

## **New Dimensions**

### The Rt. Rev. Desmond Tutu

General Secretary, South Africa Council of Churches

Anglican bishop, prophet for social justice, international spokesman for peace, a man of God.

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# Faculty urged to fast

By CHRISTINE ERB CDT Times Staff Writer 2/25/86

Penn State faculty members will hold a week-long fast on the steps of Old Main next month to show support for students protesting

apartheid in South Africa.

"This is a faculty-staff initiative," said organizer Robert Corrington, an assistant professor of philosophy. "We want the students to know that we too are involved, and reinforce the efforts they'll put forth in March."

A coalition of 14 black student groups and one interracial group is protesting Penn State's investments in companies that have operations in South Africa. In protest, the black students are refusing to help recruit more blacks or to attend university programs involving such companies.

But Corrington said his group's main goal is not to change the university's mind about its invest-

ments.

"Bearing witness is important in itself, and helping the students. The symbolic gesture is the best thing."

The public fast will being on March 24, and run for one week. Participants will agree to fast from one to three days, and will spend part of that time in front of Old Main in a public fast, he said. The

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#### Fast-

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amount of time spent there will depend on individuals' schedules.

There probably will be signs or some other way of letting people know what the faculty members are doing, he said.

Corrington is coordinating the event with Leola Johnson, a member of the journalism faculty,

he said.

Faculty members interested in participating can contact either of them.

"Some people are concerned about grants and tenure," Corrington said. "But you can't go through life being afraid of things like that. I'm not tenured either."

Corrington said the idea of fasting for a principle is not new to

him.

"I've been doing this for two years in my classes, having students fast for one to two days. Two of them were involved with problems of hunger, to sensitize them to the issue, and one other had to do with South Africa.

"This particular one was inspired by Bishop (Desmond) Tutu," a black South African leader in the fight against apartheid, Corrington said. He said he met Tutu last year, and "he convinced me that, if I'm going to take Christianity seriously, I have to take a stand like this."

## reader opinion

#### Faculty fast

We commend the University for its recent decision to implement its SHARE program as a means to help alleviate the injustices in South Africa. However, we feel that this plan does not go nearly far enough toward addressing the issue of apartheid.

Therefore, next week, a number of faculty and staff personnel will take part in a week long fast both to heighten awareness about apartheid in South Africa and to show the seriousness of intent behind the Faculty Senate's vote for divestment.

This interracial fast will have representatives from virtually all of the colleges of the University. Each individual has been asked to fast privately for from one to four days and to spend part of that time standing with others on the steps of Old Main.

The function of the fast is twofold. Of prime concern is the dramatization of the physical and political hunger experienced by 24 million black South Africans as they stuggle toward liberation. Second, and no less important, the fast will serve to remind us of the lingering vestiges of apartheid within our own community.

For those who might be inclined to doubt the relevance of the first concern for individuals living here in central Pennsylvania, the import of the second should be obvious. The physical deprivation of fasting, however trivial compared to the realities of life in South Africa, will serve to bridge the abyss between our world and their's.

In recent weeks, Bishop Desmond Tutu and others have called for economic sanctions against South Africa which would go beyond mere divestment of stocks in particular corporations. Organizations like Amnesty International have warned that the recent lifting of the state of emergency will have little practical effect on the lives of those living under the brutal conditions of apartheid.

Daily we read about more atrocities committed by the security police against Blacks. As the political situation worsens, it becomes increasingly clear that we must marshal all of the economic power at our disposal in order to bring about a change of heart in the South African government. We therefore conclude that this University must divest its holdings in those corporations profiting from the conditions of apartheid.

While no one is assuming that

this action will bring an immediate about-face on part of the University Board of Trustees, we can assume that new light will be shed on the role of institutions in determining the ethical climate of both local and international communities.

It is a fundamental truth that institutions can be asked to carry the same ethical burden as individuals. We cannot give credence to the idea that moral reform is a function of private individuals alone. Rather, we must affirm that an organization like this University must be on the forefront of those social transformations which will secure justice.

Therefore, we invite you to join us next week in our public statement on the issue of divestment. By contacting either of the undersigned, you will be joined with those of your colleagues who wish to make a forceful statement about a growing injustice that demands a decision. Thank you.

Robert S. Corrington, department of philosophy Leola Johnson, department of journalism March 16

# Faculty fast aimed at

By ROBERT S. CORRINGTON

Throughout this week, faculty and staff of Penn State are fasting in front of the administration building to protest the board of trustees' decision not to divest from those corporations doing business in South Africa.

