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Interview with Curtis Black

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- 1 JEREMY CAIRNS: Alright, my name is Jeremy Cairns. I will be interviewing—can you please
- 2 state your name?
- 3 CURTIS BLACK: Curtis Black.
- 4 JC: Curtis Black. The date of the interview is Thursday, April 22nd. Place of interview is the
- 5 Columbia College Library. Um, can you tell me what years you were active against apartheid?
- 6 CB: I was particularly active probably 1977 or '78. And then—there were sort of two phases of,
- of activity, at the University of Chicago. The first time I was a student there. That would be in
- 8 the late seventies. For—really a year I think, in particular. And then the second time was in the
- 9 80's, it was 1985 and uh, I don't know, '86. Most, probably about a year then too. And I was a
- staff member then, I was a clerical worker in-- steward in the-- in the Clerical Workers Union.
- 11 JC: Where were you active then?
- 12 CB: That was the University of Chicago.
- 13 JC: Right. Okay. Uh, what year were you born?
- 14 CB: 1957.
- 15 JC: And where were you born?
- 16 CB: White Plains, New York.
- 17 JC: Where were you raised?
- 18 CB: Same place.
- 19 JC: Same place. Where was your father born?
- 20 CB: Butler, Pennsylvania, which is a bit north of Pittsburg.
- 21 JC: Where was your mother born?
- 22 CB: Um, Rochester, New York.
- 23 JC: What is your earliest memory—ever (laughs)?
- CB: I—uh—I have a memory of being stung by a bee when I was about two. That's probably it.
- 25 JC: (laughs) Uh, what was your hometown like?
- 26 CB: It was a suburb of New York, it was uh—it was uh—you know it was—you could play—it
- 27 was before there were cars all up and down the street, you could play in the street. It was a nice

- place to grow up. It was also um—integrated. I mean there was—whites and blacks and there
- 29 was uh, rich and poor and uh—
- 30 JC: How did you—who did you grow up with? Like the friends that you had or um, the family
- 31 members you grew up with?
- 32 CB: Oh I had a sister. I had a few friends. I—I don't know how to describe it (laughs).
- 33 JC: (laughs) Um, what role did religion play in your childhood?
- 34 CB: Um—well, we went to a—when I was a—I moved about when I was about ten to a
- somewhat older part of the town that was um—that was integrated and we went to a church that
- was across the street, The United Church of Christ and um—that was very uh, focused on social
- 37 justice and social action and stuff.
- 38 JC: Um—
- 39 CB: So, and I got pretty involved in that.
- 40 JC: How long did, did you stay involved throughout your, throughout most of your life?
- 41 CB: No really through high school I became uh—yeah. Really through, through high school, I
- 42 guess.
- 43 JC: What was your favorite holiday?
- 44 CB: Christmas, I guess?
- 45 JC: (laughs) Um, what did you do with your family on weekends?
- 46 CB: I didn't—I uh—I—it's hard for me to remember uh—I don't remember specific family
- 47 activities.
- 48 JC: Do you remember anything, like did you guys go to the zoo a lot? Or did you ever—was
- 49 there a park near, near your home that you would go to?
- 50 CB: I would play with my friends, I think—is what I remember. And um—I would uh—in the
- s—oh, uh—I often—or I don't know how often, but occasionally there'd be projects around the
- bouse where I was supposed to help my father, that kind of thing and—yeah I don't remember
- 53 really—I don't—
- 54 JC: (laughs)
- 55 CB: I don't specifically remember what we did, or what—like what I did with my sister, we were
- sort of—ya know, separate.
- 57 JC: Right.

