

The Daily Tar Heel

Serving the students and the University community since 1893

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Hungry for knowledge

Applications are available for the second breakfast with Chancellor Christopher C. Fordham III. Check the Carolina Student Fund and page 2 for more details.

News/Sports/Arts 962-0245
Business/Advertising 962-1163

Oh, there's winter!
OK, so we were way off base yesterday. Our new forecaster (ahem) says there will be cloudy skies, 20 percent chance of showers and a harrowing wind-chill factor. Ugh.

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History lesson

Baldwin questions identity of whites

By RUTHIE PIPKIN
Staff Writer

Americans are caught in a time of moral terror as they realize blacks aren't what society prescribed they should be, author James Baldwin told a crowd of about 1,500 in Memorial Hall at 8 p.m. last night.

"For the first time, people who think of themselves as white are being forced to look in the mirror and they don't find me (the black), they find themselves," said Baldwin, who has written 18 books, many dealing with the anguish of the American black. Born in 1924, the New York City native and grandson of a slave came to UNC as the keynote speaker for Human Rights Week sponsored by the Carolina Union and the Campus Y.

"Who is Sambo? Who is a nigger? Who is Uncle Tom? The question must come up, who is Scarlett O'Hara?" Baldwin said.

"What I'm suggesting is that History with a capital H is a creation of the people who think of themselves as white," he said.

"The people who conquered the North American wilderness were not white before they came here, not before they found me," Baldwin said.

"They were Russian, Turk, Greek and

French, but they were not white. They became white out of the bitter necessity to justify their crime," Baldwin said.

Europeans pretended the Africans were waiting to be civilized and justified slavery by the need to share their religion, Baldwin said. "It was not true that I was waiting to be discovered, it was not true that my discovery was by Christians who wanted to save my soul," said the son of a revivalist minister. "It's not true that I came here in chains, the happy darkie; it's not true that I picked cotton for free out of love."

The black learned to answer what the white man wanted to hear rather than what he thought, Baldwin said. "If the master wanted it raining, I didn't look at the weather, I looked at the man or woman's face," Baldwin said. "If he wanted it to be raining it was, if he didn't, it wasn't. That's why niggers are ignorant, shuffling and say 'yes sir,' and 'no, sir,' because they didn't look at the weather, they looked at the man's face."

Baldwin said society's economic structure caused whites to treat blacks as less than human.

This attitude caused him to go to Europe, Baldwin said, where he began to write. "That's a terrible way to live," he said.

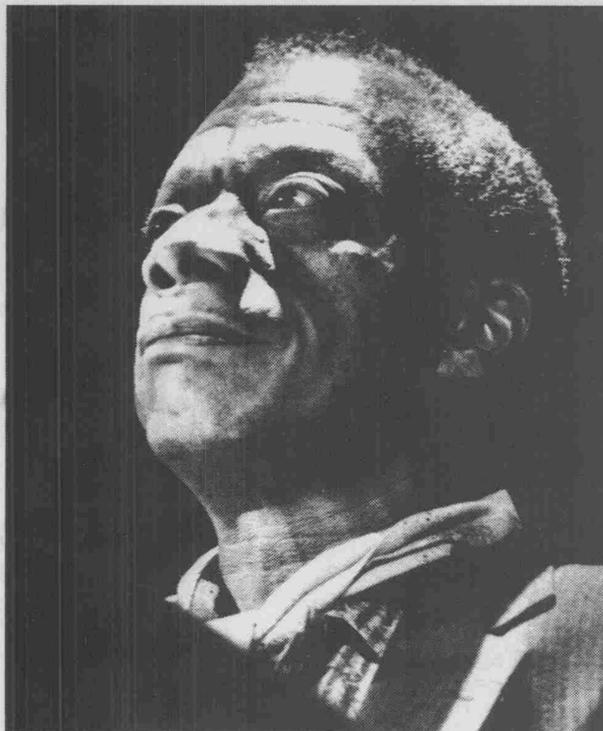
Whites defaced themselves when they reduced the value of the black to a commercial value, Baldwin said. "When I was reduced to a thing, so was the man who owned me," he said. "When I was reduced to a commercial value, so was the man who owned me reduced to a commercial value."

