

# VHVRV!

Freedom!

## Actions versus Words

Allan Pina Nosworthy

I recently learned that in the Chinese language one of the ways people greet each other translates into English as meaning "Are you full?" or "Have you eaten?" This shows an extreme sense of caring intertwined with a language which can also influence the way one treats other people.

In North America today, one can take a good look around and notice that we have clearly adopted a "survival of the fittest" attitude where we could care less about the welfare of others. In the following piece, I will explore what ISU can do to empower students who come from powerless backgrounds and I'll also explore what ISU can do to improve diversity on campus and show that this university does care about the welfare of others contrary to the status quo. To be clear on this point I would like to explore the following:

After living in Ames for close to two years, I've had the opportunity to speak and share experiences with people who have lived in the urban areas of Chicago, Minneapolis, Omaha, and St. Louis. These persons have told me incredible stories about inner city life. Most of these stories revolve around young people trying to avoid "street life" and all that that entails. I'm told that even those young people who do manage to make it out of high school in these urban areas still have very little to look forward to as far as empowering themselves is concerned.

Matching these stories along with Iowa State Universities (ISU) recruitment policies there is one thing that becomes painfully clear; here, the administration prides itself on recruiting National Merit Scholars. This is a good thing. It should continue. And what

about the recruitment of disenfranchised students who come from lacking educational backgrounds and are disproportionately of minority status in urban areas?

It is a given that through the Foundation, ISU is able to raise large amounts of money for whatever it wants to raise money for and it is a given that Ames, Iowa is surrounded by the four urban areas mentioned earlier. Keeping the last two premises in mind it would not be hard to conclude that ISU is able to fund intense recruitment efforts in urban areas that are nearby. These efforts would help increase diversity on ISU's campus and would also empower and begin to give hope to a generation of young people who face hopeless situations daily. To increase the chances of college success for these young people, ISU could increase funding to programs and departments like Minority Student Affairs, The Carver Academy, Student Support Services Program, The Writing Center located in Ross Hall, and others that foster a nurturing and positive environment for disenfranchised students. In doing this we could also hire more diverse peoples to facilitate such programs. This would help increase diversity amongst the faculty and staff here at ISU. And these increases need not be at the peril of other programs on the campus. By raising funds through The Foundation we could avoid cutting funding in other areas to fund the previously suggested improvements.

Going into the next century, we in educational institutions must answer the question of how we are going to treat our recruitment efforts. Will we focus only on students who have shown extreme success or will we focus on strengthening successful students as well as those who need a chance to realize their own successful potential. At ISU, how will we answer this question. How will we show our commitment to educating all peoples. Will we just talk about diversity or will we act and live in diverse ways. Will we strengthen those programs that cater to at risk students or will we decentralize them to the point of ineffectiveness. What are we going to do.

And perhaps I should make it clear that I do not and have never suggested "a hand



out". The only thing I promote is giving those who have never had a chance to succeed the ability to understand that they can succeed. And ISU is in an outstanding position to do such a thing. So the question remains, are we going to do this or aren't we. And if not, then, exactly, why not?

In 1995 Iowa State University dedicated a building to Carrie Chapman Catt, a person who espoused racist classist and xenophobic remarks. How does such a plan fit into the diversity plan and efforts of inclusion?

"Ours is high-tech society. We must constantly be in the business of raising consciousness." ---  
---Willie B. Barrow

### ***Let's Talk about Catt*** ***For the September 29<sup>th</sup> Movement*** ***Lynn Wellnitz***

One of the more interesting but faulty arguments in Iowa State's controversy over the naming of Catt Hall is the assertion that Catt's rhetoric and actions only seems racist *today*. In 1993, David S. Birdsell wrote "one of [Carrie Chapman Catt's] favorite themes in the 1890s was the injustice of granting suffrage to Native Americans and immigrants while denying voting rights to women. This argument was questionable then as appealing to the worst impulses in her audiences, and *today* it would be seen as racist [emphasis added]" ("Carrie Lane Chapman Catt," 1993). The reason I have been skeptical of this notion is because one would have to assume that during a time in our history when non-majority groups were experiencing great oppression due to racism, that those same people were not able to recognize racism. Even Catt recognized racism (what she called "negrophobia") *when it affected her directly*. The issues and concerns that have been raised by Iowa State scholars regarding Catt have been dismissed by many who believe that we are using our 20/20 hindsight to see things that people couldn't see "way back then."