Individuals from virtually all of the colleges of the university are making this public statement to show the seriousness of intent behind the faculty senate's vote for divestment. Each person is fasting privately for from one to four days and spending part of that time in front of Old Main.

The tactic of fasting has been chosen because of its traditional role as a symbol of deprivation. The physical and political hunger of 24 million black South Africans can never be fully understood by those of us living in the United States. Yet the physical deprivation of fasting can, through analogy, help us toward greater awareness of the conditions of apartheid.

More importantly, a public fast can work to transform the moral climate of the community. As Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out, fasting is "not to extort rights, but to reform" those for whom one has regard. As a moral tactic, fasting is non-violent and non-confrontational.

In recent weeks we have seen an increase in racist literature in our own community. We believe that this is no accident. The studentand faculty-led actions for divestment have uncovered serious vestiges of racism in our own midst. Many of us have been deeply shocked by the posters which have sprung up on campus. This has

#### **GUEST EDITORIAL**

only served to deepen our commitment of justice both here and in South Africa.

It has long been an assumption of ethicists that institutions are not free from the burden of making moral decisions. Since institutions have greater power and wealth than individuals, it follows that they are under an even greater obligation to initiate moral reform. Those who argue that ethical considerations are purely individual and private simply condone institutional insensitivity to issues of national and international import. Therefore, it is important that we initiate dialogue on the issue of institutional investments and their impact on communities outside of our own.

## South Africa

It is often argued that continued investment in corporations practicing in South Africa provides moral leverage for the investor. The Sullivan code is held up as an important ameliorating force in the lives of blacks. Pro-divestment forces are accused of attempting to take away the last means of persuasion left to the Western economic powers. We believe that these arguments are fallacious. Unfortunately, the Sullivan code only impinges on the lives of less than 1 percent of the black work force. Black labor groups have made it clear that this code is only being used as a means to mask deeper and more intrinsic economic interests. The Rev. Sullivan himself has made it clear that his principles, "are not the solution to apartheid," and has issued a May 2 ultimatum to American corporations: "If apartheid is not abolished in

actuality, all foreign corporations should leave the country." (New Yorker, Oct. 7, 1985).

Permit me to conclude by quoting a few lines from a letter I received earlier this month. The writer is a "colored" South African educator from the Philadelphia area who recently fled his country because of its political oppression. He writes, "I am therefore writing to you, to commend you and your colleagues in the sacrificial stand you intend to take in a protest fast later this month and therefore wish all the hearts of my 24 million black brothers to join you in spirit to achieve the essential goal you are setting. I personally know that your cause and stand will achieve some results.'

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

## Faculty and staff 3/25/86 fast for divestment

**By NANCY FUNK** Collegian Staff Writer

University faculty and staff members began a week-long, liquid diet fast yesterday, taking shifts between teaching their classes to stand in front of Old Main in support of prodivestment student demonstrators and in protest of the University's business holdings in South African-related companies.

About 50 faculty members from colleges ranging from liberal arts to engineering went from classes and office hours to stand in shifts from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.

And staff members spent lunch hours in front of Old Main to make a symbolic statement about apartheid in a non-violent, non-confrontational way, said Robert Corrington, assistant professor of philosophy and co-organizer of the fast.

When asked if organizing the fast was difficult in light of his teaching responsibilities, Corrington said, "It would hurt my soul if I didn't do this."

The faculty members stood around a table spread with anti-apartheid literature and a large bottle of apple juice, while students walking by looked on with curiousity.

"The reaction to the fast has ranged from curious to indifferent to enthusiastic," Corrington said. "There has been no anger shown today."

The University administration has yet to respond to the fast, Corrington said, but he said he believes the fast will be tolerated by University officials.

University President Bryce Jordan said in a recent statement that the University community should be "understanding and tolerant as we all seek constructive alternatives for expressing together our strong repugnance to apartheid and racial discrimination."

Faculty members say they will fast throughout the week, and will refrain from eating for one to three days beginning today, and will spend a portion of their time in front of Old Main.

"I am fasting because I am against apartheid and I believe fasting is to act against it, whereas not to divest is to support it," said Richard Devon, assistant professor of engineering.

Don Smith, a graduate assistant in the department of speech communications, said he is participating in the fast because he supports divestment and the efforts of the Black Student Coalition Against Racism and the Committee for Justice in South Africa.