"The people who have done this to others have done this to themselves," Baldwin said. During the civil rights movement of the '60s, the white man realized he'd fallen into the trap laid for the black, Baldwin said. "According to me, the civil rights movement was one of the last slave insurrections," he said.

Baldwin responded to questions for about 20 minutes after his speech.

This marks the second year of Human Rights Week at UNC. "Last year a group of students at the Y who were and are concerned about human rights issues wanted to bring those issues to the attention of the campus," said Carol Holcomb, director of the Campus Y. "Because there are so many human rights advocate groups in the community and on campus, we invited those groups to present information regarding their human rights concerns."

Holcomb said more than 20 groups were participating.



DTH/Nancy London

Treated as less than human: Baldwin told 1,500 his views on race relations

Two trees with history carved in will be cut down in Arboretum

By GUY LUCAS
Staff Writer

Two 80-year-old beech trees, covered with initials carved by decades of Tar Heels, will soon be cut down and removed from the University's Arboretum, according to Curtis Brooks, supervisor of the Arboretum.

Brooks said an inventory was taken of all diseased and dying trees to be cut down. All but the two beeches and an incense cedar have already been cut, but because those trees are the largest and, therefore, the hardest to remove, they were left until last.

Some people, including alumni, want to preserve the tree trunks with the initials or transplant the trees.

Brooks said there was no reason to

transplant the trees, because both will die within two years. He added that the trees were too big to be transplanted.

"I think once they (the alumni) take a look at it, they'll change their minds," he said. One diseased tree is leafless and "essentially dead," and the other is bent and crooked, he said.

Brooks said, however, that there would probably not be any problem keeping the trunks preserved, as long as they were kept indoors and dry.

He said people who wanted to preserve the trunks would have to decide whether they were worthy because of the historical value of the initials. He said old initials were often not clear.

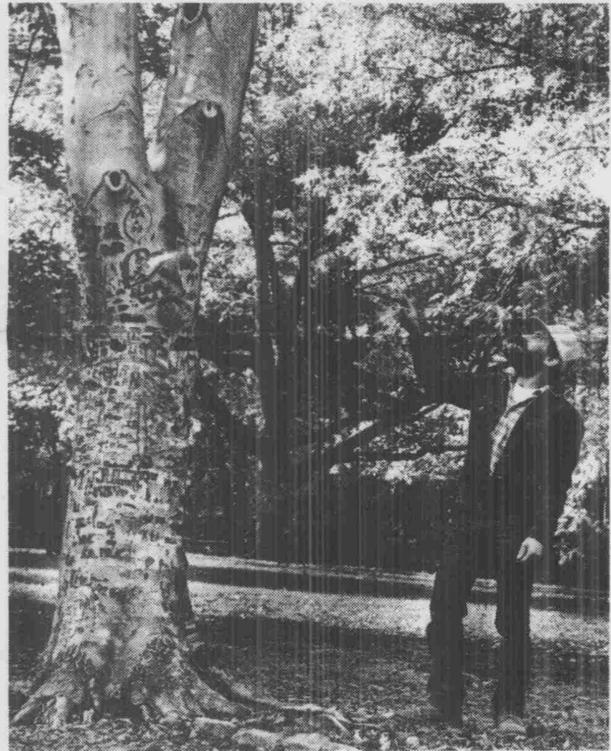
"The legible initials are probably 10 years (old) or less," he said.

The two beeches are part of a cluster of three. Brooks said the third beech is the strongest of the cluster, and it would become stronger after the other two are removed, because it would not have to compete with them.

He said the purpose of an Arboretum was to display as many different plants in the best health. He said the healthy tree would be a better specimen after the competing trees are removed.

All three beeches, as well as others in other parts of the Arboretum, have initials.

No date has been set for the trees to be cut down.



DTH/Nancy London

Initials from the past: Brooks indicates one of two doomed beech trees

Council discovers passing a bill about Nicaragua is no cakewalk

By DAVID SCHMIDT
Staff Writer

The controversy surrounding a Campus Governing Council law that anticipates a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua has more sides to it than the Pentagon.

The act outlines certain protests the CGC Student Affairs Committee will execute the day after an invasion occurs: organizing vigils outside state congressional offices and requesting that the chancellor cancel classes, the ROTC lower its flag to half-mast and local businesses place notices of solidarity in their stores.