Too often in the Iowa State Community, I have heard that Catt's argument for woman suffrage in the south ("*If the South really wants*

*white supremacy, it will urge the enfranchisement of women*"; Chapter 6 of *Woman Suffrage by Federal Constitutional Amendment*) was actually an argument for universal suffrage. Catt was bitter because she felt that corruption at the polls (selling of votes) had adversely affected the progress of the woman suffrage movement. Although Catt acknowledged that people of all colors bought and sold votes, the label "purchasable vote" was used to describe African-Americans and other non-majority groups:

"The Negroes who have migrated North are the better educated and more enterprising. There are among them many highly educated, honorable and valued citizens; but *as a race they stand upon the books of precinct chairmen as a purchasable vote.*" [emphasis added]

--Carrie Chapman Catt, *The Woman's Journal* 1904  
(Her address to the 1904 NAWSA Convention)

Catt continued the purchasable-vote labeling in the book (co-authored with Nettie Shuler) *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, (1923; post-amendment). Although Catt had previously acknowledged her awareness that educated African-Americans existed, it is significant that the following was included as a portrayal of African-Americans in *Woman Suffrage and Politics*:

"A professor at Princeton, suspecting that a certain colored factotum sold his vote, said to him the day after election, — 'Well, George, what did you get for your vote yesterday?' — 'Five dollars, sah.' — 'Well which ticket did you vote for?' 'Republican, sah, but de Democrats offered me more.' — 'Well then, why didn't you take the highest bid?' — 'Well, sah, I specs de Democrats be de corruptednest.'"



It was at the 1904 National American Woman's Suffrage Association convention that Mary Church Terrell responded to the talk about African-Americans selling their votes by explaining "They [African-Americans] never sold their vote till they found that it made no difference how they cast them." Thomas Stanford in his 1897 book *Tragedy of the Negro in American*, offered this understanding of the reality African-Americans were facing in the south:

"Why does he [African-American male] not *insist* on having his vote? The answer is — this happens in the South, where *he can choose between submission or punishment, — lynching to death.* Some [African-American males] are allowed to vote; it would never do to disfranchise the whole race in the South...."

The use of racism in the rhetoric of some white suffragists was problematic. Catt attributed the corruption at the polls to ignorance and illiteracy of non-majority groups. However, it only stands to reason that using white supremacy as a marketing tactic for suffrage would alienate African-Americans and other non-majority groups. The following is a letter written by African-American suffragists in Columbus, Ohio that addresses the connection of woman suffrage and white supremacy. It is written in response to a request from local white suffragists to assist them in obtaining support from black men:

[From *The Crisis*, the Official Organ of the N.A.A.C.P., July 1916, Volume 12-3.]

"We are of the opinion that in a general sense there is no good reason why all women should not have suffrage. If by assisting in the procurement of this great constitutional right we do not injure ourselves, and on the contrary, can add anything to our means of defense and betterment as a race, we are willing to do it. It is certain that the granting of

suffrage would be of no practical advantage to colored women, if by the enfranchisement of white women we help to increase the number of our civil and political oppressors. We have opposition enough in our struggle as a race for our civil rights and cannot consent to increase the forces against us....

"It is a generally known fact that the men of our race have been so deceived and mistreated in their efforts to secure justice, and their civil and political rights, that they do not generally favor woman's suffrage because to them the ballot in the hands of white women appears only in the light of an increased number of civil and political oppressors. Therefore, we will have a task of some magnitude and difficulty to prevent their voting against it. But we think if the white women prove their fairness by assisting us as herein mentioned as we can wield a great influence with the men of our race if we undertake to do so."

Although white suffragists like Catt sometimes addressed African-American audiences regarding the suffrage, their audiences sometimes questioned their sincerity. In August 1914, an African-American woman wrote a letter to *The Crisis* in which she expressed the following concern:

"May I ask if through your columns you will answer some questions regarding Woman Suffrage and the colored woman? Our white friends come and tell us that we can do so much for ourselves when we get the ballot. Please tell me how we are going to do so much for ourselves? Will not the proportionate vote be the



same as now? Should not the white woman consider the betterment of the colored people as well as the foreigner who comes to our shores, because conditions are better here than in his own country? I attended a meeting a short time ago and the speaker invited questions. She had spoke of almost everything possible except the problems that vitally concern the people addressed. I asked her why the women were silent on the lynching of colored people in the South and on the unjust marriage laws and other laws discriminating against the Negro. She replied: 'We have to take up the most important subjects, we cannot bother with everything under the sun and there are so many other things more important than lynching. As for marriage laws, we have to have some laws regulating marriage between races. For my part, I do not believe in marriage between Americans and Europeans.' Now, Mr. Editor, this woman is a highly educated woman, but does not that sound like shallow reasoning? Are not Americans made up of all nations of Europe? .... Have we any right to believe that they [white suffragists] will work for our cause after they get the ballot, if they do not feel willing to take up such questions now?"

Carrie Chapman Catt utilized contrast in her arguments for woman suffrage in various speeches, such as this address to the Congress of the United States in 1918:

"So, it happens that men of all nations and all races, except the Mongolian, may secure citizenship and automatically become voters in any State in the Union, and even the

Mongolian born in this country is a citizen and has the vote....

