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“Why Invest in Racism?”: Anti-Apartheid Activism at the University of Illinois, 1977-1987

By

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Undergraduate Departmental Honors Thesis in History

Eastern Illinois University

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Advised by Dr. Edmund Wehrle

“Why Invest in Racism?”: Anti-Apartheid Activism at the University of Illinois, 1977-1987

BY

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I hereby recommend this thesis to be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirement by obtaining
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May 8, 2023
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DEPARTMENT CHAIR

Dedicated to my girlfriend and my parents.

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Introduction

On February 11, 1990, Nelson Mandela walked out of prison a free man after being held captive for over 27 years. Crowds roared with joyfulness as their beacon of hope pumped his right fist in the air triumphantly. The international community watched the occasion with hope and a feeling of success after the assistance in the struggle to bring down the brutal regime of apartheid. This inspiring movement took decades of unified activism from both South Africans and local, grassroots organizations to bring the system down. Amidst the ongoing Cold War politics and other international issues, dismantling apartheid proved to be a severe challenge. Nevertheless, activists from across the world, from small towns to large cities, united to bring about an end to the racial system. Today, the anti-apartheid movement remains a clear example of how unified activism at the local level can bring about change on the wider national and international community.

Due to the lack of centralization, anti-apartheid scholars have agreed that the movement is best understood as a collection of networks, defined largely by its local, grassroots organizations.¹ Rather than attributing Mandela's moment to a singular national or international organization, or the passage of a bill, such as override of President Ronald Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, most historians of anti-apartheid activism agree that the anti-apartheid movement requires a complex study of the connections between local, grassroots movements with the wider national and international community. The purpose of this thesis is to shed light on one dimension of this grassroots network by specifically examining the

¹ David Hostetter, *Movement Matters: American Antiapartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics* (New York City: Routledge, 2009), 4. Robert Zebulun Larson, "The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2019), 1-2.

student activism at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, to note the contributions that the local movement played in the broader scale of the anti-apartheid movement.

At the University of Illinois, the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid (CU-CAA) formed in 1978 following the pattern of the nationally burgeoning anti-apartheid movement. The formation was due to several factors, but mainly growing evidence of the horrible realities of apartheid as revealed through international media. This thesis examines the founding of CU-CAA and its activities up until 1987, when the University of Illinois partially divested. Additionally, this thesis examines the formation of the Divest Now Coalition (DNC) in 1985. The DNC was a radical band of young, undergraduate students from CU-CAA that broke away to focus on direct action rather than solely education. This study considers the networks these local groups forged with local, national, and international movements, but my main focus remains on the contributions of these two smaller, grassroots organizations.

Many scholars have explored the anti-apartheid movement; however, the examination of the contributions of grassroots organizations is a relatively new phenomenon. In an early study, Håkan Thörn argues in *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society* that the anti-apartheid movement was a form of transnational activism; however, other scholars have closely examined the local dimensions of the movement and advocated for the importance of local issues as a motive for anti-apartheid activism. Most notably, the contributors to *A Global History of Anti-Apartheid* examine how the local and global dimensions of the anti-apartheid movement intersected. One of the key themes that Anna Konieczna and Rob Skinner touch on in their introduction to this volume is the idea of solidarity, which is commonly brought up in the anti-apartheid movement.² Other scholars have pushed the study of local organizations further. Simon

² Anna Konieczna and Rob Skinner “Introduction: Anti-Apartheid in Global History,” in *A Global History of Anti-Apartheid “Forward to Freedom” in South Africa*, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 1-30.

Stevens focuses on the Stop the Seventies Tour (which campaigned against South African sports tours to Great Britain) and the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group (which protested outside Trafalgar Square due to unfair imprisonments in South Africa).³ While Stevens offers an insightful analysis on the two groups and lays a foundation for local anti-apartheid movements, both were based in Great Britain, rather than the United States, and the focus of this thesis is to examine the contributions of grassroots organizations in the United States.

One scholar that thoroughly examined the local contributions of the anti-apartheid movement in the United States is Robert Zebulun Larson in his dissertation titled, “The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement.” Larson argues that the anti-apartheid movement is best understood as a collection of networks. He focuses on the contributions of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Michigan State University, the city of Chicago, and the city of Boston in relation to the broader anti-apartheid movement in the United States.⁴ UIUC shares many features with these universities, though in contrast to Madison, Chicago, and Boston, it is situated in a fairly conservative community in rural Illinois. The University of Illinois thus provides some interesting contrasts to Larson’s case studies. Furthermore, the University of Illinois is not particularly known for its activism unlike the city of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Larson also provided me with significant insight on the anti-apartheid movement. He notes that universities were a major driver for anti-apartheid activism in the U.S.⁵ Additionally, Larson argues that outside of three major media cycles, 1960-1963, 1976-1979, and 1983-1986,

³ Simon Stevens, “Why South Africa? The Politics of Anti-Apartheid Activism in Britain in the Long 1970s,” in *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*, eds. Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 205.

⁴ Robert Zebulun Larson, “The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement,” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2019), 21, 83.

⁵ Larson, “The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement,” 21.

anti-apartheid activities were relatively few, so I will compare this timeline to that of CU-CAA's and the DNC's activities.⁶ Finally, Larson also provided me with insight from the contributions of the American Committee on Africa and the Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDS), two critical links CU-CAA forged during its active years.

David Hostetter's *Movement Matters: American Antiapartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics* also provided me with an insight on the activities of the American Committee on Africa, along with other national organizations like the American Friends Service Committee and TransAfrica. Hostetter makes the compelling case that civil rights advocates were particularly opposed to South Africa's oppressive system because it drew parallels to the Jim Crow system in America.⁷ Furthermore, U.S. anti-apartheid activism also drew parallels to addressing racism at home, a common theme I explored throughout my research.⁸ Hostetter also argues that "music, sports, and movies created a cultural landscape in which Americans could comprehend apartheid in light of their own ideas and experiences."⁹ This study follows Hostetter's example and explores how culture played a vital in the organization's activities.

Outside of Larson, there were two other scholars that examined the contributions from grassroots organizations, specifically at the university level. Janice Love offers an interesting case study of activism at the University of Michigan and in Connecticut that provides insight into student activism; however, this work was released in 1985, at a time when the movement was still swelling and lacks historical perspective.¹⁰ Samuel Pfeifer, in his undergraduate thesis, conducted a case study at the anti-apartheid activism at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

⁶ Larson, "The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement," 135.

⁷ David Hostetter, *Movement Matters: American Antiapartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 3.

⁸ Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 11.

⁹ Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 120.

¹⁰ See Janice Love, *The U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement: Local Activism in Global Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1985).

and provided further insight into student activism, particularly since the University of Wisconsin-Madison successfully divested in 1978.¹¹ While both Love and Pfeifer provide interesting case studies, particularly in relation to the University of Illinois, neither author takes into account the ties these organizations forged with other campus organizations.

As Love and Pfeifer have demonstrated, student activism, specifically, was a unique dimension in the anti-apartheid movement. Compared to other organizations, student movements are led by young people in the process of completing their degree to graduate and find careers in the workforce. Unlike other organizations, these students were putting their entire future on the line because they cared so deeply about an issue. Desmond Tutu, an archbishop of the South African Anglican church and a leading figure in the anti-apartheid movement, late noted the persistence of student activism by observing, “There are some things more important than degrees.”¹² Whether or not the students were aware of Tutu’s comment, this quote embodies reality of the sacrifices students were willing to make.

As I will explore throughout this thesis, many students and members within the community made considerable sacrifices that put their futures in jeopardy. This study offers a remarkable testament to the courageousness of these students. One of the underlying questions that guided this research examining what exactly motivated these students, especially considering, as David Culverson notes, “American anti-apartheid activists... did not benefit immediately or directly from ending the apartheid system.”¹³ Certainly, the sense of moral outrage that students felt when they realized their universities were tied to assisting the apartheid

¹¹ Samuel J. Pfeifer, “8,700 Miles From Pretoria: The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Madison, Wisconsin, 1968-1994” (B.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin Eau Claire, 2010), 23.

¹² “Desmond Tutu’s 1986 Philadelphia Speech and the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Act,” *Billy Penn*, December 26, 2021.

¹³ Donald R. Culverson, “The Politics of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United States, 1969-1986,” *Political Science Quarterly* 111 (1996): 132.

regime is an important aspect to answering this question. Additionally, students at university of Illinois were able to effectively use culture (especially films and music) to draw support. They also called on the assistance of the anti-apartheid movement's network. Meanwhile, they effectively framed the UIUC Board of Trustees as a local, convenient enemy to build support for their organization.

One other important component to studying the anti-apartheid movement was the invocation of the human rights framework. Historian Mark Bradley identifies 1977 as the resurgence of human rights due to the “importation of transnational ideas and practices into domestic space.”¹⁴ Historian Samuel Moyn agrees with this chronology; however, he offers alternative explanations, such as the rise of NGOs, Jimmy Carter's presidency, and newspapers invoking the language of human rights.¹⁵ When CU-CAA was formed, the ideology of human rights was perhaps at its peak, and moved students. Specifically, after images from the Soweto Uprising reverberated to the world, the language of human rights was common. This relates to historian Lynn Hunt's argument that a new sense of empathy in the 18th century caused the emergence of human rights.¹⁶ While Stevens examined human rights in the anti-apartheid movement and saw no usage of the language, members of CU-CAA clearly shared the general human rights outlook, which will be further explored in this thesis.¹⁷

This thesis begins with the examination of how the Soweto Uprising in 1976 and murder of Steven Biko in 1977 capitulated the student anti-apartheid movement. In chapter 1, I explore how these two events contributed not only to CU-CAA, but the student movement nationwide. In

¹⁴ Anthony B. Bradley, *The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 125.

¹⁵ Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2010), 121.

¹⁶ Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 2007), 39, 82.

¹⁷ Stevens, “Why South Africa? The Politics of Anti-Apartheid Activism in Britain in the Long 1970s,” 213.

this chapter, I will also examine the original goals of the organization and their attempts to accomplish their goals, along with other early initiatives. Chapter 2 will detail the abrupt halt in the movement after the short wave in activism, starting in 1980. I will then examine the reemergence of the movement due to its outreach to national organizations and look at how its activity during 1984 led to strong momentum moving into the final years of the movement. Chapter 3 focuses on the formation of the DNC, its reoriented strategy, and how into the 1985-1986 schoolyear with more direct action approaches. The chapter will conclude by examining the Board of Trustees' partial divestment in 1987 and debate the perplexing question of whether the organization "won."

Chapter 1

The Early Years of the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid (1977-1979)

In the latter half of the 1970s, two events in South Africa sparked international outrage and pushed the student anti-apartheid movement to a new dimension: the Soweto Uprising in 1976 and the murder of Steven Biko in 1977. From here, apartheid was capitulated from a relatively minor issue to one that dominated political discussions. These events sparked the emergence of not only the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid (CU-CAA), but also student movements throughout the country. This chapter, after briefly detailing these two events and the connection to the emergence of the human rights movement, will examine the foundations of CU-CAA in 1978 and the original goals of the organization. Then, it examines some of the early initiatives of the organization that pushed the movement forward and brought attention to the issue. Finally, it describes the Board of Trustees commitment to the Sullivan Principles, which stalled CU-CAA's divestment agenda and led to the organization's brief hiatus.

While the student anti-apartheid movement would not reach significant popularity until 1976 and beyond, student anti-apartheid activism already existed prior to this time. MACSA (Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa) at the University of Wisconsin and the Southern Africa Liberation Committee (SALC) at Michigan State University were two of the largest student anti-apartheid organizations prior to 1976 that lay the foundation for future activism. MASCA formed after students held its first meeting on March 21, 1969, the ninth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Their primary motivates were to research the situation in South Africa,

put political pressure on local officials, and push for sanctions.¹ Their primary achievement came from developing their newsletter, *MASCA News*, which compiled a distribution list of over 400 residents across the United States.² SALC was created in 1972 by a group of members that split off from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Like MADSA, the early success of SALC focused on educating the public about the issues surrounding apartheid. Additionally, they assisted national anti-apartheid organizations.³ Janice Love, an early scholar of local anti-apartheid activism, argues that, in 1985, these organizations were “[continuing] to provide a base of organization of anti-apartheid campaigns.”⁴ While these groups did not achieve particular attention during the beginnings of the student anti-apartheid movement, they provided a framework that led future student movements, specifically in the Midwest region.

The latter half of the 1970s, however, saw a pivotal transformation, not only in student anti-apartheid activism, but also the national anti-apartheid movement. This was due to the Soweto Uprising in 1976 and the murder of Steven Biko in 1977. Historian David Hostetter argues that there were two events that brought a “re-enlivened awareness of the crisis in South Africa and “led to a new wave of activism in the U.S.”⁵ The Soweto Uprising occurred on June 17, 1976, when an estimated 20,000 students began peacefully protesting the 1974 *Afrikaans Medium Decree*, which mandated that black schools must include the language of Afrikaans in their curriculum. Leaders of the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa described Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor that was another way to disenfranchise the black population of

¹ Pfeifer, “8,700 Miles From Pretoria: The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Madison, Wisconsin, 1968-1994,” 13.

² Pfeifer, “8,700 Miles From Pretoria,” 14.

³ “Campus Anti-Apartheid Movements before Soweto,” *Divest for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan*, Michigan in the World, accessed January 22, 2023, <http://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/campus-before-soweto>.

⁴ Janice Love, *The U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement*, 162.

⁵ Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 36-37.

South Africa.⁶ The students' nonviolent protests were answered by armed South African policemen opening fire on the protestors. Hundreds of children and teenagers were killed; thousands more were injured. Students in America were shocked and deeply moved by this event, since they were able to resonate with the protestors of Soweto, were themselves students. As Pfeifer explains, MASCA needed a spark to grow political and public interest in South Africa, and the Soweto Uprising in 1976 proved the spark that was needed to popularize the movement.⁷

The media played a fundamental role in broadcasting the atrocity of the Soweto Uprising. Individuals from around the world were able to internalize the brutalities of apartheid. Sam Nzima, a photographer for *The World*, the black newspaper of South Africa, captured one of the most compelling photographs from the Soweto Uprising that ate at American's moral compasses.

The image showed Mbuyisa Makhubo, a protestor, carrying the dead body of 13-year-old Hector Pieterse, who was killed by the South African police attacking the non-violent protestors. Pieterse's older sister, 15-year-old Antoinette Sithole, chased them in confusion and disbelief as to what had happened (see figure 1).⁸ The image evokes emotions upon first sight. It promotes a sense of disbelief and confusion as to why a lifeless and severely wounded, child is



Figure 1- Sam Nzima's photograph of the Soweto Uprising

being carried. The image also shows chaos with the individuals fleeing a horrific scene. This,

⁶ "The Soweto Uprising," *Divest for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan*, Michigan in the World, accessed January 23, 2023, http://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/soweto_uprising.

⁷ Pfeifer, "8,700 Miles From Pretoria," 17.

⁸ Aryn Baker, "This Photo Galvanized the World Against Apartheid. Here's the Story Behind It," *Time Magazine*, 15 June 2016.

combined with the context of white policemen opening fire on the peaceful protestors (most of whom were children), caused Americans to question the morality of apartheid. While this event happened across the world, Americans – and activists throughout the world – were horrified and, later, outraged when they learned domestic corporations were investing in this country to assist this brutal regime.

This event and the powerful role the media (specifically photography) pulled at American's moral compasses, aligned with the resurgence of human rights movement scholars point to. Historian Mark Bradley argues that human rights resurged during the late 1970s because of the “importation of transnational ideas and practices into domestic space.”⁹ Nzima's photograph of Soweto evoked moral outrage and a call for universal human rights. Another historian, Samuel Moyn concurs with this time, identifying the year 1977 as the year human rights emerged as “the last utopia.” He mainly attributes this to the rise of NGOs, the presidency of Jimmy Carter, and the rise of newspapers using the term “human rights.”¹⁰ My research supports these historians' assertions of the importance of the late 1970s, and that photographs like Nzima's helped plant the idea of human into the American's consciousness. The result of the Soweto Uprising caused many Americans to demand universal human rights because of the deep sentiments felt about the victimization of a part of humankind.

Lynn Hunt, another scholar of human rights, makes the compelling argument that the concept of human rights came about with a new sense of empathy as the rise of epistolary novels and a realization of the brutalities of torture were exposed in the 18th century.¹¹ Similarly to the epistolary novels and accounts of torture, Nzima's photograph evoked emotions that made an

⁹ Bradley, *The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century*, 125.

¹⁰ Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, 121.

¹¹ Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, 39, 82.

empathetic view around the world. It resulted in a more universalistic notion that everyone deserved human rights, not just citizens within a certain country. Therefore, this event not only changed the anti-apartheid movement (as I will soon explore), but it also contributed to the emerging human rights movement taking place in the later part of the 1970s.