- 58 CB: Had separate tracks.
- 59 JC: Uh, what rules did your parents have?
- 60 CB: Um—uh—I don't, I don't remember!
- 61 JC: (laughs) For instance any that were—
- 62 CB: I had to—I had to—they had to know where—I think they had to know where I was, I was
- usually home at—we had dinner together—I don't remember them as rules, but ya know I—I
- 64 uh—I had responsibilities—around uh—particularly around music lessons I took through high
- school and um—jobs I had. Um--and I don't remember there being a specific time I was
- supposed to be home, but I was home every night.
- 67 JC: Sure.
- 68 CB: Uh—I don't—I mean I would say they were not—I, I, uh—somewhat strict, but I can't
- 69 think of any rules that they had. I mean not—unflexible or unreasonable, but a little bit old
- 70 school.
- 71 JC: Um, who was the disciplinarian of your parents?
- 72 CB: Mmm, probably my father, mostly.
- 73 JC: Uh, which parent were you closest to?
- 74 CB: Uh—I, I don't know. Either, either. Depends.
- 75 JC: Sure. How did you get to school?
- 76 CB: Um—there was a—well we walked. And then as the schools were bigger they got farther
- away and there was a bus but often I walked in high school. All the kids in my neighborhood
- 78 would—take the bus except me and a friend who later went in the Green Berets and still like gets
- 79 sent over to uh—Iraq and stuff.
- 80 JC: Sure. Wow.
- 81 CB: And he and I would walk—it was uh, it was uh—was a kind of long way, some miles.
- 82 JC: Sure. Um, who was your best friend in grade school? Was it?
- 83 CB: No, uh, it—no, in grade s—I—um, there was a kid who lived down the street from us, he
- was my best.
- 85 JC: Do you remember his name?
- 86 CB: David.

- 87 JC: David. Um, who was your favorite teacher?
- 88 CB: In—um, probably the guy who taught Honors English. The chairman of the English
- 89 department
- 90 JC: Sure. Did you have, so you took his class? Was that a really powerful class for you then? Did
- 91 you—
- 92 CB: Uh, He was really intimidating and he liked to hold forth and say sort of outrageous things.
- He was as entertaining as anything. I guess he was kind of challenging he was always
- challenging students to um, think and that kind of thing.
- 95 JC: Uh, what kind of things did you do uh, by yourself when you were younger?
- 96 CB: Well, I did, ya know, I played piano and trumpet and—uh, read a lot.
- 97 JC: What was your um, favorite genre of books to read?
- 98 CB: Probably history.
- 99 JC: Um, what did you do uh, in the community? Were there any uh, clubs that you could join or
- that you did join?
- 101 CB: There was little league, there was uh—there was uh—um, ya know music and sometimes
- you'd start a band with people.
- 103 JC: Did you start a band?
- 104 CB: Uh, sev—yeah, yeah, well I mean not too—You can--it's easy to start a band, that doesn't
- give you, make, make a band. I mean, yeah. There was, there was times though—I mean there
- were people in White Plains who were fairly serious musicians. I was in a R&B band for a while
- and I was, I was a guy who had a big band, had all the charts. And there was uh, yeah so some--
- and, and, and I did hook up with some friends and make a pretty—several, a couple times make.
- 109 JC: What did you want to be when you grew up?
- 110 CB: Prob—I, I probably wanted to be a writer and a musician.
- JC: Okay um, what do you remember in part—
- 112 CB: Oh no, I wanted to be a minister.
- 113 JC: A minister (chuckles).
- 114 CB: That's right.
- JC: So was your plan to go to um—oh I can't remember what it's called.