"Behold him again, welcoming the boys of twenty-one and the newly made immigrant citizen to 'a voice in their own government' while he denies that fundamental right of democracy to thousands of women public school teachers from whom many of these men learn all they know of citizenship and patriotism, to woman college presidents, to women who preach in our pulpits, interpret law in our courts, preside over our hospitals, write books and magazines and serve in every uplifting moral and social enterprise."

In 1915 W.E.B. DuBois published an essay entitled "Disfranchisement" regarding the issue of universal suffrage and the rhetoric of suffragists. In this essay, DuBois expressed his concern that:

"the advocates of woman suffrage have continually been in great danger of asking the ballot not because they are citizens, but because they occupy a certain social position, are of a certain grade of intelligence, or are 'white.' Continually it has been said in America, 'If Paupers and Negroes vote why not college-bred women of wealth and position?' **The assumption is that such a woman has superior right to have her interests represented in the nation and that Negroes and Paupers have few rights which society leaders are bound to respect.** "Such argument or neglect is both false and dangerous, and while its phrasing may be effective at times it represents a climbing of one class on the misery of another." [emphasis added]



DuBois wasn't the first or only person to vocalize his/her concern with the elitist and racist rhetoric of suffragists like Catt. As early as 1894, the issue was debated in the pages of *The Woman's Journal*, when William Lloyd Garrison, Anna Gardner, and Harriet Stanton Blatch all took issue with the elitist rhetoric of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Catt's rhetoric made use of African-Americans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, and white immigrants from Southern Europe to make an emotional appeal for educated, middle- and upper-class white woman suffrage. Again, as DuBois pointed out, "the assumption is that such a woman has superior right to have her interests represented in the nation and that Negroes and Paupers have few rights which society leaders are bound to respect." In Catt's writings, non-majority persons are most often racially and ethnically categorized by such labels as "ignorant," "illiterate," and "purchasable." Throughout the pages of *The Crisis* (pre- and post-amendment) there is evidence that African-Americans were actively fighting against such labeling. It is unclear to me how such negative portrayals of non-majority groups by Catt can be misconstrued as being an argument for universal suffrage. Additionally, such negative portrayals could not have helped non-majority groups in their struggle for enfranchisement, but instead would have undermined their efforts not just for enfranchisement but for social and civil rights as well. We know the history of continued discrimination against Asian-Americans, Native Americans, and African-Americans, and certain "white" immigrant groups. Even after the amendment was ratified in 1920, Catt still continued the negative portrayal of non-majority groups — in her book *Woman Suffrage and Politics* and in later speeches and essays. Recognizing this, we should question whether her racism, xenophobia, bigotry, and classism were just pre-amendment "tactics" or part of her ideology.

Those who cannot see the connection between our history, our present, and our future like to characterize our fellow brothers and sisters who have the courage to voice their concerns about the climate on this campus as "celebrating scholarship of the lowest kind." If you have not read Kirk Smith's letter to the editor in the March 7, 1997 issue of the *Iowa*

*State Daily*, I urge you to do so [Kirk Smith is an Associate Professor in the Music Department at Iowa State]. In his letter, Smith wrote "But some of you are manipulative, dishonest, childish and irresponsible. Get with the program" and also "Don't be convinced by the kind of dishonest rhetoric that seems to be so chic today." Speaking of "scholarship of the lowest kind" and "dishonest," I'd like to address a concern of mine. When I started to research Catt, I expected to find many things. *That everyone way back then was racist. That Catt didn't write the infamous Chapter 6 ("white supremacy will be strengthened..."). Catt recanted. Catt said she was sorry. After the amendment, Catt actively fought against racism. Catt never addressed any other topic than suffrage or peace in her writings. Catt's racism was only a pre-amendment tactic. Catt was a supporter of universal suffrage.* Why did I expect to find these things to be true? Because of a climate of misinformation and deception on this campus regarding Catt and Catt Hall. I still meet students and staff on this campus who remember reading or hearing these things last year as well. President Jischke and others on this campus have claimed to have extensively read Catt's writings. It is interesting that when misinformation is put forth by the supporters of the naming of Catt Hall, none of these people come forth with the truth. However, there are faculty who won't hesitate to *attack* the scholarship of students who question the naming of Catt Hall. When knowledgeable people remain silent because misinformation benefits their political position, I would suggest that perhaps the label "scholarship of the lowest kind" belongs to them.