Smith said he will fast "for as long as I can."

A closer black community at the University is one of the positive changes resulting from these groups' protests, Smith said.

"The best universities in the country are characterized by their commitment to publicly debating critical human issues," Devon said. "Participating in the debate about apartheid means contributing to the intellectual and ethical vitality of the University community."

He added that the University divesting its \$6.1 million in South Africa would have a positive effect because it would be heard by the South African government and recognized as a sign of disapproval.

"Economic pressure works," he said. "It always works."



Standing in front of Old Main at the site of the PSU Faculty-Staff Fast for Divestment are, from left to right: Kwadwo Osseo-Asare, professor of material science; Ray McCoy (seated), coordinator of the Office of Minority Programs in the College of The Liberal Arts; Larry Young, director of the Paul Robeson Cultural Center; Robert Corrington, assistant professor of philosophy; and Peter Hagen, of the Office of Undergraduate Studies in Liberal Arts.

## Students' drive for divestment

As one of the organizers of the Penn State faculty/staff fast for divestment (March 24-30), I was intrigued by the Centre Daily Times May 6 editorial which appraised the student efforts made on behalf of the divestment drive at Penn State. While balanced in its analysis, the editorial drew conclusions which may not be warranted by the events which unfolded during the past academic year. In particular, I would like to challenge the view that, "Neither side has made a dent in the other's armor."

Leaving aside the rigidity of the metaphor "armor," it is clear that a great deal of creative interchange did occur on both sides of this issue. Along with many of my colleagues, I watched the students grow in their awareness of the critical importance of non-violence as the only viable method of social transformation. In this group, I include not only the students who manned the shantytown during all kinds of weather, but also the general student body which casts a shadow over all of us.

The student leadership proved to be of a high caliber in its use of a variety of non-violent confrontational tactics. The lack of an adequate response on the part of the administration of Penn State gave many of us pause for serious thought. But the frustrations generated by this seeming indifference never compelled the protesters to use means alien to the spirit of Gandhi,

Martin Luther King, Jr. and their followers.

The press coverage of the faculty/staff fast, while responsible and generally favorable, occasionally missed the deeper concern of the participants. More fundamental than the specific issue of divestment is the nature of institutions and their role in helping to determine a just social policy. Many of us are persuaded that no institution, especially a state university, can afford to remain indifferent during periods of social upheaval. The administration of Penn State has repeatedly voiced its commitment to this perspective. That this public commitment has become sharper and clearer in the past year is, I would argue, a direct result of student and faculty/staff actions. That this commitment does not go far enough for many of us is equally clear.

In months ahead, the issue of divestment and institutional morality will continue to concern the Penn State community. Disagreement is not incompatible with dialogue. Within the life of reason lies the demand for justice. At the very least, we can assume this as our point of convergence

ROBERT S. CORRINGTON State College

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

## PSU group to hold vigil for Soweto

By WINSLOW M. MASON JR. Collegian Staff Writer

6/16/86

On this day in 1976, a peaceful march of more than 15,000 black students in Soweto, South Africa, turned into a clash between marchers and police that escalated into a three-day revolt which left 700 to 1,000 people dead.

To commemorate the event, members of the local Committee for Justice in South Africa, Black Student Coalition Against Racism and faculty and community members yesterday planned to join South African Blacks, who have promised to defy the ban on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising, by staging a midnight vigil on the steps of Old Main.

Robert Corrington, who has been organizing the event for the last three or four weeks, said the vigil will continue through midnight tonight. He urged the State College community and Penn State students to join the ceremony:

"I think this may be the beginning of the defense for total civil war in South Africa," Corrington said.

The Soweto uprising dominated the county's news on Saturday and the South Africa Government has already imposed a state of emergency in hopes of avoiding any violence that may erupt.

Corrington said no more than four or five people at a time will be on the steps of Old Main, holding candles in silent prayer for Soweto, with different organizers making remarks throughout to help people understand the event.

Corrington said the vigil will be peaceful, and no leaflets will be passed out. He said he hopes the event will make everyone in the community realize the sadness of this day in 20th century history.

Press releases, urging involvement from the community, were passed out, and radio announcements aired on student-run WPSU to request listeners to join the vigil.

Corrington, a professor of philosophy at Penn State, served as principle organizer for the event. However, the Committee for Justice in South Africa, BSCAR and faculty also helped with the effort.