- 116 CB: I didn't have much of a plan. And I didn't know—ya know I went to college and that was it
- 117 for that.
- JC: Sure. What do you remember in particular from middle school? Any specific memories or—
- 119 CB: The first that comes to mind is—um—is uh—walking out of school for Vietnam
- Auditorium. I had to walk out of math class, it was like the first class of the day, I felt kinda
- bad. And it was a young math teacher and I had been—I had like given her a hard time about
- why—what was the point of studying math, ya know? And she didn't know quite how to answer
- it. But, ya know, she tried.
- JC: Um, how was high school different from middle school for you?
- 125 CB: Ugh—I don't know. I really don't know.
- JC: What was your favorite class in high school then? Oh was that your, your honors English
- 127 class?
- 128 CB: Yeah, yeah.
- JC: Um, what college did you want to go to?
- 130 CB: Oh, uh—I do—I think that I, my father had n attraction to this Great Books thing that was
- still kind of popular uh—ya know—like in the fifties or sixties they'd have adult study groups
- that got together and ya know—and the schools that did that was the University of Chicago and
- St. Johnson's, I visited, St. John's and I thought that would be cool. But I ended up going to U
- of C. I don't know exactly how that happened.
- JC: (laughs) Um, so then why did you go to, to UIC is that—
- 136 CB: University of Chicago.
- JC: Because you—were you cornered into it? Is that why you ended up going?
- 138 CB: No, although it was the only school that accepted me and, and in retrospect, I wasn't—I had
- such good scores I wonder if I didn't send them all. I was very resistant to applying to college.
- For some reason I—ya know I, it was some adolescent thing. It's a long time ago, Jeremy
- 141 (laughs).
- JC: (laughs) Um, when you got to UIC what did you—
- 143 CB: U of C.
- JC: U of C? I'm sorry, U of C, what did you major in?

- 145 CB: Um, ya know I took all the liberal arts type classes, and I was signed up as a English major
- but I didn't uh—succeed with that. I didn't graduate. I—I started writing for the school paper
- and other stuff. And um—so I was officially an English major to answer your question.
- 148 JC: Sure. Um, where did you work while you were in college?
- 149 CB: I worked—mainly I worked in the cafeteria as a dish washer. For the last couple years—or
- 150 year.
- JC: Did you have any other jobs, like outside of the school?
- 152 CB: No, I had some other jobs in the school. I—I can't remember exactly. One was um—s-
- sitting in an information—the, the ticket booth at the, at the—at the Mandel Hall. One—there
- may have been something else, I don't remember.
- 155 JC: What is Mandel Hall? Is that a—
- 156 CB: It's like their performance place.
- 157 JC: Oh okay. For like music concerts?
- 158 CB: It was like a booth. There would—I guess I sold tickets but it was mainly—I don't—ya
- know, it was like an information place.
- 160 JC: Sure. Oh okay.
- 161 CB: Ya know, mainly uh—ya know people would come and talk to you for a long time (laughs).
- 162 JC: (laughs)
- 163 CB: It was a place where—for lonely people to go to find someone to bend their ear. That was
- my experience of the job (laughs).
- JC: (laughs) Um, so how did you become aware of apartheid?
- 166 CB: Well—I was very aware of the Civil Rights movement. It was—it was, ya know, current.
- When I was a little kid and it was, to me, ya know the most inspiring and heroic thing these
- people were doing really courageous things and not only that, but they were—ya know it was a
- moment—it was an interesting moment. Cause before the Vietnam war and the riots—well they
- were starting to happen then. But—there was this feeling that America was on the verge of
- fulfilling it's potential as a democracy, ya know at least for white liberals might have felt that
- way. And um—and it all kind of fell apart. Really, fairly quickly. That sense. But uh—so I
- was aware of uh—and reading about them and following the Civil Rights movement and—
- somehow or other I became—I don't know how—but in seventh grade I got uh—gang pressed
- into doing something after school. Social studies project where I was supposed to pick a subject.
- And I—so I sent uh—so I picked apartheid. Although I think I was studying Rhodesia.