For the last six months I have spent a great deal of time reading Catt's "primary materials," such as her speeches and essays that are on microfilm at the Iowa State Library (and located in other library collections such as the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library). Additionally, I have read through the pages of *The Crisis* 1911-1925 as well as reading through newspapers and women's journals from that era. What have I learned? That we can take comfort in knowing that not everyone was racist, and that people of all colors were fighting against classism, xenophobia, and racism. Catt did author the infamous Chapter 6. If Catt recanted or said she was sorry, the citations for the supporting primary documentation have not been provided [if the supporting documentation does



exist, one would think that Catt's supporters would have publicized the sources long before seventeen months of The Catt Hall Controversy have passed]. I have not found evidence that Catt *actively campaigned against racism in the U.S.* before or after the amendment [It seems there is some confusion between talking about colonization as a cause of war and addressing the racism, xenophobia, and classism as it existed in the United States at that time — *but that's another paper*]. Non-majority groups (such as Native Americans, African-Americans, and Asian Americans and Latino/a Americans) were not always portrayed negatively in the newspapers from that era. Catt *did* address topics other than suffrage and peace (she even wrote a lengthy article about women's underwear (the corset)!). As far as universal suffrage is concerned, Catt acknowledged the existence of the grandfather clause and its unconstitutionality as early as 1904. In one pre-amendment speech she acknowledged "...often the right to vote is limited by an educational qualification in only 17 States and *that nine of these are Southern with the special intent of disfranchising the Negro* [emphasis added]." In fact on November 2, 1920 (election day), a news article went out over the wires (from Atlanta Georgia, and even appearing in the Ames Tribune), the headline of which read "Ku Klux Klan Again Revives: Notorious Organization of Reconstruction Days Called Into Being by Enfranchisement of Colored Women: Terror to Rule in Southland." If not disfranchised through unfair qualifications, people of color were disfranchised through fear tactics. Catt's pre-1920 writings indicate that she was committed to *limited* suffrage. Her post-1920 writings indicate that she felt that task had been completed, even though many women (and men) remained disfranchised. African-Americans. Asian-Americans. Native Americans. Latino/a Americans. Some "white" immigrant groups.

In Kirk Smith's letter to the editor (*ISU Daily*, March 7, 1997), he stated "The good news is that the majority of my colleagues (students, staff and faculty) are thriving in this environment, despite the efforts of some who seem to have too much time on their hands." Throughout his letter, Smith seems to make a contrast between those who are happy with the status quo and those who must simply "have too much time on their hands." I would agree with Smith that there are many wonderful aspects to

living in Ames and working and attending school at Iowa State. My life has been enriched so much by interacting with fellow students, faculty, staff, and coworkers at ISU. I believe that some of the persons I have met this year will be lifelong friends. However, I can't imagine anything crueler than denying someone else's hurt simply because I don't feel hurt, or denying that problems exist simply because those problems don't affect me. And worse than denial is ridiculing and demeaning those who are hurt and/or those who attempt to address their concerns. Perhaps that is why I like the following poem so much:

**They first came for the communists  
and I didn't speak up –  
because I wasn't a communist.**

**Then they came for the Jews  
and I didn't speak up –  
because I wasn't a Jew**

**Then they came for the trade  
unionists  
and I didn't speak up –  
because I wasn't a trade unionist**

**Then they came for the Catholics  
and I didn't speak up –  
because I was a Protestant**

**Then they came for me –  
and by that time no one  
was left to speak up.**

—Pastor Martin Niemoeller

**No One is Free....**

**When Others are Oppressed**

## **HOW I STOPPED BEING WHITE**

Kel Munger

It didn't happen overnight. In hindsight, I'm glad for that; it would have been an even greater shock to my system, which had a hard enough time adjusting. So it wasn't sudden; it was more an incremental, slow change--like the click-click-click-click of a roller coaster as it is pulled, groaning, up the track by the chain that propels the whole ride. There were a series of events--it might even work to call them "clicks," for things certainly fell into place--and then, the downward rush.



The funny thing about White privilege is that remains so invisible to those of us who can exercise it. It seems the most normal thing in the world to inhabit a skin that can be taken for granted; why should I notice it? And the truth is, I don't really know when I started to notice it. Maybe it was when I worked as a clerk in a discount store in Des Moines, and noticed one day that the warning bell that we used to signal "possible shoplifters in the store" only seemed to go off for people of color. Never mind that most of the shoplifters I caught were White kids stealing candy and toys. Never mind that, once in awhile, we'd get professional shoplifters--also usually White. One day, it seemed perfectly normal; the next day, I noticed that the women--and the manager--who worked the front of the store only set the bell off for African-Americans and Asian-Americans (this was right after the first major wave of Southeast Asian immigration to Des Moines, and a good part of the population had settled in the Drake area, where the store was located). I asked the manager about it. He was a nice guy, and we got along well, so I felt safe.

"Well, you know how those people are," he said. "You've lived around here for a while." I had lived in the Drake area for a while; however, the only problems I'd had were with White men. Probably just luck, right? But I didn't contradict him. Not only was I once White, I was once very concerned with being polite. Still, something inside me went "click." I knew that no one was marking me as a potential shoplifter every time I walked into the store.