The second event that sparked this new surge of activism near the end of the 1970s was the murder of Steven Biko. A young activist, Biko was the founder of the South African Student Organization (SASO), a student-led organization from black students across many universities to oppose apartheid, and the Black Conscious Movement, a grassroots organization created after the African National Congress (ANC) was banned.¹² Biko's political views made him to be a quick target from the South African Police. In one violation, Biko was given a banning order that required him to stay within certain areas in South Africa. Police later arrested and jailed Biko on August 18, 1977, for violating this banning order.¹³ While in jail, Biko was beaten up by the prison prison guards. On one specific night, September 6, the night team was told to get more information out of Biko on his political activity, and to use whatever force was necessary. Biko's body was found the next day brutally wounded and near lifeless. For days, Biko was denied medical attention despite being clearly lifeless and severely beaten. As a result of the beating and lack of medical attention, Biko later died in police captivity on September 12, 1977.¹⁴ In parallel to the Soweto Uprising, the news of the immortality of a peaceful black man brutality tortured to death by white South African police officers caused international outrage. Biko, an excelling student at Natal Medical School with a bright future ahead of him, lost his aspirations at the hand

¹² "Student African Student Organization," *South Africa History Online*, accessed February 2, 2023, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african-student-organisation-saso>.

¹³ Robert Kinloch Massie, *Loosing the Bonds: The United States and South Africa in the Apartheid Years* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 421.

¹⁴ Massie, *Loosing the Bonds*, 422.

of the police officers, supposedly the protectors of the law. The atrocity particularly resonated with students since Biko. was a a student himself.

Nzima’s photograph and the media that exposed Biko’s murder revealed the truth of the brutalities occurring in South Africa. The primary drive for these two events on the international stage was likely the introduction of national broadcasting in South Africa in 1976.¹⁵ While it is one thing to read about atrocities happening abroad, it is another thing to witness live footage of innocent people being murdered. One commentator in the video documentary series *Have You Heard From Johannesburg?* argued that the increased media coverage was critical because it put a human face to the situation going on in South Africa.¹⁶ This relates to the vital role the media played in bringing human rights home to resonate with Americans. These two events might have also resonated with Americans because they saw the reflection of Jim Crow in the system of apartheid. Hostetter argues that “Civil rights advocates in the US opposed apartheid in South Africa because of the parallels they saw between apartheid and Jim Crow segregation.”¹⁷ Students and other anti-apartheid activists across the US saw this connection between Jim Crow and apartheid, an idea that would influence the apartheid movement. These two events, happening within a span of about 15 months, coalesced the student anti-apartheid movement and transformed the larger international anti-apartheid movement.

The awakening of the student anti-apartheid movement is clearly evident in the vast number of student-led organizations formed after the previously discussed events. Across the country, student groups began to coalesce following one or both incidents. The Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP) at Stanford University and the

¹⁵ “TV in South Africa Marks its 40th Anniversary,” *News24*, January 5, 2016.

¹⁶ “From Selma to Soweto,” in *Have You Heard From Johannesburg?*. Directed by Connie Field. Aired January 12, 2012 (Minneapolis, MN: Clarity Films, 1979). TV Show, 90 minutes.

¹⁷ Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 3.

Campuses United Against Apartheid (CUAA) at the University of California at Berkeley were two major campuses (with a long history of activism) where this awakening took place.¹⁸ This trend would be similar throughout the country across various campuses.

At the University of Illinois, there was relatively little activity in 1977 compared to the nationally growing movement; however, the Student Government Association, who would later become a major force in the movement at UIUC, held a referendum in April of 1977 that polled students on whether the University should divest itself of stocks in corporations doing business with South Africa. In a vote of over 3,000 students, a majority voted in favor of divestment.¹⁹ Prior to the formation of CU-CAA, there were already students committed to divestment. This vote would help set the foundation for CU-CAA to flourish.

Near the end of 1977, Dean E. McHenry, a professor of political science with an emphasis on comparative politics specifically in Africa, began raising the issue with the Board of Trustees. He pushed for a shareholder proxy to restrict the activities of General Electric in South Africa, but the Board of Trustees ignored McHenry's requests. The Finance Committee of the Board of Trustees had voted against divestment in 1965 and seemed unwilling to change its position.²⁰ Despite this obstacle, McHenry began uniting students, faculty, and members of the committee who cared about the issue, eventually formed the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid (CU-CAA) in 1978.²¹ The group began meeting in 284 Illini Union, a mid-sized room but spacious enough for the current size of the group, on Sundays at 3:00 p.m., so

¹⁸ "The Soweto Uprising," *Divest for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan*, Michigan in the World, accessed January 23, 2023,

http://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins/soweto_uprising.

¹⁹ Vote for Pat Coffey For Student Trustee, 1978, Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid Collection, African Activist Archive, Michigan State University, accessed January 30, 2023,

<https://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization/210-813-284/>.

²⁰ History of Anti-Apartheid Struggle at UIUC, n.d., Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!

²¹ History, n.d., Box 1, Folder 32, Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid, 1964-1992, 2004, Series Number 41/66/21, University of Illinois Archives, Champaign, Illinois.

students could attend when they were not in class. Meetings were also held on Thursdays at 7:00 p.m., again avoiding normal class times. They reaffirmed that their primary reasons for forming were the Soweto Uprising and the murder of Steven Biko. They further explained that they were “a group of individuals concerned about the current situation in Southern Africa.”²²

By far, the most active and consistent member of the group was a young transplant from the East Coast, Steve Apotheker. A committed activist, Apotheker grew up academically gifted and excelled at music and sports, competing in varsity soccer and tennis while being in the school drama productions and jazz ensemble. After completing his B.A. at Drew University, Apotheker went on to complete his M.A. in Physics at the University of Illinois. While completing his masters, Apotheker met the love of his life, Diane Meisenhelter, who became another pivotal member of the organization.²³ Instead of leaving Urbana-Champaign, Apotheker became a pivotal member in the community. Aside from being a leading member in CU-CAA, he cofounded and directed the community Recycling Center in Champaign-Urbana from 1978-1989. Apotheker’s passion for activism and helping the community earned him the admiration from his colleagues. Former Champaign Mayor Dannel McCollum described Apotheker as being “determined” and “dedicated,” qualities Apotheker applied to his work in recycling and anti-apartheid efforts. One of Apotheker’s coworkers, Elizabeth Markstahler, detailed his dedication by explaining there were times when “Mr. Apotheker slept on the concrete floor on the Market Street facility.”²⁴ Apotheker’s dedication to better his community and fight for black South African’s rights made him a remarkable asset to the organization.

²² History, n.d., Box 1, Folder 32, CU-CAA Records.

²³ “Steven Apotheker Obituary,” *Oregon Live*, 2011.

²⁴ Paul Wood, “Life Remembered: Steve Apotheker Launched Local Recycling Efforts,” *The News-Gazette*, July 7, 2011.

The initial goals of the group aligned with other student-led anti-apartheid organizations that coalesced around this time. First, they made it their primary goal to educate and inform the university and the community about the situation in South Africa.²⁵ This goal was not only critical to the growth of the organization, but it also allowed all students and community members to gain enlightenment about the situation in South Africa. This was also critical since most Americans were not even aware of apartheid. During 1985, a time considered the height of the movement, a poll found that around 58% of Americans did not know enough about the situation in South Africa to respond to Reagan's foreign policy, a number that was likely significantly higher when the coalition coalesced in 1978.²⁶ Nevertheless, education remained a fundamental goal of the organization, both to gain support and inform citizens of the atrocities being committed elsewhere.

The group immediately pounced on the goal of educating the university and community. The primary mechanism the group used was local media. They connected with WICD-TV, a local television station; WPGU, the student-run college radio station; WILL, a local radio station; *The Daily Illini*, the student-run college newspaper; and other local newspapers and media outlets. The organization also held various programs students could attend, bringing in South African exiles to speak about their experiences. For example, early in the organization's years, the group invited Elizabeth Sibeko, an exile from South Africa and former member of the banned Pan-African Congress of Azania (PAC). Larson identified the importance of South African exiles and expatriates becoming faculty members at various universities.²⁷ While exiles becoming faculty members was not as common at the University of Illinois, the importance of

²⁵ History, n.d., Box 1, Folder 32, CU-CAA Records.

²⁶ "Most Americans in CBS Poll Know Little About Apartheid," *Chicago Tribune*, 1 September 1985.

²⁷ Larson, "The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement," 23.

exiles lay in their expertise and insight that they provided. The group also used documentaries like “Six Days in Soweto” to “demonstrate the consequences of apartheid.”²⁸ This, again, relates to the idea of empathy and using different forms of media to draw support. Throughout the active years of the organization, education would remain a primary goal, and one that the organization excelled at.

Another goal of the organization was to support movements in South Africa that were pushing for democratic majority rule and self-determination.²⁹ The group made it a priority to not just to support the struggle at home, but also networks that were fighting at the forefront of apartheid. While support was clearly given for these groups, including holding clothing drives, there were not many opportunities to directly support groups demanding self-determination, specifically because groups like the ANC, PAC, and SASO were now banned in South Africa. Yet, CU-CAA made it clear that this was a unified struggle, and they stood with the liberation groups. Directly supporting self-determination groups would prove to be a difficult task, which shows the importance of the global role in ending apartheid.

The final goal of the organization was to “research, publicize, and effectively eliminate the ties that our local, state, and national institutions have with South Africa which support its current domestic policy of apartheid.”³⁰ This became known as divestment, because the organization wanted the Board of Trustees to divest, or pull its money and assets, out of companies doing business in South Africa. The divestment movement became significantly popular because it identified a local enemy that could be fought. Unlike fighting the leaders of apartheid, or even the national government, which seemed so foreign, fighting the Board of

²⁸ Review of Accomplishments and Future Calls for Action, Spring 1978, African Archivist Records.

²⁹ History, n.d., Box 1, Folder 32, CU-CAA Records.

³⁰ History, n.d., Box 1, Folder 32, CU-CAA Records.

Trustees was a convenient enemy. The University of Illinois, at the time of the organization's founding, had over \$4,000,000 invested in corporations doing business in South Africa.³¹ This disgusted students across campus, as proved by the referendum.³² Jim Walker, an early member of the organization, argued, "The Coalition believes that divestiture is the only effective measure the University can take to oppose U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa."³³ Therefore, the goal of divestment is clearly stated by the organization. Their hope is that if enough money can be divested from corporations doing business in South Africa, the corporations will be forced to completely pull out of South Africa, which would help end apartheid.

This sentiment shows the students understood that the University's divestment was part of something larger. The group was not solely focused on eliminating ties to South Africa at their own university, but also at a state and national level. One of the fundamental links that CU-CAA would make in 1983 (which will be explored further) was the statewide organization, the Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDS). The group would also begin to work with national organizations around the same time, proving that the organization understood that they were part of the unified network. Amanda Kemp, a student at the anti-apartheid student movement at Stanford University between 1984-1988, demonstrated these sentiments by arguing that the larger goal of divestment was national sanctions against South Africa.³⁴ The goal of the organization clearly was not solely local divestment, but there was also a wider goal of national sanctions to bring an end to apartheid.

³¹ Indictment: Concerned Students, Faculty, and Staff of the U. of I, Spring 1978, African Activist Archive.

³² Vote For Pat Coffey For Student Trustee, April 1978, African Activist Archive.

³³ Hearings on University Investments in South Africa, November 1978, African Activist Archive.

³⁴ "From Selma to Soweto," in *Have You Heard From Johannesburg?*. Directed by Connie Field. Aired January 12, 2012 (Minneapolis, MN: Clarity Films, 1979). TV Show, 90 minutes.

To accomplish the goal of divestment, CU-CAA demanded an open debate with President John Corbally, George Howard (the head of the Board of Trustees), or any other representative of the university administration. To harness public support, they used the forms of media discussed earlier. In one pamphlet, CU-CAA issued an “indictment” that accused President Corbally and Howard of co-conspiring with various corporations to perpetuate violence. The students specifically accused them of various crimes. Some of these included robbery, because businesses were paying Black Africans below the Poverty Datum Line; manslaughter, citing that under apartheid, which businesses allowed to continue, there was a 40% infant mortality rate and vast amounts of innocent civilians being killed by the South African police; and extortion, because the companies were intentionally squeezing profits from the “blood, sweat, and misery of millions of Black African workers.”³⁵ This was an aggressive tactic: it charged the administration with engaging in acts of violence against black South Africans. The organization realized that the only way the administration would take them seriously agree to a public debate was with enough public pressure. Efforts like this show some of the ways the organization went about harnessing the support it needed.

Earlier, in 1972, the Board of Trustees adopted a policy by the Finance Committee that recommended against divestment but agreed it would review the policy if requests were made by members of the university.³⁶ CU-CAA repeatedly called on the Board of Trustees to review the policy in 1978; however, the Board of Trustees continued to ignore their requests. With the spring 1978 semester winding down, the members knew that they would have to push their goals before the issue got pushed to the wayside. Near the end of April, the group gathered 150 individuals and marched to the University of Illinois Foundation office demanding to speak to an

³⁵ Indictment: Concerned Students, Faculty, and Staff of the U. of I., Spring 1978, African Activist Archive.

³⁶ History of Anti-Apartheid Struggle at UIUC, n.d., Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

administrator about divestment. Again, they were given no response, so the coalition issue a letter to President Corbally, demanding a platform to discuss the issue. The coalition demanded a public debate on where their university was investing their money. They demanded a response from the administration by noon on May 1.³⁷ Although the group did not indicate what the consequences would be if the administration did not respond, they indicated plans for something larger that would surely get the attention of the administration.

By noon on May 1, 1978, there was still no response by the administration, which came to no surprise from the organization. The group had been convening for the past week and decided that they would conduct a sit-in at President Corbally's office on May 1 at 1:00 p.m., assuming there would be no response. As such, at 1:00 p.m., over 120 individuals marched to the president's office demanding a debate on the South African policy. President Corbally hid from the protestors unwilling to speak with them. The students were vocally upset that the administration was not even willing to consider divestment. After several minutes, President Corbally eventually came out and stubbornly reiterated that he would not speak with the students, because he believed it was "unprofitable." He then locked himself in the inner office, but the students held their ground. The students remained for several hours and held a meeting. Some members gave talks that linked apartheid with U.S. racism, read poetry, discussed future tactics, and welcomed new members, including two security guards at the administration building.³⁸

Student's persistence during this event is remarkable. This took place on a Monday afternoon. Despite classes, jobs, and other activities, the students felt compelled to stick to this issue. Tutu mentioned the vast amount of risk students took campaigning for anti-apartheid, and

³⁷ An Open Challenge to: Corbally, April 28, 1978, African Activist Archive.

³⁸ Successful Sit-in at Corbally's Office, May 1978, African Activist Archive.

this early sit-in proves these risks. Additionally, after several hours, Hugh Satterlee, the University Ombudsperson and former Chancellor of Student Affairs, threatened that if students stayed after 5:00 p.m., they would be arrested and expelled. He claimed he was not threatening them and merely letting them know. The students held their group and argued this was ironic since the ombudsperson was supposed to be impartial and be willing to hear both sides. Less than 5 minutes later, Paul Doebel, the Vice-Chancellor for Administrative Affairs, gave in to the group's demands and promised that a representative of the administration would be open to public debate, yet never confirmed a date as to when it would occur.³⁹

Students of the organization celebrated their hard-fought victory, realizing they truly had a voice as students. Some members were upset since they would not be speaking directly with President Corbally, but others found it beneficial since Corbally was close-minded and unwilling to listen to their demands anyway.⁴⁰ The university clung to the idea that the issue would go away over the summer and the administration was hopeful that the issue would dissolve. By the start of the fall semester, there was still no set date for the public debate. Members quickly organized and reiterated their demands for the meeting. Eventually, it was agreed that the debate would be set for Wednesday, September 6, 1978, against the Board of Trustees Finance Committee. In a letter to President Corbally, members reaffirmed their demands that the debate must be open to the public to allow all students, faculty, and community members to join. The coalition demanded that it was not just the responsibility of the coalition to spread the word about the event, but also demanded that the university "make efforts to publicize the hearings in the university and community."⁴¹ This was done both to harness additional support for the

³⁹ Successful Sit-in at Corbally's Office, May 1978, African Activist Archive.

⁴⁰ Successful Sit-in at Corbally's Office, May 1978, African Activist Archive.

⁴¹ Dear President Corbally, September 6, 1978, African Activist Archive.

movement, but also to allow students, faculty, and community members to be aware of where the university's money was being invested.

While there is no evidence of what was discussed, it can be concluded that the demands the coalition sought were not met. The university clung to the narrative pushed by George Howard, the leader of the Board of Trustees, that “the companies (in South Africa) aren't actually out there beating people.”⁴² This argument attempts to separate the atrocities being committed by the South African government from the businesses operating there, despite the fact that businesses were exploiting black South Africans for cheap labor. Howard and the other members of the Board initially held onto this argument; however, it soon became clear that while companies were not directly instituting apartheid, they were allowing the system to perpetuate. Another argument to which the Board would soon commit was the Sullivan Principles.