"We thought it was important to bring local attention to the issue," said Bob Allen, who is also involved in the event.

Allen said the vigil may also draw attention to the divestment issue here at Penn State, and will serve as a way for new students to learn about what's going on in South Africa. Some people among the staff of organizers may make speeches and encourage discussion among participants, Allen said.

On Saturday, the Committee, BSCAR and people representing State College, New York and Philadelphia traveled to New York City to participate in an anti-apartheid rally, Allen said.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reports tens of thousands of marchers from all over the East Coast marched through Manhattan streets yesterday to protest South Africa's apartheid policy and to commemorate the Soweto uprising.

The Auto Workers Union and other unions's such as the National Hospital Workers Union, of which Allen is a member, organized the event in New York which Allen said drew crowds of Yale University students and other students from across the country.

Church groups, university students and many people from New York's black community and Harlem converged on the steps of the United Nations Plaza before marching to Central Park, Allen said.

"It was a very strong rally," said Allen, who was on hand to hear political activist the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Ozzie Davis, who he said helped to organize speaking engagements during the rally.

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July 18, 1986

Professor Robert S. Corrington Dept. of Philosophy Pennsylvania State University University Park, PA 16802

Dear Professor Corrington:

My attention has been called to your letter of June 18, 1986 in which invoking the writings of John Dewey you refer to anti-Communism as "something akin to what C.G. Jung might call a social psychosis."

You claim to have been inspired by John Dewey's writings. You obviously have not read Dewey's <u>Freedom and Culture</u> or his other writings in which he expresses a strong anti-Communist standpoint. You may also want to consult the volumes he edited: <u>The Case of Leon Trotsky and Not Guilty</u> in which his opposition to all varieties of Communism is manifest.

Since John Dewey was a liberal he was as strongly anti-Communist as he was anti-Fascist. Do you also regard anti-Fascism akin "to what C.G. Jung might call a social psychosis"? Are you aware of Jung's sympathies for the German Fascist movement?

Incidentally, you seem to be no more familiar with the writings of George Santayana than with those of John Dewey. Far from agreeing with your radical democratic principles, Santayana was quite critical of democracy not only in his Life of Reason but his Dominion and Powers. He was also a great admirer of Franco, Mussolini and Stalin. He detested Hitler not because he was a Fascist but because he was German.

Yours truly,

Sidney Hook

TO THE EDITOR:

I was quite pleased to read Michael D. Yates's Point of View detailing his assessment of faculty responses to the suggestion that his university divest its holdings in corporations doing business in South Africa. As one of the organizers of a faculty fast for divestment at the Pennsylvania State University, I can attest to the difficulties of such an enterprise.

As Professor Yates points out, faculty members are increasingly inclined to ignore the demands of social justice because of a prior commitment to ideological structures which furnish psychological and financial rewards. The imperial professorship. not, incidentally, shared by those of us who are untenured, has distorted not only the mission of scholarship but blunted the drive for institutional morality. The myth of value-free inquiry masks a deeper inability to face the ever more demanding task of utilizing institutional structures to transform unjust social conditions.

Anti-communism has indeed become something akin to what C. G. Jung might call a social psychosis. What is particularly troubling is that non-Marxists are not providing an alternative vision of the just society. My own inspiration comes from the writings of the American philosopher John Dewey, who is in many respects far more radical than Marx. His demand for a liberated public, aware of its role in securing democratic institutions, represents one of the deepest insights in our culture. It would be a great loss if growing cynicism were to corrode this demand.

I suspect that the interest in the divestment issue represents something far more than a faddish need to vent personal or social outrage. Of course. I too have heard this charge on innumerable occasions. Rather, it represents a need to reawaken the fundamental debate about the various loci of democratic renewal in a society increasingly splintered into self-glorifying factions of economic enhancement.

As the gap between the first and third worlds continues to grow, the need for radical democracy increases. I am increasingly persuaded that we need to export this Deweyian vision to places like South Africa where it has never had a chance to be nurtured. But this entails that we secure it here first. A democracy is far more than the sum total of liberated individuals; it is most forcefully manifest in liberated institutions which can use their greater power, prestige, and wealth, to transform social reali-

And what institution could be more amenable to this change than a university? With Professor Yates, although from a different philosophic perspective, I affirm the need to transform American colleges and universities into institutions which practice and affirm radical democratic principles. Within what Santayana

called the Life of Reason lies the deeper demand for justice. May this be our true service to our profession.