Although the law states no Student Government funds will be used to enact the measures, some students pointed out that the CGC operates on student fees and claimed it violated the Student Constitution by supporting a political action. Others said the national issue is not of campus concern and that the majority of students don't support the law. And CGC members questioned what constituted an invasion while debating the bill.

"We want the discussion to take place, and perhaps we've forced it," said Doug Berger (Dist. 1), author of the bill.

Article I, section 6, of the Student Constitution states, "The Campus Governing Council shall appropriate no Student Fees to programs, services, or events of a political or religious nature."

The legality of the law could be challenged, according to Tom Terrell, president of the Graduate and Professional Student Federation and a third-year law student. "Anytime a campus organization which is funded by student fees spends its time and energies on activities of a religious or political

nature, that could arguably come under the statute," he said.

Berger said the law wasn't political in the way the constitution intended. The CGC is inherently political, he said, and providing means of protest wouldn't affect legislation. Besides, he added, *The Daily Tar Heel* endorses candidates for political offices and the Black Student Movement actively supports Affirmative Action.

John Nicholson (Dist. 17) said he tried to break quorum before the CGC approved the bill because the council shouldn't have addressed an issue of national affairs.

"I've received a lot of flak about what I (indirectly) helped do," Nicholson said. "We're speaking for all the students, and I know that's not how they feel."

"I can't think of anything that's more of a student issue than the specter of drafting students and sending them off to war," Berger said. He said his constituents supported the law.

In addition, he said, progressive movements traditionally have begun on college campuses. "I think Jimmy Carter hit it on the head (in his Oct. 30 lecture at UNC), and we need to do it again. I see it as a very positive thing that students got this country out of Vietnam."

Berger defined "invasion" in this case as an act of aggression within Nicaragua's borders.

The ultimate decision rests with the entire Student Affairs Committee. Four of its seven members, including Berger, are members of Students Effectively Establishing a Democratic System. a

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Reagan's success failed to deliver working majority

By JOAN CLIFFORD
Staff Writer

State after state lit up for President Reagan on the evening news maps last Tuesday, carrying him to victory and sweeping Walter Mondale away. Despite the magnitude of his victory, however, Reagan failed to lift his party to major gains in Congress.

Congressional results indicate that Reagan may not be able to revive the working majority that took control of the House in 1980. Republicans picked up only 15 seats — little more than half the 26 seats they lost in 1982, and the Democrats retain control. Some of the Republican winners only replaced conservative Democrats who had frequently voted with Reagan on much of his legislation. As a result, the actual shift, with the 15 additional Republican seats, is slim, the Democrats claim: perhaps only six to 10 seats.

Besides keeping a majority in the House, Democrats stole two Senate seats, reducing the Republican edge

Analysis

from 55-45 to 53-47. The results weakened the leverage of the GOP majority.

Democrats are challenging the scope of Reagan's mandate, saying that his win was one of personal popularity rather than one of economic, social or military policies. Merle Black, associate professor of political science, supports that idea:

"Reagan had more popularity than his party. He may have swept the nation, but his coattails weren't long enough. The Republicans didn't gain much at all."

How successful Reagan is at pushing his programs through Congress may determine how successful his "four more years" are. Since Republicans failed to gain enough seats to make up for their

1982 loss, it will probably be more difficult for Reagan to put together the winning alliances he had in 1981.

The possibility of moderate bipartisan coalitions on some issues remains, Black said.

"In the House, since the (Republicans) did gain some seats, they could probably pull through with economic matters. They might sway Southern Democrats." But Black said Republicans could not win on many of the big issues, "nothing like religion or abortion; that's too tender."

Some upcoming Congressional votes, on continuing production of the MX missile, which was close before, and sending aid to rebels fighting in Nicaragua, which Democrats opposed, will test the support of Congress for Reagan's plans.

The president has also proposed a tax simplification plan which includes a trade-off of lower tax rates in return for the elimination of deductions and exemptions. On this issue there could

be conflict, Black said, because "it's optimum for the people of America, but it will put a lot of businesses out."

The biggest GOP breakthroughs in Congressional battles were in North Carolina and Texas, where Republicans saved two Senate seats and picked up seven House seats, three of which were in North Carolina.