The Sullivan Principles, proposed by civil rights advocate Reverend Leon Sullivan in 1977, were a set of principles that outlined how businesses should operate in South Africa. There was a total of six principles, most of which focused on “the elimination of workplace discrimination, pay equality, education, and sponsoring social program and community investment.”⁴³ While Rev. Sullivan had good intentions, many scholars agree that the Sullivan Principles only worsened the situation for Black workers in South Africa. Francis Nesbitt, in his examination of the role of African Americans in the anti-apartheid movement, argues that the South African government eagerly welcomed the Sullivan Principles because they “posed little threat to the system of apartheid but could be used as leverage in international relations.”⁴⁴ Like

⁴² Indictment: Concerned Students, Faculty, and Staff at the U. of I., Spring 1978, African Activist Archive.

⁴³ Zeb Larson, “The Sullivan Principles: South Africa, Apartheid, and Globalization,” *Diplomatic History* 44 #3 (June 2020), Issue 3: 479.

⁴⁴ Francis Njubi Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions: African Americans against Apartheid, 1946-1994* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 96.

corporations, the Board of Trustees used the Sullivan Principles to justify their investments in corporations doing business in South Africa. The Board of Trustees argued that only uphold investments in corporations adhering to the guidelines of the Sullivan Principles; however, the organization was critical of the principles, arguing that “While the goals articulated by Sullivan Principles are laudable, affirmative action policy approaches of this kind have no possibility of reforming the Apartheid system.”⁴⁵ The Board’s commitment to the Sullivan Principles would prove to be a challenging obstacle for CU-CAA to overcome, specifically when the Board framed the argument as coming from a prominent civil rights leader. Therefore, while the hearing provided members with their first platform to debate, the administration’s unwillingness to consider divestment proved difficult to overcome.

Due to the Board’s commitment to the Sullivan Principles and the Board’s affirmations that they were not investing in corporations upholding racial policies, the concrete goals of the organization were not accomplished at the hearing. Nevertheless, this would not stop the organization from having one of the most active academic years in their history. The group’s persistence never waned despite continuous opposition from the administration. Moving forward, CU-CAA would put a central focus on collaborating with other organizations in the community, a point Larson identified as critical, specifically regarding the importance of African Studies programs at college campuses.⁴⁶

The first event the organization held was a “Campus Armband Day,” in which members of the coalition would hand out armbands that students would wear with them around campus and to class. The goal of this event was to further bring attention to the issue in South Africa and

⁴⁵ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” August 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁴⁶ Larson, “The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement,” 135.

push for divestment. The symbolism of this event is critical. They held this event on September 12, 1978, the one-year anniversary of the death of Steven Biko. They include a quote on a flyer for the event where Steven Biko argued, “The African people do not want their chains polished, they want to break the chains of slavery.”⁴⁷ The group’s goal in having armbands was to symbolize the chains that were holding black South Africans down. Furthermore, this also attacked the Sullivan Principles because it argued black South Africans do not want to “polish their chains,” but instead, remove them entirely. This event was also significant because the organization collaborated with the African Studies Department, the Afro-American Cultural House, the Afro-American Studies and Research Program, and the Undergraduate Student Association.⁴⁸ The African Studies Department became a critical nexus with CU-CAA assisting with various programs and protests in the future. While this event did not spark any change, it continued to bring attention to the issue and opened new networks that the CU-CAA would connect to in the future.

Another example of the group connecting to other organizations in the community came from a clothing drive to help refugees leaving South Africa and entering neighboring countries. The clothing drive was initiated by the Chicago Peace Council, in conjunction with the United Nations High Commission on Refugees and the United Nations “Year of Actions Against Apartheid.”⁴⁹ CU-CAA contributed to this clothing drive, working within their community to assist the larger effort. The Youth Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), a local organization, also eagerly assisted in the efforts to collect articles of clothing. The YWCA’s mission promoted the empowerment of women and establish peace, justice, and security for all.

⁴⁷ Campus Armband Day, September 1978, African Activist Archive.

⁴⁸ Campus Armband Day, September 1978, African Activist Archive.

⁴⁹ Refugee Clothing Drive for the Victims of South Africa, Fall 1978, African Activist Archive.

They were also dedicated to ending any form of racism.⁵⁰ The solidarity formed with this group proved to be pivotal. Both organizations sought similar goals and by combining their forces, the drive proved to be successful. Between September 1978, and February 15, 1979, the organization received more than 883 pounds of clothing. Dawn Manire, a member of the coalition, regarded this amount as highly successful.⁵¹ This further proved the organization's goal in connecting with other community organizations, which allowed them to gain support in accomplishing their goals.

As discussed earlier, one of the paramount goals of CU-CAA was to inform the university and community members about the situation going on in South Africa. This remained their primary goal even while other events were put on. In early October, in conjunction with the African Studies Department and the Political Science Department, the coalition hosted speaker Mzonke Xusa to talk about the fight for freedom in South Africa. Xusa, a South African exile, was a member of the PAC with previous experience in the United Nations. Furthermore, the group found Xusa's expertise compelling since he worked closely with Steven Biko, attending Natal Medical School and being a founding member of the South African Student Organization (SASO).⁵² Xusa provided excellent insight and gave a first-hand account of the discrimination in South Africa. Furthermore, one of the founding inspirations for the group was the murder of Steven Biko. Hearing from Xusa allowed the students to learn more about one of the individuals that heavily influenced the founding of the organization.

Other expertise on the issues in South Africa came from within the faculty of the University of Illinois. One of the most prominent contributors to the early years of the movement

⁵⁰ "Mission & Vision," *YWCA of the University of Illinois*, accessed 11 February 2023. <https://www.ywcauofi.org/mission>.

⁵¹ [The Clothing Drive for Victims of South African Apartheid Was a Real Success], African Activist Archive.

⁵² Come Hear Mzonke Xusa of the Pan-Africanist Congress, October 1978, African Activist Archive.

was Professor Donald Crummey. Don, as he preferred to be called by students and faculty alike, was charismatic and quickly became admired by those he worked with. Aside from being a fantastic scholar and professor of African history, he later become the Director of the Center for African Studies from 1984-1994. In his years as the director, the organization was ranked first in the nation in the funding round between 1991-1994. Don's legacy today is because of the time he devoted to his students. Aside from working extensively outside the classroom for his students, Don "opened not only his office but his home to students and young faculty, most of whom came half way across the globe."⁵³ Don was not just another faculty member. He was someone that genuinely cared for his students. Don applied these traits in his devotion to the African Studies Department, an organization that had close ties to CU-CAA. Don also felt morally compelled to be involved with CU-CAA because of the inhumanity of the situation in South Africa. Throughout the early years to the end of the organization, Don was a pivotal nexus between the African Studies Department and the CU-CAA.

Moving into the spring semester, anti-apartheid activities were scarcer than they had previously been. The coalition understood that many key members would be graduating and moving on, so they knew they had to harness support. To do this, they held two key events: The "Sharpeville Memorial" in March of 1979 and National Week of Actions in April of 1979, coordinating by Joshua Nessen, a member of the American Committee on Africa. At the Sharpeville Memorial, At this program, students commemorated the Sharpeville massacre and all those that died at the hands of the brutal South African regime. Black armbands were distributed at this event, similarly to the event commemorating Steven Biko. They were again symbolizing the removal of chains. Students protested the continued investment of the university in

⁵³ Shumet Sishagne, "Donald Edward Crummey (1941-2013)," *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 7 #1 & 2 (2013): 204-205.

corporations doing business in South Africa, framing the issue as morally wrong and a violation of human rights.⁵⁴ This event was held with a local organization, the Channing-Murray Foundation (CMF), a local social justice organization with Unitarian Universalist values. CMF not only had a mission to grow their followers' spirituality, but they were also strong advocates for equality and democracy for all people.⁵⁵

At the event, various individuals were brought in to share their expertise on the event. Professor Donald Crummey was one of these, and he discussed the importance of liberation movements in South Africa. Additionally, Kristen Lems, a singer from the region, and her accompanist, Tim Vear, were invited to play music for the event. Lems was a prominent women's rights advocate, proved in 1974 when she held the National Women's Music Festival at the University of Illinois, which gave a platform for women to perform.⁵⁶ Lems was a fierce advocate for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), racial equality, and peace, themes she would commonly bring up in her songs.⁵⁷ Lems was eager to perform at the event to broadcast these issues and show her solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement. This was the first event that CU-CAA evoked culture to attract students, a trend they would continue into their later years of the movement, and it proved to be a huge success. One other important note is that the Sharpeville Massacre occurred in 1960, a time when most students were very young or not even born. Nevertheless, the students felt compelled to commemorate the event and pay tribute to the continued struggles of black South Africans.

⁵⁴ Sharpeville Memorial, March 1979, African Activist Archive.

⁵⁵ "About Us," *Channing-Murray Foundation*, accessed February 12, 2023. <https://www.channingmurray.org/>.

⁵⁶ Anna Trammell, "The National Women's Music Festival," *Student Life and Culture Archives Website*, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, accessed February 12, 2023, <https://archives.library.illinois.edu/slc/the-national-womens-music-festival/>.

⁵⁷ "Kristin Lems - Bio," *Kristen Lems, Musician*, accessed February 14, 2023, <https://kristinlems.com/bio>.

During the Sharpeville Memorial, the organization also took the opportunity to attack the hypocrisy of the U.S. government and what they deemed as a failure in foreign policy. One member argued that while the U.S. will vocally support black South Africans, little action has been taken to assist these people.⁵⁸ For example, while the U.S. government claimed it condemned the violence of the South African government, specifically pointing to atrocities like the murder of Steven Biko, they vetoed economic sanctions against South Africa proposed at the United Nations in 1977, because South Africa was one of the West's vital trading partners.⁵⁹ The coalition argued that it was horrific the U.S. government put economic concerns above human rights. The group compared the backing of the U.S. government of the white minority in South Africa to “[backing] a tyrant like the Shah of Iran to its interests in the Middle East.”⁶⁰ This connects to the larger geopolitical developments going on and gives readers an analogy to understand apartheid. Members of the coalition were dumbfounded by the hypocrisy of the U.S. government in this matter, no doubt connecting it to their own institution's policy.

The other critical event that the organization held in the Spring of 1979 was the National Week of Actions. This event, held in conjunction with various universities throughout the country, was the first attempt to unify the student struggle against apartheid. The week began with a candlelight vigil and memorial service on April 4 to commemorate the death of Martin Luther King Jr. This event clearly shows the intentions of the group to connect the Civil Rights Movement the anti-apartheid movement. During the rest of the week, speakers like Mutaro Moyo, from the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Callistuts Ndlovu, a UN representative from the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) were brought in to share

⁵⁸ Remember Sharpeville!, March 1979, African Activist Archive.

⁵⁹ Kathleen Teltsch, “3 Western Powers Veto Moves in U.N. to Curb South Africa,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1977.

⁶⁰ Remember Sharpeville!, March 1979, African Activist Archive.

their insight on South African liberation. Additionally, various films were played regarding South Africa liberation. For example, the coalition played the documentary *Free Namibia*, a documentary detailing local resistance in Namibia to the South African regime.⁶¹ The group also held a music festival. Both forms of media show CU-CAA's commitment to invoke culture in its cause. The week concluded with an armband day in the Quad.⁶² Once again, the group showed their solidarity with South Africans and demanded divestment from the administration.

Both the Sharpeville Memorial and the National week of Actions saw a tremendous turnout from students, faculty, and community members. In many respects, these events gave a lot of motivation to the organization showing that they had support; however, the initiatives to push the Board to divest were again not successful. The organization was accomplishing their main goal of educating the community (which, in turn, was harnessing more support), but the goal of divestment was not being accomplished. Unfortunately, following this event, the newly gained support began to wane. As previously mentioned, many of the driving members of the organization graduated that spring. The cycle of students leaving due to typically only staying for four years was a paramount challenge. And, due to dwindling attention towards South Africa (as I will soon explore), along with the Board's unwillingness to discuss the issue and a full commitment to the Sullivan Principles, the support only further dwindled.

The coalition attempted one last event that spring, a rally for divestment. The coalition put up advertisements throughout the campus, many of them reading, "Say NO! to our schools \$4 million stock in modern day slavery." The coalition also had flyers accusing the Board of Trustees of being "apartheid's silent ally."⁶³ On May 3, 1979, the rally commenced on the quad,

⁶¹ For more, see *Free Namibia*, directed by Jurgen Bergs (United Nations, 1978), <https://www2.bfi.org.uk/films-tv-people/4ce2b71b87a25>.

⁶² National Week of Actions April 4-11, March 1979, African Activist Archive.

⁶³ Rally for Divestment!, April 1979, African Activist Archive.

and while the turnout was fair, the organization did not harness the support it was looking for. Many of the members in attendance were part of the group that would be moving on. The group tried other initiatives throughout the summer for students staying on campus; however, the intensity of support that the coalition just recently had harnessed now appeared to be falling to the wayside.

One of the complications the coalition ran into was the diminished national attention towards South Africa. Despite the brief surge in activism following the Soweto Uprising and the murder of Steven Biko, no singular event galvanized the media. As such, other domestic and international issues began to dominate the political discussions, especially with the Iranian Revolution and Iranian Hostage Crisis, the 1979 Oil Crisis, and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. Additionally, the economic crisis and, eventually, the presidential election of 1980 would dominate political discourse. As I will explore further in chapter 2, this left a profound impact on the next few years of the organization, that would take a reoriented strategy to correct.

This chapter examined the formation of the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid (CU-CAA), along with the foundation of most student movements across the country due to the Soweto Uprising in 1976 and the murder of Steven Biko in 1977. It also detailed the initial goals of the organization: to educate, to divest, and to support liberation groups in South Africa. Throughout the early years, CU-CAA worked towards accomplishing the first two goals. The coalition was able to successfully educate various students, faculty, and community members on the situation in South Africa, specifically by bring in speakers, holding rallies, and holding entertainment venues. However, the Board of Trustees commitment to the Sullivan Principles, along with their unwillingness to negotiate, stonewalled CU-CAA's progress. As I will explore in the next few chapters, education remained a fundamental goal of the coalition.

The situation in South Africa was rapidly changing and CU-CAA kept the community informed. Divestment would continue to be a significant challenge for the organization moving forward. While the coalition did not see monumental results, they provided a solid foundation for later activities at the University of Illinois.

Chapter 2

Re-Emergence of the Movement (1981-1985)

A decline in activism that plagued CU-CAA following the 1978-1979 school year left a profound impact on the next couple years of the movement. Key members had moved on, and the support that CU-CAA had received during their formation disappeared. Additionally, the Board of Trustees seemed unmovable, fully committed itself to the Sullivan Principles. Bouncing back from these difficulties proved to be a formidable challenge; however, with the persistence of Apotheker, Crummey, and other vital members, along with a restructured strategy, the organization would rebound. After briefly detailing the coalition's scaled-back activities from 1980-1981, this chapter will investigate CU-CAA's reorientation towards building national and statewide links between 1981-1983. It specifically looks at the ties made with the national student anti-apartheid movement, led by Joshua Nessen and the American Committee on Africa. This chapter will also examine the activities with the Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSAs). With the reorganization of the movement, and the adoption of new strategies, the coalition found renewed momentum, but its ultimate goal – achieving divestment – remained frustratingly elusive.

Moving into 1980, the organization appeared to still be weakened. The coalition put on no events that year, which can likely be attributed to the continued international and national issues previously discussed. With these issues at the forefront of American politics, anti-apartheid activism and attention toward South Africa dwindled. While meetings were still being held weekly, there were no demonstrations near the scale of the sit-in at President Corbally's office in 1978. Recruiting efforts for additional members were not as robust as the earlier years. CU-CAA's stagnation mirrored larger trends. Nationally, the decline in attention towards South

Africa and apartheid is apparent by analyzing newspaper coverage of “apartheid” (see Figure 1) from the nationally accredited newspaper, the New York Times. After a brief surge in coverage following the murder of Steven Biko and the Soweto Uprising, newspaper coverage of South Africa severely diminished. During CU-CAA’s active years, 1980 saw the least amount of news coverage on South Africa with only 142 stories.¹ In fact, the amount of attention the media gave to South Africa would not see high levels of growth until 1984, the same period that Larson identified as the start of the third cycle of attention to the injustice in South Africa.²

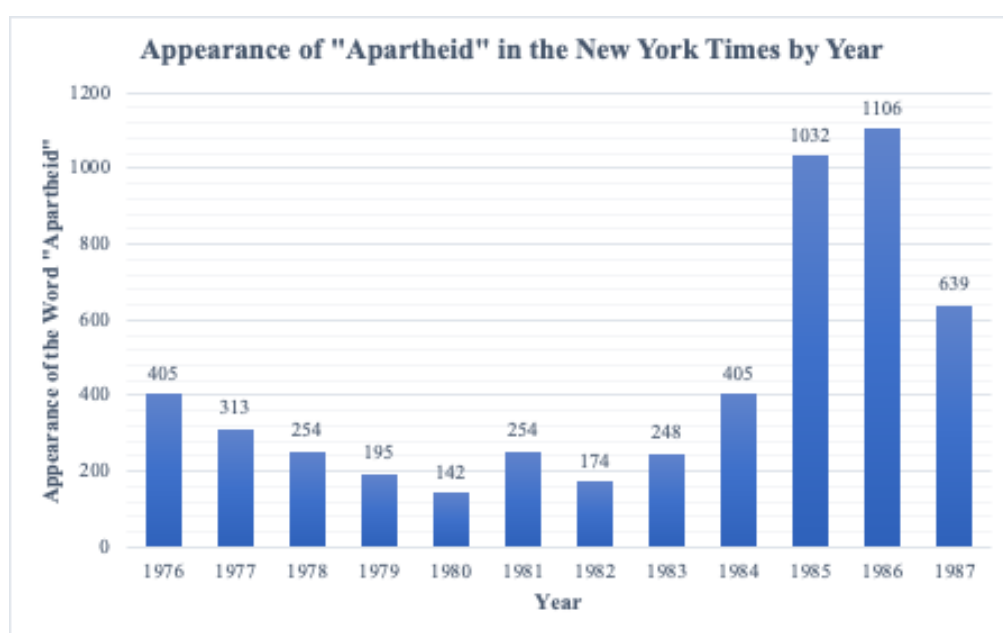


Figure 1 - Amount of stories from the New York Times containing the word "apartheid" between 1976-1987, according to ProQuest.