ROBERT S. CORRINGTON Assistant Professor of Philosophy Pennsylvania State University University Park, Pa.

## Anti-Communism on Campus: Misreading of John Dewey, C.G. Jung, and Santayana

TO THE EDITOR:

Invoking what he believes to be expressed in the writings of John Dewey, Assistant Professor of Philosophy Robert S. Corrington writes that "Anti-Communism has indeed become somewhat akin to what C. G. Jung might call a social psychosis." (Letters, June 18.) Mr. Corrington has obviously not been inspired by John Dewey's Freedom and Culture (1939) and many other of his writings in which he expresses a strong and consistent opposition to Communism. If anyone can be called a principled anti-Communist, it is John Dewey.

As a liberal John Dewey was as militantly anti-Communist as he was anti-Fascist, and would have dismissed Michael D. Yates's anti-anti-Communist tirade ("South Africa, Anti-Communism, and Value-Free Science," Point of View, May 14) as a betrayal of liberalism.

As distinct from Messrs. Yates and Corrington, Dewey did not confuse scientific objectivity either with relativism or with neutrality between Communism and anti-Communism. Anti-Communism is no more an expression of social psychosis than is anti-Fascism.

Indeed, anti-Fascism was suspect in the eyes of C. G. Jung, whose sympathies were certainly not liberal or democratic.

When Mr. Corrington seeks to support his "radical democratic principles" by referring to the thought of George Santayana, he reveals his unfamiliarity with Santayana's antidemocratic political philosophy as well as Santayana's support of the regimes of Franco, Mussolini, and Stalin.

Just a few words are sufficient to expose the intellectual dishonesty of Michael Yates's statements about the academy. According to him "anti-Communism is our official ideology" and dominates the hiring practices of the American universities.

Either Mr. Yates does not understand what an ideology is or is ignorant of the criteria of academic selection—or both. The ideology of a nation is reflected not only in its state documents but in its laws—whether in the U.S., U.S.S.R., or South Africa.

Today in the American academy it is false to imply, as Yates does, that anti-Communism is a sine qua non of appointment in any field. It is false to imply that belief in Marxism, to which Yates confesses, is in itself a bar to appointment.

There are thousands of radical economists in our universities. Among the elected presidents of the Organization of American Historians in recent years have been several self-declared Marxists, and the same is true of other professional associations.

Our ideology because it is democratic is anti-Communist and anti-Fascist, but our law gives the utmost latitude to the opponents of our ideology, even to those who advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence so long as that advocacy is not tantamount to incitement. (See the U.S. Supreme Court Decision Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298, 1957.)

Compare this with the treatment meted out by the Kremlin to the mildest dissenters.

If Yates's expertness and teaching in economics are on a par with his account of the American academy, that is the price we pay for academic freedom. But it reflects on the low standards of scholarship that guide the award of tenure in some academic institutions.

SIDNEY HOOK

Emeritus Professor of Philosophy
New York University
Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution
Treasurer
John Dewey Foundation
New York

TO THE EDITOR: 8/6/96

Robert S. Corrington, in his praise of the Point of View by Michael D. Yates, links his own support of divestiture with an encomium for "liberated institutions which can use their greater power, prestige, and wealth to transform social reality." The latter end is best served when institutions protect fully the right of freedom of speech and the rights of all individuals within the academic community, while promoting the fullest

research, discussion, and education on the issues that concern the academy and the public.

Unfortunately, thoughtful discussion and protection of speech and rights have not marked the push for divestiture. Sloppy reasoning—or lack of thought—has wrongly equated the *moral* issue of apartheid with the *political* issue of choosing a way to fight that evil.

Many good people, dedicated to pursuing effective means to help in the destruction of apartheid, can and will oppose divestiture as a useless or counterproductive step that simply shifts stocks in American corporations to those who care nothing about the people of color in South Africa. They believe that the business community in South Africa, including American-owned companies, has been one of the few forces able to exert some pressure on the Botha government while improving the quality of life for their employees.

Many disagree with this view, and I respect their position and their integrity. The proper continuing debate on campuses should enable individuals—or voluntary associations of individuals—to choose wisely their own course of action.

What is not proper are the attempts of some to force faculties into choosing one side of the *political* issue of divestiture and issuing a statement—

inevitably viewed from outside the academy as emanating from the *entire* faculty—which reflects only the view of the majority while riding roughshod over the views and wishes of other members of the faculty.