Reagan's landslide victory is being compared to Richard Nixon's 1972 reelection landslide over George McGovern: Nixon won with 47 million votes to McGovern's 29 million, but voters elected Democratic majorities to both the Senate and the House, although North Carolina's Jesse Helms rode in with Nixon's coattails. (North Carolina gave Reagan a 62 percent majority in 1984, and Nixon a 70 percent one in 1972).

"In 1972 Nixon swept the nation but didn't bring many Republicans with him. That's just like another Reagan," Black said.

See DOCUMENTARY on page 3

Anti-apartheid:

By ANDY MILLER
Staff Writer

A UNC graduate student gave a speech last week that could have landed him in jail — for at least five years — in his home country of South Africa.

Jimmy Ellis, a UNC graduate student in sociology, spoke in favor of University divestment, or the removal of UNC Endowment investments from companies that do business in South Africa, at a rally in the Pit.

In South Africa, his speech would be considered treason, which carries a maximum penalty of death. At UNC, it became another flame in the fiery campus debate over divestment. The Black Student Movement, the Campus Governing Council and other student organizations have renewed their call for total University divestment because of South Africa's apartheid government, which segregates the races and discriminates by law and custom.

Ellis said in a recent interview that corporate involvement in South Africa was the same as involvement in apartheid. "If you deplore apartheid and (do) not withdraw your funds from these companies, you are taking the clout out of your condemnation," he said.

The white-controlled apartheid government has forced the black popula-

tion, which constitutes 72 percent of the total population of South Africa, to live on 13 percent of the land. These "homelands" are the worst areas in the country, according to Julius Nyang'oro, visiting professor of African Studies at UNC.

Under apartheid, blacks are barred from voting, or being members of the ruling parliament. In 1975, blacks in South Africa received \$175 in per capita income, compared to \$2500 for whites. Per capita spending on education in 1978-79 was \$833 for whites and \$82 for blacks. And, because of the inequities in medicine under apartheid, blacks have a much higher infant mortality rate than whites — 94 out of 1,000, vs. 14.9 out of 1,000.

The Black Student Movement and 12 other student organizations sponsored the divestment rally last week to protest the investment policy of the Endowment Board of Trustees. In a April 1983 policy statement, the board said it deplored apartheid as "repugnant and inhumane" but said divestment was inconsistent with the board's primary obligation "to maximize risk-adjusted investment returns for the charitable purposes of the University community."

Chancellor Christopher C. Fordham said Thursday that the Endowment Board, by holding extensive debate and

a public hearing on the issue, had given divestment serious consideration. "One may criticize the result, but it's hard to criticize their effort," Fordham said.

"The board works carefully and unselfishly in giving their time and effort to the University," he said. "From time to time they have to make some unpopular decisions."

More than 20 U.S. colleges and universities have divestment policies, according to Anne Newman, a research analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center.

Some institutions, such as the University of Maine and Michigan State University, have policies of total divestment in the 350 American companies doing business in South Africa. Other institutions, such as Harvard College and Ohio State University, have policies of monitoring corporate practices in South Africa according to the Sullivan Principles.

These principles, formulated by the Rev. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia in 1976, promote equal pay and opportunity in the companies' factories in South Africa. They have been accepted by 130 U.S. companies.

Sherrod Banks, president of the BSM, said Thursday that his organization had asked the Black Faculty and Staff Caucus for its support on the

divestment issue.

"We have picked up support from just about every student organization," Banks said. "It needs to be a joint effort from students and faculty."

In September, the CGC voted to withdraw Student Government's \$13,000 investment from the Trust Fund Office and place the money into the Self-Help Credit Union in Durham, which does not invest in companies that do business in South Africa.

Paul Parker, student body president, said the transfer was spurred by a 1983 student referendum, which supported divestment by a vote of 3,313 to 1,891.

The \$13,000 had been invested in Treasury Bonds and not in corporations, Parker said. But the CGC moved the surplus funds, he said, to "dissociate with the University's policy of investing in South Africa."

"The second step is to get the University to divest its own money," he said.

Nyang'oro, who is originally from Tanzania, compared the repression in South Africa to that in Nazi Germany during the 1930s. "South Africa represents the most repressive regime in the world," he said. The U.S. government stresses human rights in Poland, the

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Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. — Gen. Omar Bradley