- 177 JC: (laughs)
- 178 CB: And um—I don't—I didn't do anything with it except send away for information and uh,
- my social studies teacher didn't connect me with the liberation movements for some reason. I got
- all these type, types, scripts, miniograph (??) stuff from Rhodesia. And um—I think I got some
- stuff from the United Nations. And uh—or didn't. I'm not sure. And um—I only remember the
- stuff from Rhodesia which was defending their system. So—I was aware of it at that point—I'm
- not sure how it came to, ya know?
- JC: Right. So how old were you when you became active against apartheid.
- 185 CB: Um—I was about twenty. Nineteen or twenty.
- 186 JC: So it was when you were at U of C.
- 187 CB: Mhmm.
- JC: Where were you living when you became active? Did you live in the dorms at U of C, did
- 189 you—
- 190 CB: That's an interesting question. I think—actually I had just moved out of the dorms into an
- apartment and um—that uh summer, it was a summer. And uh—there was—it was on a corner
- building of a block and the three other corner buildings were going condo. And that was 1979.
- So it's 1979 so I'm twenty one and um—and uh—me and some roommates and the neighbors—
- these radical students lived downstairs. Uh—went to a meeting and um they asked for someone
- to write a paper about it for the Maroon. A volunteer. So I—my roommate volunteered me.
- So—really that summer I kind of covered that stuff. And then when school started I kind of
- assigned myself to being the movement reporter. Ya know, and the big progressive movement
- on campus was divestment so that was sort of what my connection to it was. Really writing for it
- 199 for the Chicago Maroon really was my main ya know—I mean and then I would also
- 200 demonstrate.
- JC: How long did you um, how long were you writing for the Maroon?
- 202 CB: Um—a—ya know I think I wrote for them my last year of college and then another year
- after that when I wasn't finishing college.
- JC: Uh-huh.
- 205 CB: Ya know, and it was fairly common at U of C to have people out of class and people at the
- 206 Maroon who were working too hard to do their class w—ya know, there was always this—
- people had funny statuses which I ended up being in. Um—so I think a couple of years pretty
- 208 much.

- JC: Um, what political party did you associate yourself with? When you were first becoming
- 210 active?
- 211 CB: Yeah uh—I would say none—I think I was sympathetic with the Citizen's Party in 1980. I
- 212 think I was unenthusiastic about uh—so this would be when Jimmy Carter was president, I think
- I was unenthusiastic about him. I think uh—I, I—ya know I had been—my first political stuff
- was working with Eugene McCarthy running for president in sixty-eight when I was about uh, t-
- 215 ten. And a few other electoral things after that and then—the Democrats were not so exciting.
- 216 JC: (laughs)
- 217 CB: I mean, I still followed them and I followed George McGovern but I didn't work for him
- and I—there was candidates I liked in seventy-six. I liked, Fred Harris for some—but I, ya know
- I wasn't really very active until um, um I got drafted to write this story.
- 220 JC: Who—
- 221 CB: And then—go ahead.
- JC: (laughs) Who was the first person you voted for then.
- 223 CB: Well, yeah I don't—
- 224 JC: Ever.
- 225 CB: Oh, it was uh—uh, so the first time I registered was 1977 because Harold Washington was
- running for Mayor. Uh—that was when he didn't win. Is that right? Seventy-seven—yeah, that
- sounds right. And then I—because I went to New York for—I dropped out of college and went
- 228 to New York for a half a year. And missed that election. So the first person I voted for, I have
- 229 no idea.
- 230 JC: (laughs)
- 231 CB: So I—I don't know.
- 232 JC: (laughs)
- 233 CB: I remember—so 1980 was Reagan and Carter. I have no idea. I—first person I remember
- voting for was like—Carol Mosey (??) Burn running for State Representative. And that—that
- would have been eighty—eighty-two—I don't know though I could, I may have voted before
- that. And, yeah.
- JC: Sure. Why—did you become an activist? Would you call yourself an activist?