Even worse are the coercive and disruptive actions of some faculty and students who, having decided with utter arrogance that they—and only they—have the "truth" in this matter, violate the tenets of the community and the rights of others in confrontations to force that "truth" upon those (particularly the corporation or trustees) who disagree with them.

(A colleague, speaking on divestiture, has stated to our faculty that the corporation has no *right* to act in opposition to a faculty vote on a "moral" issue, again confusing political with moral and ignoring the tens of thousands of alumni and friends of the university for whom the corporation also acts—let alone the interesting implication that the faculty is inherently more moral than the corporation.)

It can be argued that institutions should speak out on *moral* issues when there is a true consensus within the community.

Surely that consensus exists with regard to apartheid, and our institutions *have* expressed our abhorrence for that outrage.

If colleges and universities truly protect speech and individual rights while promoting research and debate, they will also prepare individuals and groups to have an impact on political issues.

But if faculty and student groups coerce our institutions into political stances with abuse and violations of speech and rights, those institutions will properly lose support and influence.

PHILIP J. BRAY

Hazard Professor of Physics Brown University Providence, R.I.

## John Dewey's social theory and university policy 10/1/86

TO THE EDITOR:

It is with some astonishment that I read Sidney Hook's letter (August 6) responding to my own letter (June 18) on the issue of divestment and university policy. A careful reading of my letter should have made it clear that I endorse neither Marxism nor fascism and that I consider Dewey to hold out the most viable alternative to either.

In particular, Dewey's insistence that the public become involved in social problem solving and that we go beyond the mechanisms of habit and coercive force, to affirm what he called "action directed by intelligence," should be basic to any just social and political theory. My concern was to point out that university policy ought to function along the lines indicated in Dewey's social theory.

Of course, I have long been aware that Santayana had an unhealthy sympathy for Mussolini, Franco, and Stalin. My evocation of his early notion of the Life of Reason was not meant to endorse anything other than the very notion that Reason in all of its offices should embrace the deeper notion of justice. Utilization of a specific concept does not entail concurrence with an entire perspective. By analogy, one can affirm that Plato ad-

vanced our understanding of the exhibitive role of myth and metaphor without supporting his conception of a totalitarian and heteronomous state. I had hoped that this was clear from the general context of my letter.

The case with Jung is more problematic. A careful reading of Volume 10 of his collected works, augmented with a study of his letters and lectures during the 1930's, reveals that he was not a fascist or Nazi sympathizer. His attempts to distinguish between Jewish and non-Jewish psychology and his preference for archaic symbol structures are, of course, deeply troubling. But there is little evidence that Jung was an anti-Semite or that he endorsed the policies of Hitler's Germany. Several recent studies of Jung's political views have

laid at least the worst of these charges to rest.

No one can claim ownership of a philosophic perspective, least of all that of John Dewey, whose collected works, now nearing completion, dwarf the writings of most philosophers. My own reading of Dewey is one which gives priority to his analysis of institutions and their relation to a democratic public. I would never claim or desire to speak for Dewey on all subjects. What I do insist upon is that his unique version of liberalism is not easily translated in a simplistic anti-communism. Dewey was aware of the inadequacy of the concept of class warfare and the limitations of the notion of strict economic determinism and frequently pointed to the a priori and dogmatic character of much Marxist writing. Yet he repeatedly affirmed the need for the elimination of unwarranted class divisions and for the transformation of capitalism into a system far more responsive to the demands of justice.

It should also be remembered that Dewey was not, and never considered himself to be, a thorough scholar of Marx's writings. The Marx that comes to us today, filtered through the writings of the Frankfurt school, is a different Marx than the one that Dewey would have known in the 1930's. This is not to say, of course, that many of Dewey's criticisms of the general Marxist perspective are not still valid. His liberalism remains the one serious challenge to Marxist heteronomy. I consider this understanding of liberalism to be a far cry from that kind of radical individualism which would fragment the evolution of a liberated public.

Let me conclude by acknowledging the reasonable letter (August 6) of Professor Bray, which stressed the need for clear thinking on the divestment issue. I am in complete agreement with him when he argues that an action such as divestment should involve the entire university community and that any consensus should be the result of persuasion rather than the use of power tactics.