Despite waning national emphasis on South Africa, some members of the coalition, including Steve Apotheker, Diane Meisenhelter, Professor Crummey, and Professor McHenry, remained active in directly contacting the BOT via letters and requesting to be heard at meetings. This manifests how the anti-apartheid movement was defined by its local and grassroots level.

¹ Graph courtesy of the New York Times ProQuest Database.

² Larson, “The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement,” 135. The first cycle was due to the Sharpeville Massacre from 1960-1963, and the second was due to the Soweto Uprising and the murder of Steven Biko from 1976-1979.

On March 17, 1980, a representative of CU-CAA sent a letter to the Board of Trustees reiterating demands for “a sound investment policy for the University that is not at odds with the example the University should hold for the Community at large.”³ The coalition made the argument that the Board’s current investment policy went against the values of the university and of the community. The coalition was frustrated and felt betrayed by the Board of Trustees, because of the university’s continued holdings in corporations doing business in South Africa, practices that went against the values of the community.

Aside from citing the Sullivan Principles, the Board of Trustees clung to another strong position for their reasoning not to divest: They claimed control over all their financial matters and insisted they were not going to be influenced by outside groups. The Board was likely trying to avoid any sense, as the common idiom went, that “The inmates are running the asylum.” The Board did not want to allow students to think they had control over BOT matters. While this is a reasonable argument, the coalition believed the Board also had the responsibility of serving its constituents – the students and faculty – and allowing them to have a voice over these decisions, an idea known as shared governance. Larry Gerber, a former Vice President of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), insisted that aside from defending academic freedom and tenure, a major work of AAUP has been in promoting shared governance of university faculty, understanding their professional expertise in these matters.⁴ While the immediate language of shared governance rarely appears in the historical record, the general idea that students and faculty alike should be able to weigh in on decisions was implicit on campus divestment protests.

³ Letter from Steven Apotheker to the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, Finance Committee, March 17, 1980, Box 1, Folder 36, CU-CAA Records.

⁴ Larry G. Gerber, “College and University Governance,” *Academe* 101, issue 1 (2015): 1.

This idea became further evident in the spring of 1981. Professor Crummey and other members of the coalition requested a hearing during a Board of Trustees meeting on April 16, 1981, intending to reiterate their demand for a review of the Board's investment policy. The coalition mailed their request on February 28, 1981, with the hope that by initiating the request weeks before the meeting, they would be given the opportunity. Nevertheless, the BOT responded with a curt denial of the coalition's request. *The News-Gazette*, a more conservative news publication in the community, explained that the Board's justification for denying the request was because there were "areas of greater importance."⁵ The Board's refusal to speak with the coalition infuriated the coalition. They argued that when the Board adopted the Sullivan Principles, they had that agreed its "formulation should be reexamined from time to time, in light of the changing events in South Africa."⁶ The fact the Board was not holding up to this promise incensed the coalition. That the BOT was not even willing to speak about the issue not only bothered members of the coalition, but it also provoked a large body of the student population since it appeared the Board of Trustees was denying a student organization their freedom of speech.

One advantage that the anti-apartheid movement had over other social movements of the century, it is that anti-apartheid could invoke arguments from previous movements. The Board denying the coalition from speaking at the meeting became a rallying cry for the coalition the Board of Trustees was limiting the student's and faculty's right to free speech, a direct link to the arguments made during the anti-war demonstrations during the Vietnam War. Historian Patrick Kennedy, in his case study examination on the anti-war movement at the University of Illinois,

⁵ [No title given], *News-Gazette*, March 24, 1981, Box 1, Folder 36, CU-CAA Records.

⁶ University of Illinois Investments in South Africa: The Position of the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid, Box 1, Folder 36, CU-CAA Records.

argues that while the anti-war movement at the University of Illinois was not original in its activism, it created an immense local following and showed the sentiments felt at college campuses across the country.⁷ Kennedy draws parallels between UIUC's anti-war activism and the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, in which students protested their university's attempts to limit students' free speech.⁸ It is highly probable that sentiments from the Free Speech Movement informed the anti-apartheid movement. Students previously indifferent on the issue seemed to become suddenly galvanized when the Board of Trustees did not allow the coalition a fair platform to address their concerns.

Due to the newly gained pressure, the Board eventually caved to the demands of the students and allowed Professor Crummey a brief time to speak. In their official minutes, the Board framed their decision as follows: "Although the coalition's request to meet with the trustees to discuss University investments in South Africa was denied, the board agreed that the group would be permitted to make a short statement."⁹ This clearly shows the bias of the administration. The secretary's wording fails to convey that the only reason that Professor Crummey was given this platform was pressure from the student population. In the end, Professor Crummey was only provided the chance to make brief remarks and no change resulted from this. The ironic part of this whole affair is that had the Board permitted a member of the coalition to speak at their meeting in the first place, the unrest from the student population likely would never have occurred. The Board's policy was unaffected by this meeting; however, because they initially denied the students the right to speak at the meeting, this ordeal appeared

⁷ Patrick D. Kennedy, "Reactions against the Vietnam War and Military-Related Targets on Campus: The University of Illinois as a Case Study, 1965-1972," *Illinois Historical Journal* 84 #2 (1991): 102, 118.

⁸ Karen Aichinger, "Berkeley Free Speech Movement," *The First Amendment Encyclopedia*, presented by the John Seigenthaler Chair of Excellence in First Amendment Studies, accessed March 21, 2023, <https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1042/berkeley-free-speech-movement>.

⁹ "Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois," April 16, 1981, accessed March 21, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1981/1981-04-16-uibot.pdf>.

to propel the coalition's prominence. As I stated earlier, students devoted to free speech yet largely indifference on apartheid seemed more supportive of the coalition's efforts. Indeed, the BOT's intransigence appears to be a leading mobilizing force for students to join CU-CAA.

The coalition continued to remain in contact with the Board of Trustees throughout the summer of 1981. Activists badgered the BOT with letters urging them to review their investment policies. During this time, they sent most of their correspondence to Nina Shepherd, a member of the Board of Trustees who would later become the Board's first female president in 1985.. Shepherd, an alumna of the University of Illinois, was a Democrat and she championed the increased role of women in government. Her son described her as someone who "was concerned about everybody getting a chance, regardless of gender, race and religion."¹⁰ The coalition, understanding her profile, believed that going through Shepherd was the most likely chance they had of getting their message heard. Apotheker sent a policy analysis to Shepherd, understanding that the BOT was unwilling to review their own policy. Yet, Shepherd, along with Vice President Dr. Ronald W. Brady, responded critically to the policy analysis. They reaffirmed that the BOT has three objectives in their investment policy: "to maximize investment returns to the University, to do so within the framework of security of the assets, and to give due consideration to the University's societal responsibilities" While this last point seemed to open the door to the possibility of divestment, Brady and Shepherd argued judgments and opinions about these "responsibilities" were subjective.¹¹ In the end, the Board held the adamant position that they maintained a policy of both balance and compromise, and insisted that, at this time, a review of the policy amounted to a waste of time.

¹⁰ Brad Webber, "Nina T. Shepherd, 69," *Chicago Tribune*, January 21, 2003.

¹¹ Letter from R.W. Brady and Nina Shepherd to Steve Apotheker, June 23, 1981, Box 10, Folder 19, CU-CAA Records.

In this correspondence, the Board began using another argument that would be repeated throughout the remainder of the organization's years: that the Board of Trustees was personally against apartheid. They claimed that not reviewing or changing their investment policy was not because they were morally evil. They again reaffirmed the Sullivan Principles as the best imitative moving forward. Furthermore, they did not believe changing their investment policies would have any effect on the regrettable situation in South Africa.¹² The Board's argument that they believed they were not personally responsible is in direct contrast to what the coalition was arguing when they issued the "indictment" for President Corbally and George Howard.¹³ The coalition also disagreed that changing the policy would have little effect. Members in 1985 argued that "Illinois represents a key state; much of the country will follow its example."¹⁴ Unfortunately, those sentiments did not truly swell until the mid-1980s, and the Board held to their position believing that nothing would change if they divested.

Aside from the continued correspondence with the Board of Trustees, the coalition used the summer of 1981 to reorganize its strategy. The coalition realized that operating solely in the local realm was no longer working. While correspondence with the Board of Trustees brought attention to the issue, nothing was changing. The coalition also knew that they could not let the newly gained support of the student population dissipate. Moving into the fall semester, the coalition began reaching out to the burgeoning national anti-apartheid movement. While records of the organization indicate that they received informational pamphlets from national organizations like American Committee on Africa (ACOA), Africa Fund, TransAfrica, and

¹² Letter from R.W. Brady and Nina Shepherd to Steve Apotheker, June 23, 1981, Box 10, Folder 19, CU-CAA Records.

¹³ Indictment: Concerned Students, Faculty, and Staff of the U. of I., Spring 1978, African Activist Archive.

¹⁴ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," 18 May 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

others between 1978-1981, there was very little communication on strategies or meetings between these networks. Additionally, connections with other universities anti-apartheid movements were relatively nonexistent. Moving into the Fall of 1981, however, the coalition moved to broaden its horizon and divert attention to working with national organizations.

In 1981, the national anti-apartheid movement was reinvigorated by disgust over President Ronald Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy. The idea of constructive engagement was that the U.S. would remain politically and economically active in South Africa, which, in turn, would assist the oppressed black minority from within. Despite this, Reagan, while he personally branded apartheid as "repugnant," put concerns over the ongoing Cold War above the human rights violations.¹⁵ He questioned "can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought?"¹⁶ Bishop Tuto, with others sharing similar sentiments, denounced the policy, citing it as "immoral, evil, and totally un-Christian."¹⁷

Sharing this discontent and seeking support, CU-CAA moved to connect to the nationally burgeoning movement. A wave of engaged students nationally led the movement, specifically Joshua Nessen from the ACOA. Nessen had tremendous experience in the divestment movement at the university level. In 1977, he played a significant role in the divestment of Hampshire College, the first college to divest itself from corporations doing business in South Africa.¹⁸ ACOA tasked Nessen with forging a nationwide student movement. As a preliminary step, Nessen created the *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*. Published from 1979-1987, it served the

¹⁵ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSAs), CIDSAs Update, No. 7, December 1984, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, Special Collections, Cheryl Johnson-Odim Anti-Apartheid Collection, CIDSAs Documents, accessed March 6, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

¹⁶ "National Context: President Reagan and 'Constructive Engagement,'" *Divest for Humanity: The Anti-Apartheid Movement at the University of Michigan*, Michigan in the World, accessed March 18, 2023, <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/students-take-campus--1984-1988/national-context--president-re>.

¹⁷ H. W. Brands, *Reagan: The Life*, (New York City: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2015), 532.

¹⁸ Larson, "The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement," 211-212.

purposes of connecting universities together, along with updating subscribers on accomplishments and strategies being used at other universities.¹⁹

The first issue of the newsletter rolled off mimeograph machines in December 1979. In the introduction of the newsletter, Nessen acknowledged that there had been a “slow-down” in the recent months of the student anti-apartheid movement, compared to the surge of activism following Soweto; however, he argued that the movement was now entering a “resurgence” with the expectation that a lot of groups quiet in the Fall of 1979 would be more vocal the following Spring. While this did not parallel the precise trajectory of CU-CAA, this point reaffirms the nationwide stagnation in anti-apartheid activism. Nessen’s confidence in the revival of the movement would be critical to propelling the student movement forward. Nessen acknowledged the growing sentiments that strategies needed to be changed because of growing frustration from students around the country that their Administration and Board of Trustees were “stonewalling” the plans of student organizations. Nessen also included divestment announcements and activities happening at various colleges. For example, he included announcements about Harvard, Cornell, and Princeton, but also acknowledged the work being done by state schools such as the University of Tennessee, the University of Pennsylvania, and Western Michigan University. Clearly, Nessen and the student anti-apartheid movement did not solely focus on activism at more prestigious schools. Nessen saw the importance of collectively uniting in this struggle rather than solely working as individual organizations. He reaffirmed the nature of this collectivism by concluding with “In Solidarity and Friendship, Joshua Nessen.”²⁰

¹⁹ For more, see American Committee on Africa and Joshua Nessen, *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, published 1979-1978, accessed March 22, 2023, <https://www.jstor.org/site/struggles-for-freedom/southern-africa/studentanti-apartheidnewsletter-28107682/>.

²⁰ American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen. “Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Dec. 1979,” *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, December 1979, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000098>.

In 1981, CU-CAA, which like many student anti-apartheid organizations sought information, direction, and solidarity in a national outreach program, received the June 1981 *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*. The coalition had now been a subscriber for many months, yet it had never formally reached out to Nessen to coordinate action. This changed when the issue contained information on the upcoming “Anti-Apartheid Strategy Conference,” which was planned for Saturday October 10 to Sunday October 11 at Hunter College in New York City. ACOA, with the support of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, planned the conference to “push forward coordinated action in the student movement.”²¹ In the newsletter, Nessen reached out looking for any individuals that planned on attending to represent their organization. CU-CAA, viewing this as a monumental opportunity to broaden their horizon, signed up Aimee Grieb, a member of the organization, to represent their coalition.

The conference was moved up a week to October 3 and 4 to allow the National Solidarity Conference on Southern Africa to take place on the original date. On this day, hundreds of students from over 50 colleges and universities across 20 states arrived at Hunter College. At this conference, a variety of strategies and plans for going forward were discussed. Additionally, organizers allotted considerable time to discuss the political focus of the anti-apartheid movement. While the focus was divestment at the university levels, the organizers emphasized clear links between national and international (UN sponsored) sanctions, opposition to Reagan’s foreign policy of supporting dictators, and addressing racism at home. The final point relates to Hostetter’s point that organizations like ACOA linked the anti-apartheid movement to the battle against racism at home.²²

²¹ American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen, “Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, June 1981,” *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, June 1981, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000103>.

²² Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 3, 146.

The most successful result of the conference was the proposal for the “Two-Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action in Support of Southern African Liberation Movements,” which later became known as the “Two Weeks of National Action.” This event echoed the “National Week of Actions” held by CU-CAA and other anti-apartheid student organizations in 1979; however, since this event was going to be nationally coordinated, it was expected to have much more profound effects. Organizers planned the event were planned for March 21, 1982, the anniversary of the Sharpeville Memorial, and April 4, 1982, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. These dates showed additional promise for the movement since April 4, 1981 was Palm Sunday, and the organizers were hopeful that churches would show their solidarity during the event.²³

The other critical component that came this conference was the emphasis on regional coordination between universities. While national coordination was seen as the best route in coordinating events like the “Two Weeks of National Action,” regional coordination was also seen as beneficial, specifically for holding events together and bringing in nationally accredited speakers to multiple campuses in one area. The conference delegated various regional coordinators, each operating in different parts of the country. The coordinator’s responsibility would be to hold meetings with universities in the regional area 6-7 weeks after the meeting, and to coordinate activities for the Two Weeks of Action. This included speaking tours, joint demonstrations, and press releases. Furthermore, these meetings were designed to allow the universities to exchange strategies and materials. The importance of CU-CAA in the Midwest’s

²³ American Committee on Africa, “Proposal for Two-Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action in Support of Southern African Liberation Movements,” accessed March 24, 2023, <https://projects.kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/210-808-948/GMHACOAWeeks82.pdf>.

fight against apartheid was demonstrated when the coalition's own, Aimee Grieb, was entrusted to be the Midwest coordinator.²⁴

The delegation of the regional coordinators marks a pivotal transformation in the student anti-apartheid movement, both nationwide and, specifically, for CU-CAA. Nationwide, this was the first coordinated attempt to coalesce the various student anti-apartheid organizations across the country. Nessen accepted a very daunting task when ACOA tasked him with coalescing the student movement. This was a task that involves sending out hundreds of pamphlets.

Additionally, Nessen had to ask various students to take time out of their studies, work, or other obligations to attend conferences and coordinate their regional movement; however, Nessen, who was a busy student himself at Columbia University Law School, accomplished this challenge, which paved the way for building a unified network of student anti-apartheid movements. For CU-CAA, having one of their own members leading the fight in the Midwest was monumental. Just a year ago, the coalition seemed to have lost all its momentum, yet it was now bouncing back and leading an entire region of the country in this unified struggle.