That happened more than once. In fact, it happened a lot before I began to see that there was a pattern to it. White blindness is a powerful thing, because not only does it keep racism invisible, the blindness itself is invisible as well. It is as if I wore blinders that limited my vision but at the same time could not be seen; it took more than a few incidents to remove those blinders.

There was the time, years later, when I worked as a dispatcher for the Ames Police, and a man called up to report vandalism to his car. I took his information and prepared to send a patrol car, when he surprised me. "Don't send that colored cop," he said. After I recovered from my outrage, it occurred to me that there was something wrong underneath his racism as well, and that what was wrong was even more subtle than his overt behavior. The problem, in addition to his problem, was that, in spite of a sizable

minority population, there was only one African-American officer. One. The bigot felt safe excluding the Black officer because he knew that the African-American cop was a minority, a token, not to be taken seriously, and therefore not to be accepted as a real law enforcement officer.

Click.

Of course, one of the nicer things about White blindness is that when it starts to go, it goes in a hurry. My awareness of the presence of White privilege picked up momentum. I watched from the Clinique counter where I stood browsing as two African-American women were followed through a department store at the mall (I still didn't say anything--the "politeness" bug is a hard one to shake for us privileged folks).

Click.

I took a call from the manager of one of the stores at the mall, reporting "shoplifters" and requesting an officer immediately.

"Do you have them in custody?" I asked.

"Well, no."

"What did they take?"

"Nothing, yet. But they're acting suspicious."

"What are they doing?"

Silence.

Exasperated, I finally asked, "Why do you think that they are shoplifters?"

And then the answer, embarrassed, but there nonetheless: "Well, they're Black."

Click.

I knew that I could walk into any store in town, wearing my grubbiest sweats and carrying a bag big enough to park a Volkswagen in, and be smiled and waved at--unless I wanted help. "Just looking" has always been an acceptable statement from me. What I learned is that not everyone has that option. The simplest of acts for a woman with a White skin become complicated--and dangerous--for anyone of color. Just taking a shortcut across a neighbor's lawn--mere rudeness on my part--becomes a criminal act--"there's a suspicious Black man in the alley!" --for an African-American.

Click.

As I began to examine my own White privilege, the myriad of things that I can take for granted because of the color of my skin, it became apparent that the well-meaning solutions I'd thought were useful were failing to have any effect. Politeness is no match for racism. Silence--even disapproving silence--is mistaken for approval. A tight-lipped "That's inappropriate" won't fit the bill, either; it can lead



to being mistaken for a social worker, but won't alter anyone else's racist perspective. Even "going ballistic"--my personal favorite--doesn't do much except guarantee that the perpetrator will never again make a racist remark in my presence. But like speed traps, which slow drivers down when they can see the squad cars, "going ballistic" only works when I'm there. It has no long-term effect on behavior. Still, it makes me feel better, and there's something to be said for creating a zone around myself in which racist assumptions are challenged. Sort of a mobile safe-space. The woman in the plastic bubble. Also a privilege not available to a person of color, who must deal with both obnoxious and well-meaning racist White people every day.

And then the roller coaster started picking up speed.

I went to pick up a friend at the airport, and when I hugged him hello, saw over his shoulder the face of an older White man, contorted into a rictus of disgust.

Click click.

I drove another friend through a snowstorm to rent a car for an emergency trip home, and watched as the clerk at the car rental agency (which has been the subject of national accusations of racist practices) tried to tell her she had the "wrong kind" of VISA card. I suspect, instead, that the clerk thought she had the "wrong kind" of skin.

Click click click.

Of all the things I've learned at Iowa State, the most important have been those related to race, gender, and power. After the peaceful town-hall meeting last November 5th, I was among those charged and brought before the OJA Hearing Officer. Since I'm both a grown-up and a former law enforcement professional, I really thought that folks were over-reacting; after all, we're all reasonable people here. Surely the university's judiciary wouldn't be corrupted by considerations of race, gender and power, would it?

The day of my closed hearing--even though I'd had weeks of evidence and incidents pointing to a corrupt and racist judicial system--I was in a state of shock. It had never occurred to me that any judicial or quasi-judicial body would trample all over my rights. After having all my challenges to the evidence dismissed, my request for an open hearing denied, and my request for the judicial hearing officer to recuse herself on the grounds of prejudice greeted with

the statement, "I'm in charge of this hearing, missy, and I make the decisions," I was in a daze.

"This can't be happening," I said to my friends. "We're being treated like second-class citizens." And, at that moment, as I looked into the face of one of my dearest friends, I saw the truth of White privilege.

"What are you so surprised for? Black folks have always been treated this way," he said, and, as I thought back over what I know of the history of people of color in this country, I recognized that it was a true statement.