Yet I would still insist that members of the academic profession are not often prone to sustain inquiry into the structures of injustice. Consequently it seems entirely appropriate for certain groups within the academy to dramatize the importance of these issues. This becomes even more compelling when it is recognized that large private corporations have come to exert a great deal of influence on internal university policy.

ROBERT S. CORRINGTON Assistant Professor of Philosophy Pennsylvania State University University Park, Pa.

## Dewey's opposition 10/22/86

TO THE EDITOR:

In response to Robert S. Corrington's rejoinder (Letters, October 1) to my letter (August 6) protesting his unawareness of John Dewey's strong opposition to communism, of course I agree with him that Dewey's "unique version of liberalism is not easily translatable into a simplistic anticommunism." It is not easily Continued on Following Page

Continued from Preceding Page translatable into a "simplistic" anything. Since "intelligence" is central to Dewey's philosophy, Corrington can hardly object to my view that Dewey's unique version of liberalism is easily translatable into intelligent anti-communism.

Corrington seems no more familiar with the attitude of the Frankfurt School toward Dewey than he is with the attitudes of Santavana and Jung toward democracy. Dewey was very well aware of the strictures against him and pragmatism in the views of Horkheimer and his colleagues, but regarded them as intellectually insubstantial. I take the liberty of referring to the chapter on "Reflections on the Frankfurt School" in my Marxism and Beyond (1983) for the evidence that its doctrines are incompatible not only with Dewey's but with those of Marx.

> SIDNEY HOOK South Wardsboro, Vt.

## Universities must be more ethical than other institutions regarding divestment

By Robert S. Corrington

Last year a great deal of attention was focused on the issue of divestment and the role of Penn State in helping to alleviate the brutal conditions of apartheid in South Africa.

In the stuggle to define the proper response of our University to these conditions, some forms of domestic racism emerged providing striking evidence of the link between institutional apartheid and racial discord here at home.

#### forum

Consequently, the push for divestment naturally evoked into an analysis of divisive conditions within our own institution. During the student and faculty/staff prodivestment actions of last year, the charge was occasionally made that such actions were in themselves divisions and distorted the true mission of the University.

Protestors were accused of politicizing the academy and imposing an alien social agenda on a community which was designed to pursue something called "pure knowledge."

This charge, and those which share a family resemblance with it, should not go unchallenged.

Divisiveness is not a function of social query, but the product of perceived injustices.

That such query is oft times painful is evident. That it is inevitable should be equally evident.

Probing into the traits of injustice is fundamental to the life of reason.

This concern has now become more pointed with the rapid growth of Penn State and particularly with the soon to be inaugurated Capital Funds Campaign.

The relationship between our University and the larger, and more powerful, corporate world should give all of us pause for thought.

In our natural and understandable drive to increase non-state related revenues, we must be alert to the possible social and ethical costs that might be entailed by accepting such funds.

Is our attitude to divestment in any way conditioned by our intimate relation to large corporations, many of which practice in South Africa?

Is our attitude toward large grants, whatever be the source, such as to blind us to the role of some grant giving institutions or corporations in furthering the conditions of injustice?

No one should be naive enough to assume that we can long flourish without external private support.

This has become a condition of survival in the latter part of our century.

But it does not follow that we must cease probing into the very structures which enable us to pursue those enterprises fundamental to the life of the University.

I have long assumed that universities should be more moral and more ethically conscious than corporations or governments.

Consequently, it is an embarrassment when our own U.S. Congress has passed strong sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa while we still cling to the idea that the benevolence of U.S. firms will somehow transform the political and social reality of 24 million Blacks in South Africa.

Conditions have long gone beyond such simplictic solutions. Washing our hands of the Afrikaner power structure does not entail, as some would argue, washing our hands of those millions struggling for liberation.

Divestment is merely the first step in a prolonged process of reconstruction which will involve the entire southern portion of Africa.

The goal in South Africa should be majority rule with minority rights.

I believe that we can come closer to bringing this about by following Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for economic sanctions.

Temple University recently divested its South African holdings and received high praise from Bishop Tutu during his commencement speech there.

I would like to see the day when Penn State could be equally praised for taking such action.

The challenge facing Penn State is great. We must continue our drive to become one of the leading teaching and research institutions in the country while letting the rest of the world know in no uncertain terms that we will not condone or further those conditions which make life intolerable for millions.

I would argue that we can be successful in our capital campaign without sacrificing our basic moral principles.

No doubt, some of my colleagues hold this belief to be naive. I earnestly hope that they can be proven wrong.

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