As ACOA requested, Grieb coordinated for the Midwest conference. The conference was held on January 22-24, 1982, at the University of Illinois, and, while there is limited evidence as to what transpired during the meeting, it is reasonable to conclude that the universities understood that they were in this fight together.²⁵ Furthermore, CU-CAA's activities were revitalized as evidenced by the organization holding more meetings and endorsing more events. Overall, the transition to a more national focus allowed the coalition to broaden its horizons. It

²⁴ American Committee on Africa, "Proposal for Two-Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action in Support of Southern African Liberation Movements," accessed March 24, 2023, <https://projects.kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/210-808-948/GMHACOAWeeks82.pdf>.

²⁵ American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen, "Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Jan. 1982," *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, January 1, 1982, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000104>.

fostered new strategies and formed connections with universities, both regionally as the coordinator, and nationally as a participant in the national conference.

The Two Weeks of National Action happened as planned, and it proved to be larger in scope with a more powerful impact than was anticipated. During the event, Nessen observed three general trends: A focus on divestment, increased support and aid for South African liberation movements, and the linkage between racism at home and apartheid. Additionally, Nessen concluded that for some universities, the Two Weeks of National Action was a “springboard” to build momentum for future events, while, for others, it was a culmination of activities in what seemed like a never-ending struggle. In total, there were over 75 colleges and universities from over 30 states that participated in the event, rather than the original total of 50 from 20 states that attended the conference; clearly, the movement harnessed additional support during the time between the conference and the Two Weeks of National Action. One reason might have been Nessen’s continued outreach through the *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, but it is also possible that the regional conferences played a role in this newly found support. Unlike national conferences, where students might be tasked with going across the country, regional conferences provided a more convenient option.²⁶ Whatever the reason, the event was a success and, once again, suggested a burgeoning network between student organizations.

CU-CAA capitalized on this new wave of energy and continued expanding its own strategies. Aside from the formation of new communication networks, CU-CAA also established its own newsletter, *Amandla*. *Amandla*, meaning “power” or “strength,” was a rallying cry used by the African National Congress and other liberation movements.²⁷ Like *MASCA News* and the

²⁶ American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen, “Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Apr. 1982,” *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, April 23, 1982, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000105>.

²⁷ “Amandla - Definition of Amandla,” *Dictionary of South African English*, Accessed March 24, 2023, <https://dsae.co.za/entry/amandla/e00262>.

Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, the creation of *Amandla* was pivotal for the organization to harness support and spread its message to individuals interested in getting involved locally. The first issue of the newsletter appeared in May 1982. It would be released monthly and had the purpose “to draw together the members of our community who are interested in South Africa and the Coalition’s activities.”²⁸ Each section of the newsletter highlighted various events CU-CAA was holding, including showing films and sponsoring live music to detail the situation in apartheid, bringing in speakers to discuss various issues, and rallies or protests. The events aimed to build solidarity, awareness, and coordination between the organization and students, faculty, or community members interested in apartheid to get involved. The newsletter also contained a section on current events related to South Africa, frequently invoking the language of human rights.²⁹ This was critical since it kept individuals informed on the situation in South Africa when traditional media outlets were not covering South Africa as often.

Following the release of the first edition of the newsletter, anti-apartheid activities at the University of Illinois expanded. Continuing the essential push for divestment, the coalition negotiated directly with the University Executive Vice-President Dr. Brady. They also continued their national outreach activities. In June 1982, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Towards Southern Africa held a seminar on the commission's report: “South Africa – Time Running Out.” Two members of the coalition attended the seminar and published their findings and impressions of the event in *Amandla*. While the seminar provided highly valuable and in-depth information on the situation in apartheid, the members criticized the

²⁸ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” May 1982, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

²⁹ See “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” November 1982; “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” April 1983; “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” June 1983; “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” August 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

seminar for failing to allow input from organizations or networking opportunities.³⁰ This criticism shows the goals grassroots organizations were seeking when they attended national conferences. While they were seeking insight on the issue, they were also seeking to convene with other organizations and compare strategies. While neither the seminar nor the negotiations with Dr. Brady amounted to any change, the newsletter provided a platform for the information to be funneled to *Amandla* subscribers. Rather than solely limiting the information to members convening with the president or attending conferences, all subscribers learned about the ongoing activities.

Aside from channeling information from meetings and seminars, the newsletter allowed the coalition to coordinate events and harness greater support. On September 12, 1982, the coalition held an informal picket outside a Board of Trustees meeting. Over 50 individuals came out to show their support. While 50 people picketing might not seem extraordinarily large, it certainly had an impact. Their goal, as described in their newsletter, was “to go directly to the University community and media rather than the administration,” after receiving little recognition from the Board of Trustees and the administration for the past several years.³¹ By this point, members had concluded the Board’s lack of attention was due to the lack of pressure. From here, the coalition shifted their focus solely negotiating, to harnessing more public support, which would allow them to negotiate with more pressure.

The following year, in August of 1983, the organization held another rally, this time combining forces with the People’s Alliance for Central America (PACA), another organization on campus focused on exposing the human rights violations and political issues in Central

³⁰ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” July 1982, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

³¹ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” November 1982, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

America. The rally commemorated both the death of Steven Biko and the 10th anniversary of the overthrow of former Chilean President, Augusto Pinochet, in which the C.I.A. was implicated. The coalition made the point to link the brutality of Pinochet's regime to the apartheid system. By connecting the two issues, the coalition amassed a broader audience with over 250 individuals in support of the issues.³² Within just one year, CU-CAA had further expanded its networks and was drawing more individuals interested in the issue.

An important feature of Biko's commemoration was the use of various forms of culture, which CU-CAA believed "enhanced the event."³³ Professor Crummey read poetry that exposed the brutality of the apartheid regime. The reading came from poetry that was similar in nature to that of Black Conscious Poetry, or "Soweto Poetry," which is poetry described as, "political, direct, used everyday diction, and arose from the realities of everyday life under apartheid."³⁴ Poetry became a powerful instrument for the organization, as shown by their earlier usage of it at the sit-in and their continued use at future rallies.³⁵ Rather than just reading an excerpt on South Africa to expose the brutality of life under apartheid, poetry provided an alternative forum to provoke a strong emotional feeling in those listening.

Music, the other form of culture used at the rally, served a similar function. Kristen Lems, the singer that had played at the 1979 Sharpeville Memorial earlier in the organization's years, played a variety of songs during the rally. The song that left the most profound impact was Peter Gabriel's 1980 anthem, "Biko." Gabriel describes the song as "simple but written to be

³² "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," November 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

³³ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," November 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

³⁴ Michelle Decker, "Entangled Poetics: Apartheid South African Poetry between Politics and Form," *Research in African Literatures* 47 #4 (2016): 73, <https://doi.org/10.2979/reseafritelite.47.4.05>.

³⁵ Successful Sit-in at Corbally's Office, May 1978, African Activist Archive.

direct and emotional.”³⁶ It is evident that music provided a platform for the young to connect with the anti-apartheid struggle in a way unlike others, and the playing of “Biko” at the rally truly enhanced the atmosphere. This point demonstrates Hostetter’s claim that “music, sports, and movies created a cultural landscape in which Americans could comprehend apartheid in light of their own ideas and experiences.”³⁷ Following the interpretation of Hostetter, the role of culture appears to have a critical role in activities at Urbana-Champaign.

Aside from music and poetry, the coalition also drew on various other forms of media that depicted life under apartheid. Most often, they screened *Cry, the Beloved Country*, along with various films based on Nadine Gordimer’s works. *Cry* is based on Alan Paton’s 1952 novel that describes a situation where a black minister, Stephen Kumalo, is exposed to the brutal conditions of Johannesburg.³⁸ Hostetter draws parallels between the impact *Cry* on the world with the impact Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.³⁹ Gordimer, a native South African writer, won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1991, with her work being described as a “very great benefit to humanity.” Gordimer wrote a variety of works later made into films under the title of *The Gordimer Stories* (1982), which included her works *City Lovers*, *Country Lovers*, *A Chip of Glass Ruby*.⁴⁰ Overall, this time saw an increased appeal to culture by the coalition. Outside of the rally, films became a significant platform that exposed the reality of apartheid; however, during the rally music and poetry were used strategically to draw on the emotions of those in attendance.

³⁶ Josh Jones, “Peter Gabriel Re-Records “Biko,” His Anti-Apartheid Protest Song, with Musicians Around the World,” Open Culture, Accessed April 1, 2023, <https://www.openculture.com/2021/02/peter-gabriel-re-records-his-anti-apartheid-classic-biko-with-musicians-around-the-world.html>.

³⁷ Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 120.

³⁸ See *Cry, the Beloved Country*, directed by Zoltan Korda, (Lopert Films, January 23, 1952), <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043436/>.

³⁹ Hostetter, *Movement Matters*, 95-96.

⁴⁰ See *The Gordimer Stories*, directed by Lynton Stephenson and Manie van Rensburg (December 31, 1982), <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0162350/>.

Another method the coalition employed aimed at educating their constituents by coordinating visiting speakers. Sometimes, they brought in exiles from South Africa or the surrounding area. For example, in June of 1983, the coalition hosted a member of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). SWAPO was an organization of Namibian intellectuals, workers, and students attempting to liberate themselves from South Africa's political and economic control over their country.⁴¹ The coalition also held a seminar on South African exiled students who would share their experiences living under apartheid.⁴² As Elizabeth Sibeko shared her insights early in the movement, the coalition continued to draw on the expertise of South African exiles to share their personal accounts.⁴³ Talks also frequently featured various UIUC faculty members at the university supportive of the movement, mostly from political science and economics departments to discuss both foreign relations and talks of divestment. Speakers who drew the most attention were nationally renowned activists. In 1984, CU-CAA called on Dr. Willard Johnson, an anti-apartheid activist, member of TransAfrica, and professor of political science at M.I.T., to share his views. Additionally, David Ndaba, a student at Morehouse College and a member of ANC, gave a talk that linked apartheid with issues in Israel.⁴⁴ All in all, speakers provided a forum that allowed members of the coalition and the community to hear about personal experiences on expertise on issues related to South Africa.

At the rally in August of 1983, speakers played a prominent role by providing the attendees with information on the brutality of Pinochet's regime and the apartheid regime. CU-CAA invited four speakers were brought in for the expertise to the event, including Suleiman

⁴¹ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," June 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁴² "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," September 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁴³ See Chapter 1 for more information.

⁴⁴ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," September 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records; American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen, "Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Aug. 1986." *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, August 1986, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000125>.

Shahbali, who discussed Biko's story and the rights Biko was denied; Dennis Lazof, who lectured on Allende, touching on his rise to power and his struggle to maintain power; Cathy Royer, who addressed on the problems in both countries; and Prexy Nesbitt, who linked the resistance to Allende's government with resilience Harold Washington, Chicago's African American mayor, faced in Chicago. Nesbitt, former director of the World Council of Church's Program to Combat Racism, was a specifically honored guest.⁴⁵ Nesbitt was previously a member of ACOA and worked to expand their transnational networks.⁴⁶ By 1983, Nesbitt was working for the newly created Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSa). By bringing Nesbitt to the event, those attending the rally also learned about the newly formed statewide movement that would later become a critical nexus with the organization.

CIDSa was formed in the spring of 1983, led by co-chairpersons Prexy Nesbitt and Cheryl Johnson-Odim. Johnson-Odim was a professor at Northwestern University and a member of the African Studies Department. Their goal was to end all current and future investments in South Africa, specifically targeting the state pension fund that invested in multiple companies doing business in South Africa. CIDSa was an interracial group, the first group in the city of Chicago to successfully bring the two groups together in support of divestment.⁴⁷ CIDSa started off as a small group of less than a dozen individuals; however, by working with student organizations, unions, and other groups, CIDSa expanded to around 125 individuals and a coalition of 40 organizations by the end of 1983.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," November 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁴⁶ Larson, "The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement," 104.

⁴⁷ Larson, "The Transnational and Local Dimensions of the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Movement," 163.

⁴⁸ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSa), "A Note on 1983 and The Work Ahead," January 5, 1984, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

Almost immediately, the organization began publishing its newsletter, *CIDSA Update* and advocating for House Bill 0569, a bill that would divest all funds in the state pension fund from corporations doing business in South Africa.⁴⁹ The proposed bill would divest almost \$1.8 billion, which would be the largest single divestment of funds anywhere in the United States.⁵⁰ HB 0569 was introduced in the Spring of 1983 by Representatives Carol Moseley Braun and Henry Woods “Woody” Bowman, both Democrats from Chicago.⁵¹ CIDSA quickly became the first endorser of the bill and began campaigning for it throughout the summer of 1983. On September 25, 1983, a hearing for the bill was held in Champaign. *The Daily Illini* ran a report on it, and many community members and students turned out to learn about the bill.⁵² Members of CU-CAA were in attendance and eagerly endorsed the bill. Additionally, Apotheker and Meisenhelter began working with CIDSA, at this point a fully burgeoned organization. With enough support, the bill moved to the House Floor after a 10-5 vote by members of the House Executive Committee.⁵³ The full house vote was set for the spring of 1984. This achievement was significant for the newly formed organization. With the help of CU-CAA, along with other organizations, progress was being made at the statewide divestment level. While CU-CAA continued their newsletter and events on campus, their focus was diverted to the statewide movement.

⁴⁹ For more, see Digital Commons @ Colombia College Chicago, Special Collections, Cheryl Johnson-Odim Anti-Apartheid Collection, CIDSA Documents, accessed March 6, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

⁵⁰ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” February 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁵¹ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSA), “Is Your Money Used to Support Racism?,” 1984, Digital Commons @ Colombia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

⁵² Ginnie Lo, “Support of Apartheid Should Stop,” *The Daily Illini*, September 22, 1985.

⁵³ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” November 1983, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

For the remainder of 1983, CIDSА continued coalescing groups and individuals in support of the bill. On December 2, 1983, CIDSА held a conference to organize the Illinois divestment movement. There, individuals heard from panelist speakers Chisty Hoffman, who was part of the Connecticut Anti-Apartheid Committee; Dr. Willard Johnson, a member of TransAfrica and a professor at M.I.T. who previously spoke at the University of Illinois; Bernard Magubane, a professor and the author of *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*; and Dumisani Kumalo, a member of ACOA.⁵⁴ Over 75 individuals were in attendance to hear the panelists and learn more information on HB 0569. CIDSА set its direction going forward by holding this conference. Members and groups of the coalition around the state were united in this statewide fight.

Throughout the beginning of 1984, CU-CAA's newsletter primarily focused on HB 0569, yet they also held other events on campus, mainly focused on education. It was around this time that the organization started receiving funding from the Student Organization Resource Fee (SORF). SORF, run by Student Affairs at the University of Illinois, provides funding and other services to student-led organizations.⁵⁵ *Amandla* started containing a small section at the bottom corner of the front page that read, "Funded by SORF."⁵⁶ There is no archival evidence, but one might wonder if the university funding was a compromise from the organization. Activities on the campus waned, although this could be due to the focus on the statewide movement and their non-violent approach. Nevertheless, aside from the statewide movement and educational resources, there was not a whole lot being done or accomplished on campus.

⁵⁴ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSА), "CIDSА Update, No. 2," January 1984, Digital Commons @ Colombia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

⁵⁵ "About SORF," University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign: Student Affairs, Accessed April 2, 2023, <https://studentengagement.illinois.edu/student-org-development-and-administration/sorf/about/>.

⁵⁶ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," February 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

The preceding October, Joshua Nessen and the ACOA had coordinated another National Student Anti-Apartheid Conference, similar to the conference in 1981. This time, over 300 activists from 24 states were in attendance.⁵⁷ Members of the coalition participated in the conference and agreed to partake in the “National Two-Weeks Against Apartheid,” set for March 21-April 4, the same dates as the one in 1982. Unlike the previous conference, CU-CAA did not take as active of a role, encouraging Marcia Davis, a student at the University of Illinois Chicago, to be the Midwest coordinator.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, CU-CAA still held a coordinated event on their campus. CU-CAA informed CIDSAs who wanted to get involved with the action. CIDSAs contacted Dumisani Kumalo to speak at the rally and deliver a lecture later in the evening, which the coalition believed would be extremely beneficial. Aside from this, there was also a presentation on “Socially Responsible Investments” by University of Illinois Professor Jim Gentry of the Finance Department and Robert Schwartz, the Vice President of Shearson/American Express and a frequently testified in favor of divestment. Additionally, multiple films from *The Gordimer Stories* were played during the two weeks.⁵⁹

The rally and Kumalo’s address drew a considerable crowd. Students not particularly interested in the anti-apartheid movement or divestment prior to this came out after hearing about the events from 1982. Additionally, Kumalo was a nationally renowned activist for his anti-apartheid activities. In Kumalo’s speech, he posed a question connecting the moral contradiction of investing in South Africa with other concerns.

⁵⁷ American Committee on Africa (ACOA), and Joshua Nessen, “Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Feb. 1984,” *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, February 1, 1984, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000110>.

⁵⁸ American Committee on Africa (ACOA), “Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Jan. 1984,” *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, January 1, 1984, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000109>.