- 238 CB: I guess so, I'm more of a—journalist who is—who see's my work as sort of, supporting
- movements for change. I've never been that great at working with people (laughs). I mean I had
- enough trouble connecting with you to do this interview.
- 241 JC: (laughs)
- CB: (laughs) So uh—I mean I've always more so seen myself as like a movement journalist, I
- 243 guess. Than—and there have been times when I participated in organizations and I—and uh, uh
- ya know like, like with the uh—divestment stuff, the first set there—I was not part of the group
- 245 that was organizing stuff, I was part of the group that would respond, go to their meetings and
- 246 things when they called me. And the second one, I think I was on their committee. On the
- committee that plans stuff.
- 248 JC: Mhm.
- CB: And uh—but the question, why? Uh-uh, it was something to do.
- 250 JC: (laughs)
- 251 CB: It seemed like really important, it seemed like the most important I—ya know, I think, I
- 252 think it's a value from my parents that uh—I think my father had the value that artistic activity
- 253 was the most important thing you can do. And my mother had the value that political activity
- was the most important thing you could do.
- JC: So your parents were supportive then, of what you were doing.
- 256 CB: Yeah, yeah. Yeah, they were. More activists than me ya know, in their way. Mmm.
- JC: Um, how did their uh, views conflict with yours? If they did at all?
- 258 CB: They didn't much I mean I remember my father like threatening me if I didn't vote for the—
- ya know, friendly way. If I didn't vote for the Democratic candidate for president and me
- saying, "Ah, he's a bum." I don't remember which one it was. That's the only—conflict I can
- remember (laughs and sniffles).
- JC: So where were you employed when you first started being active? Would that be at your, at
- that newspaper, the Maroon?
- CB: Yeah there wasn't a job—I think that I was working as a dishwasher at the time, mmm—
- yeah I was. I know I was. In one of the cafeteria's on campus.
- 266 JC: Uh what, what anti-apartheid group did you join then?
- 267 CB: Um, it was—uh the Action Committee for Free South for—Action Committee on South
- Africa? Action committee. Yeah I think that's right. It was the Action Committee and uh,
- whether, yeah. That's right.

- 270 JC: What was it like being in that group?
- 271 CB: Um, they were uh, it was fun. They were fun. They were bright, young, committed people.
- 272 Intelligent, interesting they were the most ya know, interesting people. They liked to have fun.
- 273 They liked to—do all the fun things kids do in college (laughs). So it was fun (laughs).
- 274 JC: Can you describe the structure of that organization?
- 275 CB: Uh, I, like I said, I wasn't plugged in to the—I don't have, I don't specifically recall how
- 276 they made plans or they, they negotiated with the administration and all that stuff. I think I was
- 277 hearing about that rather than being there, there must have been um, some kind of—committee
- 278 that—was undertaking all of that stuff. And I was uh—going to meetings and doing jobs and
- putting up fliers and writing about it also. So, um, the year before I started with that they, they
- had had a really excellent reporter at the Chicago Maroon who had done all of this investigation
- in to the University's investments in corporations that did business with South Africa. So—I
- 282 didn't pick up on that much at all, I sort of covered their events, ya know. Um—but it was a
- student organization uh—I don't know how to describe it, the structure.
- JC: How did you participate in divestment, is that what you were talking about?
- 285 CB: How did I participate—
- JC: Mhmm. Was it mostly through um, um your writing as a journalist or were you—
- 287 CB: It was most—it was as I said, it was most, it was probably mostly through that, but I did
- everything else and was like on Tapta (??), oh I remember when I—I went to one meeting and I
- 289 got assigned to ask professors for donations to the committee. That was like my first, one of my
- 290 first meetings and I volunteered to do that for some crazy reason. I'm real—it turns out I'm
- really bad at that.
- 292 JC: (laughs)
- 293 CB: I didn't collect a penny (laughs).
- 294 JC: (laughs)
- 295 CB: And uh, gosh (laughs). So as, as I said my memory is not—what it should be, so yeah, I
- went to some—yeah so, I'm just not remembering exactly how much involved I was. Wha—oh
- what did I, what was the question?
- 298 JC: How did you participate in divestment?
- 299 CB: Um—the main thing was uh—doin' these big sort of 'think' pieces for the Maroon about
- 300 how—and the point, the thing that I was learning and trying to pass on was how capitalist
- investment in south Africa was supposed to be the, the sorta myth about it was that it was

