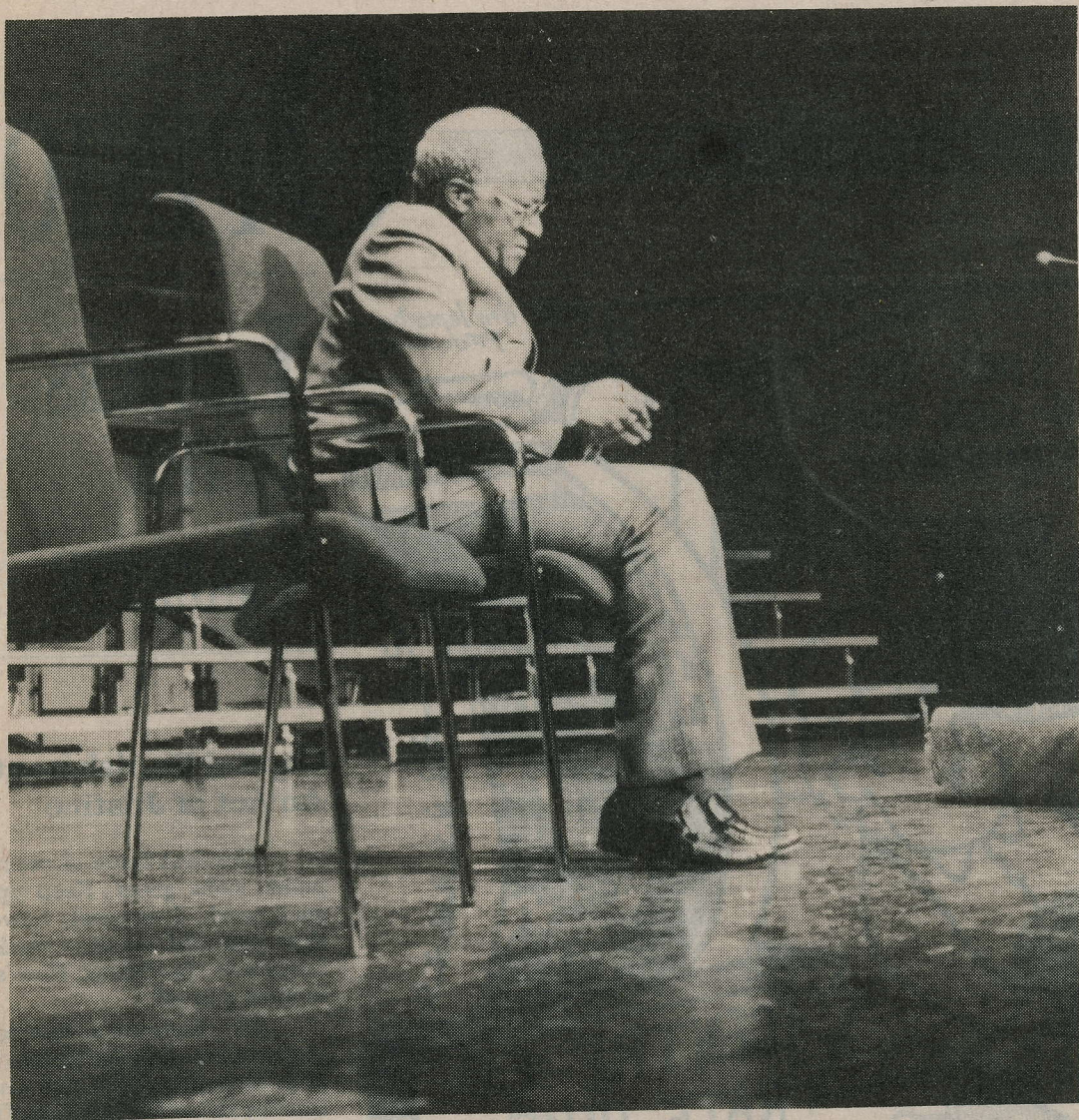
Other events such the occasional appearance of racist graffiti and leaflets and declining black freshman enrollment plagued the University.

Harold Hein, the 1984 Alumnus who made Archbishop Tutu's visit possible said he believed the University has been getting better and made some progress in its atmosphere for black students. "I believe Bryce Jordan led a campaign in the right direction. Bryce Jordan is very sympathetic to blacks and has made every effort to improve the environment for minorities."

The companies in Penn State's stock portfolio at that time were: Borden, Inc.; Dow Chemical Corp.; FMC Corp.; Johnson & Johnson; Merck & Co., Inc.; Mobil corp.; Monsanto Co.; NCNB Corp.; Phelps Dodge Corp.; RJR Nabisco Co.; Smithkline Beckman Corp.; Union Carbide Corp.; Unisys Corp.; United Technologies Corp.; and U.S.G. Corp.

"Black students felt it seemed like a contradiction for the University to say it was interested in having them come here and feel comfortable yet support companies doing business in South Africa," Ray McCoy, a professor of labor studies and former Coordinator of the Office of Minority Programs in the College of Liberal Arts. He and other faculty members participated in a week-long fast in March 1986 to show their support for divestment.

Also during Spring 1986, The



Gazette Photo by Amos Dague

Tutu at a quiet moment at Saturday's event

READER OPINION

Kudos to prof

After attending the Pennsylvania State University for more than three years, I know too few professors who command from me the respect that Dr. Robert S. Corrington does. Students of Dr. Corrington have given him the highest of accolades for his teaching in the philosophy department.

A professor must have the ability to inspire thought. A professor must be knowledgeable. A professor must be a fair-minded person.

Dr. Corrington is a professor in the truly classical sense. It is a great loss to his students to have to say farewell.

I speak on behalf of many people in expressing my gratitude to Dr. Corrington for sharing with students his ideas, his rhetoric, his dogma, his reflections. His efforts are commended and highly respected.

Molly Pruner
senior-philosophy, chemistry

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