⁵⁹ Pamphlet describing the events of the National Two Weeks titled “National Two Weeks of Anti-Apartheid Actions,” Box 1, Folder 33, CU-CAA Records.

I ask people in this country if they want their universities to make money, and they tell me yes. Then I say, well why not invest in cocaine or pornography? They tell me those are wrong, and I ask, then why invest in racism? What is the difference? Where do you draw the line?⁶⁰

This quote became a way for people to fully comprehend the brutality of investing in apartheid. By questioning if someone would invest in pornography or cocaine, which with the ongoing War on Drugs surely evoked strong sentiments, Kumalo effectively compared it to other issues to which Americans were strongly opposed to. CIDsA, and specifically Kumalo with this quote, effectively changed the idea that they were not just investing in South Africa, but that they were investing in a racial system and allowing it to perpetrate.

Aside from these events, CIDsA coordinated with CU-CAA during their National Two-Weeks of Anti-Apartheid Action by holding a rally day in Springfield for HB 0569. Besides the conferences and updates in the newsletter, most of HB0569's activities took place on the House floor with negotiations between the sponsors and representatives. This was the first event that brought activists from around the state to rally around the bill. It showed the legislatures that divestment had many supporters. On April 4, 1984, through pouring rain, 150 members, 80 from Chicago, turned up to show their support. A variety of speakers gave brief remarks, including Collins Ramus, an exiled South African, who said, "I will tell my people: we have friends in this land. When freedom comes to my land, we will always count you among our friends."⁶¹ Aside from speakers, those in attendance at the rally lobbied Congress members and held signs in

⁶⁰ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," September 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁶¹ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDsA), "CIDsA Update, No. 4," May 1984, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

support. By the end of the event, the group realized that they were five members short of the vote they needed, so they knew they had to double down on their efforts before the final vote.

Strikingly, there is no evidence of CIDSAs holding any other events similar to the rally. It is likely they continued lobbying and working the legislature; however, there is no indication of holding any other rallies with the public. Without holding any public events, individuals likely became less concerned with the issue. As such, HB 0569 was voted down on May 24, 1984, in a 37-48 vote largely split across party lines; however, 13 downstate liberal Democrats voted “Present” to avoid taking a stance on the issue, likely to appease their constituents.⁶² The fight for HB 0569 was valiant but the organization did not achieve the results they wanted.

Following the failure of HB 0569, CU-CAA rebounded to focus on local divestment again. CIDSAs, while severely weakened, continued their activism and focused on their goal of statewide divestment. There was additional legislation introduced later, but these did not receive the size of support HB 0569 received. Later, however, with the help of CIDSAs, the city of Chicago divested from South Africa in 1986. Apotheker and Meisenhelter remained members, but they too were more focused on the local movement. CU-CAA also remained active at the national level. Emmanuel Kamgnia represented CU-CAA at the North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid from June 18-21 in 1984. Here, various anti-apartheid groups from the U.S. and Canada were in attendance to evaluate current activities and discuss future strategies.⁶³ Kamgnia funneled the information he received through *Amandla* and discussed a variety of tactics with CU-CAA and the group refocused its strategies on pushing the

⁶² Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSAs), “CIDSAs Update, No. 5,” Summer 1984, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>; *Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid*, July 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁶³ “*Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid*,” July 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

Board to divest at the local level. Additionally, it was unanimously agreed that in the spring of 1985, there would be a Coordinated National Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action.⁶⁴

Coincidentally, just a few weeks later, the University of Illinois Men's Gymnastics team returned home after competing in South Africa. The team went over after Israel's team dropped out at the last minute. The South African government covered all the team's expenses. After all its labors, the coalition was dumbfounded by the team's choice. Editors of *Amandla* described how the athletes were "Treated like kings," "Wined and dined"; and the South African government "rolled out the red carpet for the U.S. athletes." Members of the coalition found it unnerving that the university continued to refuse divestment and, instead, allowed athletes to compete in South Africa, despite the atrocities the government was committing. Among campus activists this visit provoked strong sentiments of anger and frustration that would be carried through the fall of 1984.⁶⁵

Throughout the fall, the coalition doubled down on its efforts to pressure the Board of Trustees to review its divestment policy. This strong wave of activism was fueled by the groups working with CDSA and the frustration over the gymnastics team. The coalition sponsored a variety of educational events and members began increasingly speaking with Board members trying to convince them to take a stance. Paul Pittman, the student trustee, and Jody Nowicki from the Student Government Association, along with Apotheker, Kamgnia, and other members of the coalition testified on November 14, 1984, in front of the Board of Trustees attempting to convince them to review their divestment policy. After hours of debate and discussion, the Board finally agreed on November 14 in an 8-1 vote that it would "study the financial and social

⁶⁴ American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen, "Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Fall 1984." *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, Fall 1984, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000112>.

⁶⁵ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," September 1984, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

consequences of divestment.” One board member, Ralph Hahn, argued that the presentation was “one of the best he heard.”⁶⁶ Additionally, Al Logan, the only African American on the Board of Trustees who brought up a divestment resolution at every meeting, helped push the promised study through.⁶⁷ Clearly, CU-CAA had prepared a strong argument. They had finally succeeded in at least having the Board review the consequences of divestment. Not only was the BOT going to review the policy, but they would judge if it would be consequential to divest. This was a major victory for the coalition after years of indifference from the administration.

Interestingly, however, the Board never set a date to discuss the consequences of divestment when they finally agreed to examine the issue. CIDSA, who covered the story in their newsletter, came to the consensus that it would be discussed at the following meeting, either January 17, 1985, or February 21, 1985.⁶⁸ Yet, the Board did not discuss the issue at either of these meetings, and, instead, postponed the issue until the later in the year. This, again, demonstrates the Board’s indifference towards the issue.

Overall, the re-emergence of CU-CAA followed an interesting pattern. While they initially were plagued by the decrease in activities between 1979-1981, their national and statewide outreach assisted in remobilizing the organization. By working with other organizations, they were able to exchange strategies, learn about the continued atrocities of apartheid, and were motivated to begin publishing their own newsletter. Nessen crafted the emergence of the national network, which provided critical links for student organizations around the country. Additionally, the Two Weeks of National Action in 1982 and National Two-

⁶⁶ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSA), “CIDSA Update, No. 7,” December 1984, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

⁶⁷ Jeff Machota, “Student and Community Divestment Protests in the 1980s,” April 7, 2016, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/DNCPanel04072016>.

⁶⁸ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSA), “CIDSA Update, No. 7,” December 1984, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, accessed March 8, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

Weeks Against Apartheid in 1984 helped mobilize CU-CAA's forces. Prexy Nesbitt and Cheryl Johnson-Odim were able to connect members of the coalition to the Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDS) and make a compelling push for statewide divestment.

While CU-CAA had finally convinced the BOT to review the consequences of divestment, they were still disregarded as proven by the delay. It was clear that the BOT was still playing games and hoping to postpone the issue further until it fell to the wayside. Unlike in 1979 when the Board's stonewalling had effectively limited support for a few years, the coalition had now amassed considerable support and harnessed alliances with other student organizations on campus. The involvement from other student organizations in 1985 would continue to propel anti-apartheid activities in the future. During CU-CAA's re-emergence from 1981-1985, they saw a mix of success and failure. After diminished support, CU-CAA revitalized the movement through national outreach, only to, once again, be stonewalled by the BOT. As CU-CAA moved into the final years of their activities, the growing agitation amongst the students would continue to propel their activities and, eventually, culminate into immense tension with the administration.

Chapter 3

Divest NOW! The Final Push of the Movement (1985-1987)

CU-CAA's agitation continued despite HB0569's failed passage, the re-election of President Ronald Reagan the previous fall, and the Board's intransigence toward divestment. By the spring of 1985, some members of the coalition, along with individuals from other student organizations, increasingly came to believe that education alone would not solve the issue. They believed that a new strategic focus on direct action had to be taken. Together, these individuals, mostly young, undergraduate students ready for action, broke away from CU-CAA in 1985 and coalesced under the umbrella organization, the Divest Now Coalition (DNC). This chapter will start by examining the foundations of the DNC and compare their tactics with CU-CAA. Additionally, this chapter will analyze the direct action approaches the organization took, specifically with activities during the spring of 1986. Finally, this chapter will investigate the debate over the results of the Board's partial divestment in January of 1987.

Following the Board's postponing of a promising review of divestment, the issue was put on the backburner. Instead of capitalizing on the additional time to hold events in support of divestment, activities during this time were relatively scarce. Aside from the Coordinated Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action, coordinated by ACOA during the previous Fall, there is no evidence of any other activities planned by the organization.¹ Clearly, the coalition was at an impasse. The coalition decided to continue on with the scheduled "Coordinated Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action." This event paralleled the the Two Weeks of National Action in 1982 and the National Two-Weeks Against Apartheid in 1984, with the hope of uniting the

¹ American Committee on Africa (ACOA), and Joshua, Nessen, "Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Fall 1984," *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, Fall 1984, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000112>.

national anti-apartheid network. The event primarily focused on educational initiatives. The group showed films, brought in speakers, and held discussions on the divestment issue, but no protests or rallies occurred.

The most important lecture during this time happened on March 25, 1985, when CU-CAA called on Julia Parzens to lead a discussion on “Socially Responsible Investments.” Parzens was an alumnus from the University of Illinois and Chief Executive Officer of Working Assets Money Fund, a nationally recognized fund for its socially responsible portfolio management for avoiding corporations investing in weapons manufacturing, nuclear weapons, and other ethical issues.² Her presentation was critical because it focused on the consequences of divestment, which related to what the Board had promised to study earlier. She explained that her firm, along with the other firms and the Investor Responsibility Research Center, had concluded that divestment would lead to equal or better rates of return on investments and there would be no financial consequences associated with divesting.³ This point contradicts the Board’s argument that divestment would have consequences for the university and no benefits for black South Africans.

As explained, there were few events aside from this program. There was concern among some members of the organization that anti-apartheid activities were declining and there would be a similar pattern in student anti-apartheid activism to that of 1980-1981.⁴ This is where outreach to other organizations was a pivotal turning point. On April 18, 1985, CU-CAA held a joint rally with the People’s Alliance for Central America (PACA), an organization CU-CAA

² “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” March 11, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

³ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” May 18, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁴ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” May 18, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

had previously worked with before.⁵ CU-CAA had previously worked with PACA in 1983 during the rally for Steven Biko. This rally helped bolster additional support to the divestment cause.

The other central link CU-CAA made was in connecting with the Student Government Association (SGA) and other progressive student organizations. During the recent election, eight progressive candidates were elected to student government, many of them supporters of divestment.⁶ Rhonda Kirts, the newly elected President of SGA, played a pivotal role in helping propel the movement. Kirts ran on the platform of helping students accomplish their goals. Therefore, CU-CAA specifically caught Kirts' attention after they had been struggling to accomplish their goals for years. Another critical link CU-CAA found was with Off-Center, a progressive student slate at the University of Illinois. One of their objectives was divestment, so this provided a key nexus between them and CU-CAA. Off-Center also provided the votes for Kirts' election victory. Jeff Machota, a member of Off-Center and later one of the founding members of the Divest Now Coalition, recalled that anti-apartheid activities were decelerating in 1985, but when Off-Center and the SGA got involved, activities were enlivened.⁷

Contrary to the administration's belief that the divestment movement would hinder due to their postponing of the vote, anti-apartheid activities beginning to flourish. In April, there was a call for another referendum on the divestment issue, similar in nature to the original referendum that motivated the formation of CU-CAA. In an overwhelming majority of 2551 to 1348, the student population once again voted in favor of divestment.⁸ This vote showed that there was

⁵ See Chapter 2. The rally was in 1983 to commemorate Steven Biko and the 10th anniversary of the overthrow of former Chilean President, Salvador Allende, by the C.I.A.

⁶ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," May 18, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

⁷ Jeff Machota, "Student and Community Divestment Protests in the 1980s," April 7, 2016, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/DNCPanel04072016>.

⁸ History of Anti-Apartheid Struggle at UIUC, n.d., Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

profound support for divestment among the student population. The Student Government Association, led by Kirts who planned to maintain her promise of helping students accomplish their goals, saw this support, and knew that the SGA needed to act. As the May 1985 issue of *Amandla* points out, the SGA “promptly formed an AdHoc [sic] committee on divestment.”⁹ This quick response by the SGA showed CU-CAA that they harnessed a strong support network of individuals dedicated to the issue.

Before the spring semester ended, the Ad Hoc committee immediately pounced on initiatives to pressure the BOT to divest. They began meeting with the Paul Pittman, the student Board of Trustees member, and the University of Illinois President, Stanley Ikenberry. After Ikenberry refused to explain his opposition to divestment, the committee planned a rally on Wednesday, May 8. The style of the rally differed from previous rallies the coalition sponsored. It occurred at night with a candlelight vigil with the protestors marching around the quad silently chanting “Divest Now.” The rally had a powerful impact. The organizers had prepared 1,000 candles, a number that did not account for the number of protestors in attendance. Later, 200 individuals made their way to President Ikenberry’s residence wishing to discuss divestment. Ikenberry assured the group that he was against apartheid but would not give a clear statement on why he was still unable to give a clear reason against divestment. The protests continued through the following week, which happened to be finals week. That same week, the Board of Trustees had a planned meeting on May 15 in the Illini Union. Due to the immense pressure from the protestors, the Board of Trustees agreed to schedule a special session the following June to vote for immediate divestment. Al Logan, the trustee who continuously brought up resolutions for divestment, believed this was a chance for the Board’s stonewalling to end. Finally, the Board

⁹ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” May 18, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid, 1964-1992, 2004.

had agreed to take officially take up the issue of divestment, which was seen as a monumental victory in the years long struggle.¹⁰

The Board of Trustees decided to vote on the divestment issue at the UI-Chicago campus, possibly to avoid tensions from the growing student movement at the University of Illinois; however, at the Chicago campus, there was already an established Divest Now Coalition with intentions to continue to pressure. The DNC at the UI-Chicago campus would be influential to the founding of the Divest Now Coalition at the University of Illinois following this event.¹¹ Many students at the University of Illinois criticized the Board of Trustees for holding the meeting in the summer when students were not in session to avoid confrontation.¹² Nevertheless, members of the DNC at the UI-Chicago campus were communicating with students at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign and coordinating plans for individuals to attend the meeting.

Early in the morning on June 20, 1985, several activists, including Machota, carpoled up to Chicago, making the two hour drive up to the Illinois Room 324 at the Chicago Circle Center, where the Board of Trustees meeting was held. The meeting began at 8:10 a.m., and since the meeting was specially called for the vote over divestment, the students assumed this vote would take precedence over other matters. Not surprisingly, the Board delayed the issue and spent two hours convening other matters. Finally, around 10:00 a.m., Board member George W. Howard III called the resolution. Trustee Al Logan and Ann Smith gave brief remarks in favor of the resolution. Logan specifically argued that it was prudent to divest because investments “in a

¹⁰ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” May 18, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

¹¹ For more, see Divest Now Coalition (University of Illinois Urbana Champaign), African Activist Archive, Michigan State University, <https://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization/210-813-520/>.

¹² Forum Piece, July 1985, Box 5, Folder 19, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

strife-ridden, rebellion-plagued, turmoil-torn nation that could erupt momentarily” was not a smart investment policy, and because the University of Illinois is in the “Land of Lincoln” and should not be support “as heinous a system as apartheid.” This not only frames investing in apartheid as a dangerous policy investment to appeal to business manners, but it also connects to racial issues, specifically being in Illinois, to appeal to morality. Paul Pittman, the student trustee, offered an additional resolution that stated divestment should occur by January 1, 1987. This date paralleled Reverend Sullivan’s, the founder of the Sullivan Principles, proposed date of March 31, 1987, of when companies should pull out if apartheid was not abolished.¹³

Voting proceeded following these two resolutions. Regarding the first motion for complete divestment, the Board of Trustees voted 7-2 against divestment. The vote was split along racial lines. Trustee members Al Logan and Ann Smith voted “aye,” while the other members, who were white, vote “no.” The student members also voted in favor of divestment, but their votes did not count in the total count of votes. Additionally, the second motion called by Paul Pittman to divest by January 1, 1987, was voted no in a 6-3 vote, with Logan, Smith, and Dean E. Madden (and the student trustees) voting for the motion.¹⁴

A wave of revulsion poured over students. For years, students had been fighting for the issue of divestment. They had prepared a fair, alternative policy recommendation. Further, they pulled from multiple sources to conclude that divestment would not pose result in any financial consequences.¹⁵ Despite this, the Board, seemingly careless about the issue, again voted against divestment. As Machota recalled, a few enraged students slowly began chanting, “Divest Now!,

¹³ “Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois,” June 20, 1985, accessed April 12, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1985/1985-06-20-uibot.pdf>.

¹⁴ “Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois,” June 20, 1985, accessed April 12, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1985/1985-06-20-uibot.pdf>.

¹⁵ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” March 11, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records; Jeff Machota, “Student and Community Divestment Protests in the 1980s,” April 7, 2016, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/DNCPanel04072016>.