Click click click click.

People of color are second-class citizens. Oh, not legally, of course. But the treatment I was complaining about because it contradicted a lifetime of White privilege was, and is, a fact of every day life for African-American and other people of color in this country. Our American promises of equality, liberty and justice are conditional upon meeting the race qualifications--and even when well-meaning people insist otherwise, justice is still dispensed differently based on race. Does anyone really think it was an accident that five of the six Beardshear defendants to initially receive conduct probation were Black? Or that, in a state which has a Black population of approximately 6 per cent, close to a third of prison inmates are people of color? The figures are so far out of whack that even the Justice Department--which is not exactly a paragon of race-free behavior--has decided it's worth looking into. We live in a nation where an eighteen-year-old African-American man is three times as likely to be writing letters from a jail cell as he is to be sending out high school graduation announcements--even though most of the crimes in this country are committed by members of the majority race.

At first, I wondered why I was included with the rest of what the Dean of Students' Office referred to as "the real leaders" of the dissenting students. I was told by one of my co-defendants, who was only half-joking, "Well, Kel, the people in power must not think you're acting White."

Whoosh.

The roller coaster took a great leap at that moment, as I realized that he was right; in a sense, I had stopped being "White." By that I do not mean that my skin changed color, or that I either adopted or appropriated the culture of my friends of color. What I mean is that, by rejecting White privilege, I had caused a certain



segment of the administration to treat me as if I were not White. It is, definitely, a temporary change--I'm still safe from being followed around in Wal-Mart, and no one is going to mistake me for Queen Latifah (although I wouldn't mind it if they did!). Still, it was an exposure of the power of racism for me.

Being White is not simply a matter of having been born with a certain skin pigment; it also involves accepting and participating in certain conditions of power, power that is predicated on the assumption of a racial and cultural hierarchy. When I actively and vocally abandoned my White privilege, I challenged the hierarchical notion of power--and was then treated as outsider, Other, "person of color." But only temporarily. The state of our racist society insures that it will always be to my advantage to be light-skinned; I will always have to reject the White privilege that is automatically conferred upon me simply by virtue of a pale complexion.

Rejection of White privilege--and more than that, public repudiation of White privilege--is a dangerous thing. If White people refused White privilege, and, better yet, began pointing it out, criticizing it, calling it into question wherever it exists--racism would be destroyed. Racism can only exist in this country because it is to someone's benefit. It benefits those in power the most, because it can keep the rest of us divided and battling among ourselves. But it also benefits disempowered White people.

We think we have a lot to lose if we reject White privilege. After all, then we'd be treated just like people of color.

Of course, the other option is that maybe, just maybe, we'd all be treated like people of value.

Click.

"Don't look so sad. I'm no stranger to danger. I have lived with danger all my life. I never expected to die of old age. I know the power structure will not let me."

----El Hajj Malik El Shabazz

#### **ISU LGBTQA Alliance and LGBT Student Services**

"By coming out we are able to affect many people in our everyday lives. Whether we are talking about family, friends or co-workers, those who know we are bisexual, lesbian or gay are for

more likely to accept and support issue important to all of us."

Elizabeth Birch

Executive Director, Human Rights Campaign

The Alliance and the LGBT Student Services provide information and resources to ISU students, faculty and staff who are coming to terms with sexual orientation. The Alliance attempts to provide support to members of the community who are coming to accept their sexual orientation and/or sexuality, positive social interaction, and act as a political focus on issues of concern to LGBT students.

LGBT Student Services provides support, education, and referral for people with questions about lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender issues. The LGBT Student Services Program is confidential. They respect each person as an individual with different needs and concerns. The staff members of the program are committed to maintaining the privacy of the students.

Please contact the Alliance at 294-2104 or LGBT Student Services at 294-1020.

Thanks,

Jason Gross

Programming Director, ISU LGBTQA Alliance.

#### **THE STRUGGLE MANUAL**

Milton McGriff

It's all there.

You can study

how to win or lose.

You can study

Montgomery

or

Birmingham

or

(only if you're serious)

Philadelphia, Mississippi.

It's all there.

You can learn

momentum

or inertia.



Nothing changes  
'til you change it.  
'Til you change  
it can't change.  
When you change,  
you can change  
it.

It's all there.

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### **La Muerte**

Ronnie Daniel Cordova

A la muerte miedo no le tengo  
mucho le temen  
muchos le uyen  
muchos se acobardan porque no quieren verlo,  
para mi es solo el principio de una vida,  
el principio de un amanecer.

Si la muerte no existiera  
todo seria lo mismo  
las mismas cosas,  
las mismas personas,  
las mismas flores  
la misma vida

La muerte es un viaje  
un viaje a otro mundo  
un mundo sin odio y sin penas  
un lugar donde no existe raza  
un lugar donde no necesitas armas  
un lugar donde nadia hablan a tus espaldas.