Divest Now!, Divest Now!,” and other students, including Machota, joined in. The students then surrounded the Board of Trustees and continued chanting.¹⁶ Security moved in and promptly arrested the individuals taking part in the chant. Even as the first students were arrested, the other students, fully aware of the consequences, continued chanting. The Board then recessed for fifteen minutes to allow security to finish the arrests.

In total, police arrested 16 people on June 20, 1985, for disrupting the meeting, four of which were current students at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. These students were senior Richard Drury, junior Theresa Donnelly, sophomore Jeff Machota, and sophomore Michael Epstein. While in jail, some members grew anxious, while others like Machota were calm and able to take a nap. The city of Chicago dropped the charges for all 16 individuals arrested at the Board of Trustees meeting; however, the four students attending the University of Illinois still had to face University disciplinary action.¹⁷ They were put on conduct probation, which essentially was a mark on their student record that would disappear after the probation period ended as long as they were not found guilty of other university guidelines. Diane Meisenhelter, one of the early members of CU-CAA who graduated in 1984 and was still working for CIDS, had also been arrested during this event.¹⁸

Machota has participated in a variety of protests up to this point and recalls that the whole event was disorganized. There was no prior plan to get arrested at the meeting. Additionally, when the individuals were booked, they gave the names of Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela as a form of political messaging, but no one coordinated this, further demonstrating the

¹⁶ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

¹⁷ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

¹⁸ “Four UIUC Student Protestors Penalized,” *News-Gazette*, August 1985, found in Box 5, Folder 19, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

disorganized nature of the arrests.¹⁹ Following their arrests, the students argued, “Our peaceful demonstration was a response to the Board’s actions... [and] to the Board’s intransigence.” The Board, insisted protestors, had ignored the students and the referendum, which they believed violated the role of the Board of Trustees, but they also believed that the Board’s actions compelled them to protest.²⁰ The Board of Trustees made no remarks regarding the arrests and carried on with business, not realizing that their decision to vote against divestment would only continue to fuel the student movement.

Aside from their arrests, few could deny that the student anti-apartheid activism was booming nationwide. Unrest was a result of the continued indifference from the Board of Trustees, but also of the surging national movement. As CIDSAs explained in September of 1985, “Since April almost 3000 students have been arrested throughout the nation in civil disobedience campaigns directed against university involvement with apartheid.”²¹ So, not only was the student movement burgeoning in Illinois, but it was making strides throughout the country. In Illinois, specifically, the newsletter mentions the activism at Northwestern, the University of Illinois at Chicago and Champaign, Roosevelt, Illinois State University, and the University of Chicago. They also point out links between the universities as central, and coordination should continue to be a movement going forward. This is a trend that will be central to the University of Illinois during the following school year.

While the students at the University of Illinois were fighting the ongoing legal issues over the disciplinary action with their attorney, Brian Savage, the students were still mobilizing, this time with a reoriented strategy. The arrests at the Board of Trustees meeting had only further

¹⁹ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

²⁰ Forum Piece, July 1985, Box 5, Folder 19, PRC Records and Divest Now!

²¹ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSAs), “CIDSAs Update, No. 11,” September 1985, Digital Commons @ Columbia College Chicago, accessed March 24, 2023, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

enraged students. The sentiments were clear in the piece the arrestees wrote, in which they argued that “The Board has made it clear to us that we are now forced to take a different approach,” and, “We, along with the student body, will be back in full force in the fall.”²² This point is remarkable. As previously mentioned, instead of the arrests deterring the activists, it only energized the movement.

This “new approach” the members were planning was something that had been discussed with the Divest Now Coalition with the students at the UI-Chicago campus. Going into the Fall of 1985, the students had plans to form their own coalition at the University of Illinois, parallel to the DNC at the UI-Chicago campus. This coalition would encompass a variety of campus organizations. The students predicted that upon returning and hearing about the June arrests, the other students would only rally more behind the cause. Additionally, it was a common agreement that solely education and raising awareness, tactics to which CU-CAA had begun to solely engage with, was not working. They knew that more had to be done to pressure to the Board of Trustees to divest.

As such, undergraduate students eager for results split off from CU-CAA and formed the Divest Now Coalition, a broad-based, multi-racial group, at the University of Illinois in the fall of 1985. There were two main reasons for organizing under this coalition. First, the DNC encompassed members from various organizations working towards one goal, rather than separate organizations coordinating events. The DNC was made up of students from the SGA, African Students Association, Central Black Student Union, dorm halls, fraternities, sororities, religious institutions, CU-CAA, PACA, and other campus organizations. By bringing people from these various organizations, the students were able to refocus their efforts in working

²² Forum Piece, July 1985, Box 5, Folder 19, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

together towards one goal. This leads to their second reason for organizing: to unite in the fight in “[obtaining] a commitment from the University of Illinois to completely divest from corporations and banks which do business in South Africa.”²³ Additionally, the organization had a secondary goal of linking racism at home to racism under the apartheid regime. This coalition paralleled the structure of the DNC at the UI-Chicago campus.

While the DNC’s activities were similar to those of CU-CAA, CU-CAA still remained as a separate organization with different strategies. While the DNC had the sole purpose of convincing the Board of Trustees to divest, CU-CAA retained its focus on educating individuals about apartheid. CU-CAA assumed the DNC would be relatively short-lived since the only goal was divestment. CU-CAA also provided an alternative method to get involved in the issue without directly going into action, as the DNC would move to do in the future.²⁴ Some individuals, however, were part of both organizations. Apotheker, a founding member of CU-CAA and a member of CIDS, participated in many of DNC’s activities. Machota describes Apotheker as a mentor who knew everything about apartheid and was extremely influential to the DNC.²⁵ Both organizations shared the same room in the Illini Union, shared many of the same members, and coordinated many events together.

The primary difference between the two organizations was that the DNC was ready to escalate to direct action approaches if needed, while CU-CAA continued to operate by raising awareness and educating the community. Likewise, the DNC attracted much more young, undergraduate students willing to take risks, while CU-CAA attracted graduate students and community members with already established lives. Machota describes the difference as CU-

²³ Divest Now Coalition, n.d., Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

²⁴ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” September 2, 1985, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

²⁵ Interview with Jeff Machota, February 21, 2023.

CAA members being the academics, while the members of DNC were the activists. Additionally, CU-CAA's president, Pete Perry, was clean-cut, while members like Machota had long hair.²⁶ Joe Moag, a later member of the DNC, had a mohawk and described himself as, "what you imagine a leftist activist would look like."²⁷ This split represents the continued frustration of students. New students came to the university and, upon hearing about the Board's indifference, wanted to get involved with the issue. While the cycling of students in and out proved to be detrimental in 1979, it was also beneficial, particularly at harnessing support for the DNC. A new generation had arrived on campus and were dedicated to action.

The DNC understood that they would escalate to direct action tactics, if necessary, but hoped they would be successful in convincing the Board to divest before it came to that. The DNC quickly began building up their base. Early on, the DNC was committed to fully understanding the issue of apartheid and divestment, so they spent a lot of time working with CU-CAA. Steven Apotheker, by now an expert on South Africa, was critical in providing this guidance to the DNC. The DNC also attended two major conferences that year: the Downstate Organizing Conference sponsored by CIDSa and the Midwest Regional Conference held by the Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance, a student organization at the University of Chicago.

The Downstate Organizing Conference was held locally at the Illinois Disciples Foundation in Champaign. Over 75 individuals from ten Illinois cities were in attendance. Keynote speaker, Elizabeth Schmidt, who critiqued the Sullivan Principles in her work, *Decoding Corporate Camouflage and One Step in the Wrong Direction* provided excellent insight into combating the defense of using the Sullivan Principles.²⁸ This left a major impact on

²⁶ Interview with Jeff Machota, February 21, 2023.

²⁷ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

²⁸ See Elizabeth Schmidt, *Decoding Corporate Camouflage and One step in the Wrong Direction* (Washington D.C.: Institute for Policy Studios, 1980).

members of students at the University of Illinois since they had been pushing against the Board's commitment to the Sullivan Principles for a considerable amount of time. The conference also included panels on current activities, such as statewide divestment bills HB 317 and HB 330, along with future plans for CIDSAs. As CIDSAs noted, "By far the most significant aspect of the conference was the participants, and the opportunity for them to meet and network."²⁹ For the DNC, this was especially important since they were a recently founded organization. Here, they were able to continue networking with the DNC at the UI-Chicago campus and meet other student anti-apartheid organizations to coordinate actions.

The second major conference that the DNC attended that semester was the Midwest Regional Conference on November 16 and 17. This conference was held by the Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance, a black student organization at the University of Chicago. The Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance was a sector of the University of Chicago Coalition for Divestment that focused on solidarity with liberation movements in South Africa.³⁰ This conference was organized and attended solely by students. The conference included speakers from South African liberation groups, in company with speakers from local and national anti-apartheid organizations. There were also a variety of panels and workshops, most pertaining to the background of apartheid and divestment, connecting the theme of racism in the U.S. and in South Africa, and information on U.S. foreign policy.³¹ Both conferences were beneficial to the newly emerged DNC. In working with CU-CAA, other organizations, and attending conferences, the DNC was able to harness valuable information and gain critical connections. Aside from statewide connections, the DNC

²⁹ Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDSAs), "CIDSAs Update, No. 11," September 1985, Cheryl Johnson-Odim Anti-Apartheid Collection, CIDSAs Documents, <https://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cjocidsa/>.

³⁰ For more, see Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance Collection, African Activist Archive, <https://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization/210-813-265/>.

³¹ Midwest Conference Against Apartheid and Racism, Fall 1985, Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance Collection, African Activist Archive, <https://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization/210-813-265/>.

also spent considerable time working with other student organizations at the University of Illinois, like the black fraternities.³² The DNC was building a strong foundation that would only continue to grow the movement.

Throughout the fall semester, Board of Trustees member Al Logan continued to bring up divestment resolutions at almost every meeting. In November of 1985, the newly found growth of the DNC assisted Logan's resolution by putting considerable pressure on the Board of Trustees; however, the resolution was, again, voted down.³³ The Board of Trustees committed to addressing the issue at a retreat on the issue of South Africa during February of 1986. While the retreat included members from the Board of Trustees, the SGA, and select professors, those professors in support of divestment and members of the DNC and CU-CAA were left out. Instead of giving up due to this brief set back, the DNC committed to "INTENSIFY" its efforts the following spring semester.³⁴ The organization already had become relatively well established, but they knew they would need more support and a reoriented strategy moving forward if they want to achieve their goal of divestment. Their original attempts to continue education had been stonewalled just as CU-CAA's previous efforts were. New strategies of direct action now were consuming the movement.

The DNC quickly set out two main goals early in the spring semester: harnessing more support and reorienting their strategy. To accomplish these, leading members of the DNC, Jeff Machota and Theresa Donnelly, created several specific task forces to focus on specific duties the organization required. For example, there was a recruiting task force titled, "Building DNC

³² Interview with Jeff Machota, February 21, 2023.

³³ "Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois," November 14, 1985, accessed April 21, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1985/1985-11-14-uibot.pdf>.

³⁴ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," February 24, 1986, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

Membership” that focused on increasing student and faculty participation, along with retaining membership. This helped accomplish their main goal of getting more support. Some of the other tasks were Media and Publicity, Fund Raising, and Elections (specifically regarding the Board of Trustees elections). One of the most important task forces created was labeled Direct Action/Civil Disobedience. Members would be in charge of direct actions to push divestment and nondisruptive tactics at Board strategies.³⁵ The students quickly got to work in finding new members and filling the positions of the task forces, in the hopes of being more organized and ready to take to plan new strategies.

DNC members spent the beginning part of the spring semester recruiting and filling positions for these task forces. This was not a simple task. Jeff Machota recalled that he really was not going to class around this time since his efforts were so focused on the issue.³⁶ This calls to mind Tutu’s comment that “There are some things more important than degrees,” because these activists cared so much about the importance of divestment and ending apartheid that they were willing to put it on the line in this fight.³⁷ The SGA, still led by Kirts with her mission of helping students accomplish their goals, was an active supporter of the DNC’s activities. Kirts was able to coordinate with the founder of TransAfrica and leading national anti-apartheid activist, Randall Robinson, to give a speech on anti-apartheid activism at the University of Illinois.³⁸ This helped draw in additional support to the DNC and link the issue of racism at home to South Africa. Robinson also frequently invoked the language of human rights throughout the anti-apartheid movement. When referring to the Coordinated Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid

³⁵ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” February 24, 1986, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

³⁶ Jeff Machota, “Student and Community Divestment Protests in the 1980s,” April 7, 2016, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/DNCPanel04072016>.

³⁷ “Desmond Tutu’s 1986 Philadelphia Speech and the U.S. Anti-Apartheid Act,” *Billy Penn*, December 26, 2021.

³⁸ Jeff Machota, “Student and Community Divestment Protests in the 1980s,” April 7, 2016, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/DNCPanel04072016>.

Action protest in 1985, Robinson argued, “We want passage of legislation that finally puts the United States on the right side of an important human rights issue.”³⁹ This is a key point within the framework of human rights, because outside of *Amandla*, the language of human rights largely disappeared from the anti-apartheid movement.

While the DNC at the UIUC campuses began to see success, the activities from the DNC at the UI-Chicago campus had been effectively shut down. In October 1985, members of the UI-Chicago DNC attended the Board of Trustees meeting, and when the Board declined to consider divestment, the group began chanting “Divest Now!” Upon the Board’s request that the members leave, the students did as they were asked and promptly left fearing they would be arrested. Nevertheless, the following day, there were arrest warrants out for five key members of the DNC in attendance at the meeting. The charges were “interfering with a public institution with threats of force.”⁴⁰ Purposefully, the administration kept delaying the hearing of these students. In February, the hearing was delayed for a third time, and, as members of CU-CAA argued, this was possibly meant to keep key members of the UI-Chicago DNC on conduct probation to limit their activities and prevent further action.⁴¹

While the administration successfully tied up key members of the UI-Chicago DNC, the DNC at the UIUC had amassed considerable support by March 1986. Much of their membership consisted of young, eager students ready for direct action. Unfortunately, there was no proposed plan from the DNC on what actions to take. This all changed when one night, Joe Moag, a recently recruited member who was ambitious and had a fiery spirit, was drinking with a few of his friends at his apartment. All of them were part of the DNC, and at one point in the night

³⁹ Karlyn Barker, “Apartheid Protests to Mark King Anniversary,” *The Washington Post*, April 3, 1985.

⁴⁰ Students on Trial for Fighting Apartheid, n.d., Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

⁴¹ “Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid,” February 24, 1986, Box 1, Folder 10, CU-CAA Records.

Moag suggested that they should construct a shantytown during the upcoming Board of Trustees meeting. A shantytown was a new protest tactic devised by student anti-apartheid protestors that involved constructing a small “town” with wood and other materials to symbolize the living conditions of black South Africans. This tactic was developed in April 1985 by students at Columbia University, and later expanded by students at Cornell University.⁴² By 1986, the strategy of building a shantytown had spread to colleges nationwide. Nessen notes that the tactic put considerable pressure on the administration, and it also helped create a sense of community among the protestors.⁴³ Moag explained that they had been in contact with other universities, mainly the University of Michigan and the University of Wisconsin, so this is where Moag was likely introduced to the idea.⁴⁴ In fact, during the same time period, students at the University of Wisconsin would construct a shantytown at the state capital, pushing for state divestment since their university already had divested.⁴⁵ The other members agreed with Moag that it would draw immense support and put considerable pressure on the Board of Trustees, so they got to work constructing the shanty.

The group went out to the backyard with 4x4s and began the construction. Moag picked up a steel chain, along with a pad lock to attach the shanty to the union. The shanty was completed and attached to the union on Tuesday, April 8, 1986, just two days prior to the Board of Trustees meeting.⁴⁶ Immediately, the group drew immense attention from students and faculty alike, according to Moag. While at the shantytown, the protestors passed out flyers explaining what they were doing and why. Many students, after learning about their mission, joined in to

⁴² Sarah A. Soule, “The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest,” *Social Forces* 75 #3 (1997): 857–858, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2580522>.

⁴³ American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Joshua Nessen, “Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Apr. 1986,” *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, April 1986, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.acoa000123>.

⁴⁴ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁴⁵ “U. of I. Quells Protests, Boost Tuition,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1986.

⁴⁶ “U. of I. Students Raze ‘Shantytown,’” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1986.

pass out flyers and help construct the shantytown. Moag later recalled that many times he would give someone a flyer, and 20 minutes later that same person would be there passing out flyers. *The Daily Illini* ran stories on the event prompting further attention and support. Shortly into the demonstration, students began bringing wood to help build up the shantytown. By the end of the day, there were ten shanties built, and by the end of Wednesday, there were over 30 shanties built with hundreds of people sleeping in them.⁴⁷

When members of the Board of Trustees arrived on the morning of Thursday, April 10, 1986, there were over a thousand protestors in attendance. The administration demanded that after Thursday the shantytown must move to Foellinger Auditorium, but for the time being they were remained right outside where the Board of Trustees were meeting in the Illini Union. The administration also demanded the shantytown be taken down by Saturday, to which Moag responded, “We’ll be out here past Saturday... We’ll be out here until the university divests and if they tear it down we will rebuild.”⁴⁸ Moag’s statement shows the ambition and determination from the DNC. Clearly, Moag and the others understood things would escalate at this event. In fact, Moag wrote his lawyer’s phone number on his hand, knowing his arrested was likely.⁴⁹

When the Board of Trustees started their meeting, protestors flooded the narrow hallway outside the room of where business was being conducted. They began chanting “Divest Now!,” which, with the protestors outside, shook the meeting. In an attempt to quiet the protestors down, the Board of Trustees allowed three representatives of the DNC to come inside and give brief remarks about their case for divestment. Moag was one of these individuals. The group called for a vote on divestment, and the Board of Trustees refused to even acknowledge them. The Board

⁴⁷ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁴⁸ “U. of I. Quells Protests, Boost Tuition,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1986.