### **(Translation) Death**

I'm not afraid of Death  
many fear them  
many run from it  
many cower from it  
For me it is the start of a new life  
a new beginning  
a new dawn

If there were no death  
everything would be the same  
the same things  
the same people  
the same flowers  
the same life

Death is like a voyage to another world

a world without hate  
without sadness  
without race  
without weapons  
without backstabbers

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### **"FRIENDLY FASCISM" AND DEMOCRACY: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?**

For The September 29th Movement

Milton McGriff

First, thank you to the Iowa State University community on behalf of The September 29th Movement for supporting us during the recent abuse of power by ISU's Office of Judicial Affairs (OJA). President Martin Jischke has denied the administration lessened the penalties on five of the Beardshear Eight because of pressure and claims they acted out of "concern for the students." However, this "concern" was conspicuously lacking when the OJA refused to reschedule closed hearings during Dead Week and Finals Week last semester for any of our members. Some hearings were delayed by our attorneys only after the OJA refused what was eventually granted: reprimands to everyone charged. We know ISU community support for the Movement, and for the principle of free speech, carried the day. Again, thank you.

Fascism is a word that has admittedly been abused, misused and misinterpreted, mostly by the political left in accusations against brutal police and sometimes inept bureaucrats and politicians. Furthermore, suggestions that any form of fascism has crept into the political life of the United States inevitably meets with disbelief or derision. When most of us hear the word, we envision iron-fisted dictatorships, vicious storm troopers and secret police coming in the night.

However, in *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America* (New York: M. Evans and Co., Inc., 1980), Bertram Gross defines fascism more clinically and explains why he has added the adjective "friendly" to describe a power dynamic he saw taking shape nearly two decades ago. Gross, a former government planner, detected "the outline of a powerful logic of events" that "points toward more concentrated, unscrupulous, repressive, and militaristic control by a Big Business-Big Government partnership that - to preserve the privileges of the ultra-rich, the corporate overseers, and the brass in the military and



civilian order - squelches the rights and liberties of other people both at home and abroad. This is friendly fascism."

If those squeamish about the word "fascism" substitute "hegemony," the point about Big Business and Big Government working in concert for "more concentrated, unscrupulous, repressive and militaristic control" remains the same. For the ultra-squeamish, try using the phrase "top-down management."

Fascism conjures images of violence and fear because we see it coming from Big Government, coupled with an oppressive military. What happens if fascism comes instead from the Big Business side? Storm troopers become unnecessary for a populace narcotized by the dubious virtues of capitalism and consumerism. You don't have to use secret police if the level of political dialogue is so narrow that any other "isms" - you know the ones I'm talking about - are considered anti-American and virtually seditious.

If the ideology of capitalism and consumerism comes packaged as a university "education," if students willingly accept corporate-style administrators with mandates to run universities like businesses, friendly fascism practically polices itself. Martyred South African freedom fighter Steve Biko said it well: "The greatest weapon of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

What does all this have to do with Iowa State University (ISU), The September 29th Movement and President Martin Jischke?

When Jischke arrived at ISU in 1991, he came with a mandate from Gov. Terry Branstad to run ISU like a business. Under this kind of corporate CEO-style, decisions should not be questioned, they should be carried out. Underlings (read "students, faculty and staff") have no say in naming buildings, corporatizing the environment or picking a student Regent to represent their interests; these decisions get made at the top.

Most universities in the U.S. today, including ISU, have become little more than elite vocational schools, ideologically speaking. The primary mission now is to get a good job, not learn how to think. Scholar Ronald Takaki recently told ISU students that universities are supposed to be about studying and understanding the physical and social universe; today they mostly emphasize your employment potential. Make no mistake, getting a good job is

important. But more important than freedom and democracy?

If most people accept top-down management at a university, they inevitably stop thinking about their responsibility to participate in governing their own lives. If the CEO types are successful enough, folks even lose interest in the charade of voting that passes for U.S. democracy today. Have you checked the voting statistics lately, both in the civic arena and at ISU?

Top-down management creates a different kind of reign of terror than government fascism does. It fosters an atmosphere of fear that allows administrators to tell faculty members that it may be time to do away with the concept of tenure. Top-down management cultivates a climate that gets union leaders fired who dare to speak up on behalf of union members. This reign of terror - no secret police here - keeps many untenured faculty members silent, makes staff workers fearful and intimidates graduate students who want to organize unions for better working conditions. Through all this, we praise the virtues of capitalism and there are big bucks for CEOs who maintain a bottom line, as well as large payoffs for executive types who leave under clouds of suspicion while tight-lipped administrators hide possible wrongdoing behind codes of "confidentiality."

What all this has to do with ISU, The September 29th Movement and President Jischke is this: Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, and all the ills at ISU the naming process of that building symbolizes, represents a certain kind of exclusionary thinking that ignores large segments of the university population even as they pay lip service to diversity. Only white administrators and alumni were involved in the decision to name Old Botany after Catt; only one person of color was involved in the building dedication process and her warnings about Catt's political racism and xenophobia were ignored. Just a few of the systemic problems that result from a lack of democracy and CEO-style management at ISU include, but are not limited to, a seriously flawed star-chamber judicial system, low retention and recruitment rates for virtually every underrepresented group on campus, abysmal support for ethnic and gender studies programs, the gutting of power in the Office of Minority Student Affairs in 1994, and so on.



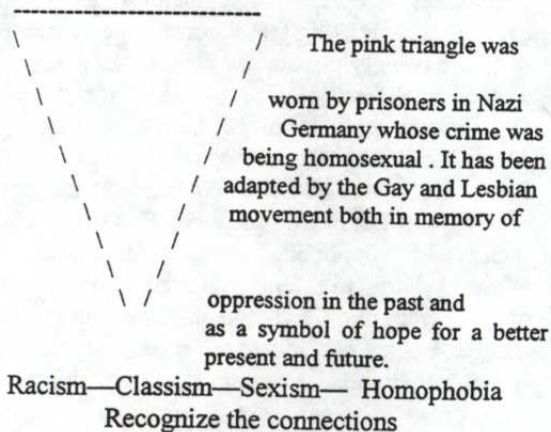
The September 29th Movement categorically rejects the hegemony that results from attempts to run this university primarily like a business. We reject the notion of top-down management that treats students as product and statistics, an odious concept that slices the very heart out of democracy and freedom. We understand clearly that this rejection of collegiate-style friendly fascism has placed the Movement on a collision course with President Jischke for well over a year.

We will not submit!

We will continue to study and learn and offer political education because we believe that education - learning to think - is far more important than training. If you can think, you're gonna get a job. We are grateful that many ISU professors agree with the Movement, and provide education as well as training. You know who you are, and you know this places you at odds with ISU's primary mission: train students to be docile and quietly accept their place in some corporate community without making waves. Don't make waves at school; don't make waves at work. Tiptoe quietly through life so you may arrive safely at death.

It's time to take back our universities. They know this at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and at SUNY Binghamton and at UC Berkeley. Rest assured that the CEOs probably won't return our universities willingly. Remember: President Jischke is doing what he's paid to do.

Is it his university or ours?



## Dreams

dreams have a way of coming true  
i did not believe this until  
i met you  
strong  
dark  
and  
handsome  
a serious man  
Full of respect and never  
without a plan  
you brought things out of me  
no one ever could  
you made me believe things  
i never thought that i would  
you pick me up and take me away  
from you my love  
i will never stray  
you are so amazing  
too good to be true  
my love  
my sweet  
my heart  
what would i do without you  
for a long, long time  
you have been in my mind  
a brother like you  
i thought i'd never find  
i give my love to you  
every single inch  
but away you  
begin to fade  
with the simple  
touch  
of a  
p  
i  
n  
c  
h

Jalonda Williams



## My Navigator

help i cannot see clearly  
though i am not physically blind.  
blind to the fact that i need you  
as bad as we have needed each other  
mother o' how i praise you  
my lover, how much i adore you  
thank you, for guiding me through,  
through the cloudy white smoke.  
my cry for help was answered!  
my cry for help was acknowledged  
my cry for help was heard,  
heard by you and  
only you was it heard  
you have always been there - for me  
now i shall be there—for you  
for you i shall do your bidding,  
there to hear your cry  
even these simple words  
cannot describe how i appreciate  
the things, the  
things that you've done  
but now, i just need to say—  
say, that i love..... you  
and only you  
my navigator, help me,  
help guide me through,  
this chaotic storm

Wendell Mosby

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when we should

protest makes cowards  
out of men and [womyn]

The human race  
has climbed  
on protest

Wilcox

In other words *Agitate, Agitate*  
and ...uh...*Agitate!*

- On the back page:  
a reproduction of a cartoon  
from The Crisis.

In the caption:  
Jesus says

"Inasmuch as ye did it unto  
the least of these, My Brethern, ye  
did it unto me."

Between 1882-1950, 491 people of  
African descent were lynched in  
Georgia; 3,196 people of African descent  
lost their lives by lynching an instrument  
of white supremacy, in 13 southern  
states.

In 1917, Carrie Chapman Catt wrote  
"If the South really wants white  
supremacy, it will urge the  
enfranchisement of women."

---Objections to the Federal Amendment.

RECOGNIZE THE CONNECTION and  
CHANGE THE NAME!

To sin by silence





CHRISTMAS IN GEORGIA, A. D., 1916