⁴⁹ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

of Trustees minutes do not even mention the demands for a vote.⁵⁰ Due to the Board's refusal, the three members began chanting "Divest Now!" The three students were quickly arrested and dragged out of the Illini Union.⁵¹

There was only one problem for the police. The only exit to the building required the police to escort the three students through the narrow hallway outside the meeting room. The narrow hallway, however, was still flooded with hundreds of protestors. When the other students saw the three students being dragged out of the building, they converged onto the meeting chanting "Divest Now!" and "Free South Africa." Hundreds of students also surrounded the police cars outside, which now held the original three students. Quickly, the police began arresting students inside. Every time a small group of students was arrested, others would take their place. With few options, the Board decided to postpone the meeting shortly after that. In total, 60 people were arrested within the short time frame.⁵²

The protestors viewed the Board's decision to postpone their meeting as a victory. They had caused a disruption on campus that helped harness additional support. Furthermore, they had succeeded in putting immense pressure on the Board of Trustees. President Ikenberry called the entire protest "counterproductive," yet the protests were amassing more support.⁵³ Up until Saturday, the protests remained steady. Most students missed class during this period or convinced their professors to count attending the protest as a learning opportunity. Despite the Board not voting on divestment, the attention the protestors drew was a huge success.

⁵⁰ "Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois," April 10, 1986, accessed April 21, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1986/1986-04-10-uibot.pdf>.

⁵¹ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁵² Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁵³ "U. of I. Quells Protests, Boost Tuition," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1986.

The administration demanded that the shantytown be taken down on Saturday, April 12 by noon, or more arrests would follow. In an attempt to calm the tensions, Chancellor Thomas Everhart decided to address the protestors at 11:00 a.m., an hour before the shantytown had to be taken down. Machota explained that no one ever gives speeches there, so it was clear that this was directed at the protestors. With this understanding, the protestors decided to use the speech to their advantage and stage a guerrilla theatre that reenacted the brutality of the South African government towards black South Africans. They staged “white South African police” storming the quad to destroy the shantytown and “kill” the South Africans. By the time Chancellor Everhart came out to speak, hundreds of protestors lay “dead.” Those acting as police surrounded the Chancellor as if mockingly to show they were with him during his speech. Chancellor Everhart did not even bat an eye and carried on as if nothing was happening around him.⁵⁴ He reiterated that the administration deplored the system of apartheid but there was not agreement to divest from corporations doing business in South Africa.⁵⁵ The media captured fantastic photos from the event.⁵⁶ The images quickly spread nationwide, and some people thought the pictures were taken from an actual event in South Africa.⁵⁷

Two other shantytown protests occurred that year at the University of Illinois. The second shantytown was built without a permit, yet was taken down quickly by the University on April 20, 1986. The third and final shantytown got approval from the administration for a permit on Thursday, May 1, 1986. This shantytown lasted two weeks until Thursday, May 15, 1986.

⁵⁴ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

⁵⁵ “U. of I. Students Raze ‘Shantytown,’” *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1986.

⁵⁶ For the photos, see “Divest Now Protests,” *The Urbana Free Library Digital Collections*, accessed April 6, 2023, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/98945443@N05/albums/72157650328772165>.

⁵⁷ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

Neither of these protests were the scale of the original shantytown, but, nevertheless, shows the determination of the students.

Following the protests, tensions between the DNC and the administration remained high, yet it appeared there was considerable support for the students arrested. For example, the Champaign County Democratic Central Committee passed a resolution in a 27-3 vote asking the administration to drop all the charges. One part of the resolution argued that the “civil disobedience committed by these students was not reckless but was in the proper tradition of Gandhi and Martin Luther King.” They also argued that the students were acting under the 1st Amendment and were using this as an educational initiative.⁵⁸ Students in CU-CAA and the DNC also made the point that the reason things escalated to this level was the continued stonewalling by the Board of Trustees at any attempts the organizations made to divest.⁵⁹ Despite the pressure, the administration moved forward and committed to pressing charges.

Once it became clear that the administration would not budge in dropping the charges, the DNC and CU-CAA both took on the challenge of raising legal fees for the students that were arrested. Their goal was to raise a combined amount of \$15,000. Professor Crummey played a vital role in writing letters to hundreds of individuals, a tactic that motivated other members of CU-CAA and the DNC. In his letters, Professor Crummey typically explained the situation, compared the activism of the students to activism of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and other prominent activists, and then argued that they were facing arbitrary disciplinary actions and

⁵⁸ Dave Olson, “UI Approves Construction of Third Shantytown,” *The Daily Illini*, May 2, 1986, Box 12, Folder 6, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

⁵⁹ Anti-Apartheid Protestors Arrested -- Why?, n.d., Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

criminal charges.⁶⁰ While this tactic succeeded and the \$15,000 goal was achieved, the legal battles and fundraising consumed most of the DNC's and CU-CAA's efforts during this time.⁶¹

While no historical evidence of the date or location of the trial was found, Moag recalled that the students were ready to be convicted. Most were charged with trespassing on state supported property, but some were also charged with resisting arrest. During Moag's trial, it took over nine hours for a decision to be decided by the jury, because one African American man did not want to convict the protestors. Eventually, the students were convicted and received small fines. The students were also placed on conduct probation at the University of Illinois. The protestors did not really care. They knew what they had gotten themselves into. Some argued that this was nothing compared to what South Africans had to face every day.⁶²

Aside from efforts towards the trial, the other efforts were put towards the reelection of new Board members in favor of divestment. Throughout the remainder of the summer and fall of 1986, the DNC and CU-CAA focused on spreading the message about divestment. They held concerts, passed out leaflets, continued educational initiatives, and attended Board of Trustees meetings. Around this time, four new Board of Trustees members were elected, all in favor of divestment. Additionally, on September 11, 1986, President Ikenberry recommended a shareholder resolution, in which the Board should withdraw in corporations with operations doing business in South Africa. This resolution did not pass but was the closest vote in all divestment resolutions proposed at the Board of Trustees meetings.⁶³ Also in the fall of 1986 Congress overrode President Ronald Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act,

⁶⁰ Letter from Donald Crummey, May 4, 1986, Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

⁶¹ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

⁶² Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁶³ "Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois," September 11, 1986, accessed April 21, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1986/1986-09-11-uibot.pdf>.

which passed national sanctions towards South Africa.⁶⁴ As such, many companies began pulling out of South Africa that fall, including many of the companies in which the University of Illinois had investments.

On January 14, 1987, the Board of Trustees passed a resolution on divestment. The Board partially divested \$3.3 million of its \$21 million in funds in South Africa, and agreed to fully divest the remaining if apartheid was not ended by 1988.⁶⁵ While they did not divest the majority of their funds, the vote was symbolic after a long and tortured out battle with the Board of Trustees.⁶⁶

Yet, this vote was not without its criticisms. Many members of the DNC and CU-CAA criticized the Board of Trustees for purposefully taking the vote when students were not on campus to avoid criticisms of not going far enough. Furthermore, the university did not divest from IBM, GM, or Exxon. IBM and GM were two of the largest stocks in the University of Illinois' portfolio. The way that the Board escaped criticism was by arguing that IBM and GM pulled out of South Africa in October 21 and October 20, respectively.⁶⁷ While this was partially true, those companies sold their stocks to local subsidiaries and were still profiting.⁶⁸ Machota dismissed the Board's move a "fake divestment" since it was profiting on companies still technically in South Africa.⁶⁹ Others, however, like Moag believed it was a victory since the

⁶⁴ Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, Public Law 99-440, 99th Congress, October 2, 1986.

⁶⁵ "Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois," January 14-15, 1987, accessed April 24, 2023, <https://www.trustees.uillinois.edu/trustees/minutes/1987/1987-01-14-uibot.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Rebecca Contreras, "University of Illinois students gain partial divestment from apartheid South Africa, 1985-1987," *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, Swarthmore College, June 2, 2011, accessed February 12, 2023, <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/university-illinois-students-gain-partial-divestment-apartheid-south-africa-1985-1987#:~:text=In%20the%20spring%20of%201977,an%20open%20debate%20on%20apartheid.>

⁶⁷ Donna K. H. Walters, "IBM to End Its Presence in S. Africa," *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1986; James Risen, "GM to Pull Out of South Africa: Cites Losses, Unwillingness of Regime to Dismantle Apartheid," *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1986.

⁶⁸ "Amandla: The Newsletter of the Coalition Against Apartheid," February 23, 1987, Box 5, Folder 29, PRC Records and Divest Now!.

⁶⁹ Interview with Jeff Machota, April 13, 2023.

partial divestment was still a win after a long battle of the organization.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the debate over whether the partial divestment was a victory remains to this day.

Due to the partial divestment and national sanctions, the movement at the University of Illinois dwindled. Most members went their own way and began working with other organizations. Moag and other key leaders graduated.⁷¹ The DNC dissolved following the partial divestment in 1987 since their main goal was accomplished; however, CU-CAA remained active until 1989. Their initiatives rebounded mainly to education and updating the community on the situation in South Africa. Members like Machota continued statewide lobbying, but, for the most part, this was unsuccessful, and, eventually, everyone decided to go on their own route.⁷²

All in all, this final push from the students at the University of Illinois proved to be successful. When activities at the University of Illinois appeared to be dwindling, early DNC members like Jeff Machota were able to create a spark and rebrand the anti-apartheid movement. Less than a year after the DNC formed, they succeeded in sparking national attention to their activities. They held one of the largest protests on campus, attracting over a thousand individuals. Furthermore, while 60 students were arrested, the protest put a considerable amount of pressure on the Board of Trustees. With this newly found momentum, Board of Trustees voted to partially divest \$3.3 million from companies doing business in South Africa. Whether this alone was a victory or not is left to the interpretation of the readers; however, this movement made exceptional strides that deeply impacted the anti-apartheid movement. For years, CU-CAA, and later the DNC, fought the administration, and they finally accomplish their original goals of divestment.

⁷⁰ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁷¹ Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

⁷² Interview with Jeff Machota, February 21, 2023.

Conclusion

While it is impossible to conclude that CU-CAA's and the DNC's activities directly dismantled apartheid, combined with hundreds of similar organizations, both groups contributed to a magnified force that overturned one of the great injustices of the 20th century. As these organizations have demonstrated, the anti-apartheid movement was a tough struggle that lasted for years. CU-CAA's members spent years writing letters, organizing events, and negotiating with the UIUC Board of Trustees – only to have their opinions ignored time and time again. And when the Board agreed to partially divest, they left most of their funds invested in corporations profiting from apartheid. Nevertheless, through the unified struggle, the system of apartheid was effectively dismantled only a few years later. It was through the tenacious labors of these individuals, willing to sacrifice their degrees, that the anti-apartheid movement reached the success that it did.

CU-CAA's activities show the importance of local, grassroots organizations to the larger movement. For years, the organization educated students and members of community. No one paid these individuals or asked them to take on such a time-consuming task. People like Steve Apotheker and Professor Crummey did this because they believed it was the right thing to do. People around the country, like these individuals, took on that task and helped educate their communities on the atrocities in South Africa. Moral outrage motivated these individuals. The title of this thesis, "Why Invest in Racism?" is taken from Dumisani Kumalo's speech in 1984 at the National Two-Weeks Against Apartheid, but it exemplifies the pulsating sentiments animating the movement.

CU-CAA's early activities saw relatively little success yet proved to be critical for the foundation of the organization. The formation of CU-CAA following the two horrific events, the

Soweto Uprising in 1976 and the murder of Steven Biko in 1977, sparked the moral outrage that students would carry with them throughout their active years. Immediately, the organization pounced on educational initiatives that would inform and guide the movement toward achieving its ultimate goals. CU-CAA also attempted early initiatives at pushing the Board of Trustees to divest. The sit-in at President Corbally's office demonstrated the student's persistence and radicalism, signaling that they would continue to fight despite numerous denials by the Board of Trustees to review the investment policy. Additionally, the early years invoked the use of culture, such as Kristen Lems' music to mobilize and inform students. While the Board of Trustees fully committed to the Sullivan Principles, and the anti-apartheid activities would dwindle until 1981, the initial years of the organization were critical in shaping the movement.

The national and statewide ties that CU-CAA formed between 1981-1984, specifically with Joshua Nessen, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), and the Coalition for Illinois Divestment from South Africa (CIDS), fostered important networks with two-way benefits. For CU-CAA, the local anti-apartheid movement was revitalized upon connecting with these networks. CU-CAA adopted new strategies such as the creation of their newsletter, *Amandla*. Furthermore, the coalition's outreach fostered connections with many regional universities, and the exchanged ideas fortified all. For the student movement and CIDS, CU-CAA contributed to this growing network. The accomplishments from CIDS and the national student movement would not have been possible without the contributions from organizations like CU-CAA.

By the mid-1980s, however, impatience built. Despite a growing profile, CU-CAA hardly dented the bulwarks thrown up by the BOT. Individuals like Jeff Machota that formed the DNC epitomized the continued sense of frustration with the Board of Trustees' lack of action. Machota, after getting arrested at the Board of Trustees meeting in Chicago, split off from CU-

CAA to redirect their strategies to more direct action approaches. DNC members understood that solely educating would not pressure the Board of Trustees to divest. Ambitious radicals like Joe Moag provide us with a sense of how eager these students were to get involved upon learning about the atrocities of apartheid, along with the Board's indifference towards the issue. Inspired by a drive for immediate change and fortified by some liquid courage, these ambitious individuals decided to build a Shantytown, which sparked in one of the largest protests at the University of Illinois. Over 60 individuals were arrested. All they believed the issue outweighed the sacrifice they were making. In the end, through the courageousness of these individuals, the Board finally agreed to partially divest in 1987.

Throughout the short but active history of the coalition, two general trends are unmistakable and related themes raised in David Hostetter's, *Movement Matters: American Antipartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics*. First, CU-CAA frequently invoked the use of culture as a way for students to understand the issue. Lems provided various opportunities for music, specifically playing Peter Gabriel's "Biko," an anthem sure to touch the hearts of listeners. Movies like *Cry, the Beloved Country* and the *Gordimer Stories* provided a way to fully comprehend the issue of apartheid. Second, CU-CAA, the DNC, and the student movement led by Nessen frequently connected the issue of race problems in America to the oppression of black South Africans. The organization was not only attempting to dismantle apartheid, but it aimed to address problems at home as well. Additionally, the theme of human rights was evident from the inception of the movement, following the assertions of the late 1970s as proposed by historians Samuel Moyn and Mark Bradley. While the language lost traction, except for a few times in *Amandla*, it was steady throughout the end of the 1970s and compelled the students to action.

Lastly, activists carried powerful lessons from the anti-apartheid movement with them throughout their lives. In interviews with Jeff Machota and Joe Moag, both individuals explained that they made lifelong friends and learned a great deal about activism from their time.¹ After Machota moved on from the University of Illinois, he became a bookkeeper for local nonprofits like the Champaign Country Healthcare Consumers. Additionally, he is a national member for Vietnam Veterans Against the War, where he helps write their newspaper and updates their website.² Machota also explained that Rhonda Kirts, the President of the Student Government Association, said the movement changed her life. She went from a small town girl to someone who felt like she was part of something larger.³ Steve Apotheker worked for many years in Champaign and was nicknamed the “recycling guru.” He also addressed other environmental concerns.⁴ Unfortunately, Apotheker passed away in 2011, but his activism and care for the community lives on in Champaign-Urbana. Whether or not these individuals realize their impact, they assisted in the struggle to dismantle the system of apartheid.

Today, apartheid and anti-apartheid activism are part of history. As previously mentioned, the system was dismantled, first with Nelson Mandela’s release from prison in 1990, and then later with the election of Mandela in the first democratic election in 1994. However, other issues still remain that can look to the anti-apartheid movement for activist approaches. For example, Black Lives Matter, climate issues, and human rights issues around the world all are attracting young, student activists looking to make a change. The anti-apartheid activities at the

¹ Interview with Jeff Machota, February 21, 2023; Interview with Joe Moag, February 15, 2023.

² Jeff Machota, “Student and Community Divestment Protests in the 1980s,” April 7, xs April 6, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/DNCPanel04072016>.

³ Interview with Jeff Machota, February 21, 2023.

⁴ Paul Wood, “Life Remembered: Steve Apotheker Launched Local Recycling Efforts,” *The News-Gazette*, July 7, 2011.

University of Illinois are a profound example of courageous individuals that have a great story today and are influential to modern forms of activism.

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