- supposed to be bringing, laying the groundwork for a democratic society and it was doing the
- exact opposite. It was bulstering a, the repressive society and it was uh—replicating a lot of uh,
- inequality and all this kind of stuff. So the main thing I did was write these sort of big 'think'
- pieces um, does that uh, ya know, kind of layed that out. And then covering their events. But,
- yeah I did, yeah.
- 307 JC: Can you remember any other um, really strong pieces that you wrote that were, to um, to
- 308 inform about what was going on?
- 309 CB: Well see we had a big forum. We had a big forum and it was the night, it was in February of
- 310 1979. They brilliantly, I think the university brilliantly planned it for the primary night, which
- was the night that Jane <u>Bermury</u> (??) won the primary so there was no coverage of this event.
- 312 Um, but it was sort of the culmination of the work. And uh, so I did uh, one, a couple big pieces
- before that and report on that. And um, I think it was that summer I did a book review of a
- 314 Steve—a Steve Beeco book. A book of his writings and the transcript of his trial. That was a
- big, big piece that I did. Um, I don't—specifically remember any others, at that point. Later on,
- okay like in the eightes I did more. Like uh—one, one kind of important piece I did, to me was
- um, just analyzing the university's position, which was um—luckily I just read it last night.
- 318 JC: (laughs)
- 319 CB: Which was, um that they invested in companies that acted in accordance with the Sullivan
- 320 Principles, you're familiar with them?
- 321 JC: Yes.
- 322 CB: Um—
- 323 JC: Could you actually just talk about the Sullivan Principles—
- 324 CB: It was uh, it was uh—it was a rating system where corporations kind of reported really
- minimal information, how much, how many employees and what their race was and things like
- 326 that. And they got rated satisfactory, needs more work, that kind of thing. So it was sort of a—it
- was a—the a--creation of a minister from the United States, a civil rights activist, at one point
- 328 who was kind of un—trying to provide some cover for corporations to justify their involvement
- in South Africa as some kind of progressive force for change. So and, and I worked with another
- person on this committee and um, Nadine McGann (??) who did this article, which analyzed,
- which ya know, went through the portfolio and looked at ya know, there's this many
- corporations they're invested in, this many are rated as unsatisfactory by the Sullivan, this many
- have not given any information to the Sullivan, their signidories (??), but they haven't given
- them any reports. And then they said that they relied on, ya know this uh, investor reporting
- system and that they weren't giving information. And then we broke down ya know, of those
- 336 who did report, their workforce was like eighty percent white. In a country which is sixteen

- percent white, ya know? So uh, ya know and that kind of thing. We sort of broke, broke down,
- we sort of did analyze investment portfolio in terms of what their claims were uh, as being a
- progressive force. Ya know, their specific claims and kind of tried to debunk that. Um—that
- was in the Grey City Journal which was a supplement of—and then in 1980, we'd, we'd all a
- bunch of us had started this newspaper, Haymarket. So I did several things for that, the main big
- thing is this giant, multi-part interview with Prexy Nesbitt in 1985 which was sort of—I don't
- remember what the occasion for it was. Ya know, it was our fifteenth anniversary. Uh, uh it
- came out, I, I don't recall if it was designed to be handed out at the conference or something, but
- it was, ya know, my attempt to do a really comprehensive view of uh, of the apartheid, the anti-
- apartheid movement and the apartheid system and everything at that moment. From—I, I—
- yeah. Yeah I don't remember what that specific goal of this was.
- JC: Um, what, what events did U of C participate in? Besides, or were there specific uh, events
- that, that the Action Committee would go to?
- 350 CB: Okay there's the Action Committee in seventy-nine and the—committee in eighty-five was
- called—had some different name. Um, in, in seventy-nine I do recall us going down, and it was
- 352 cold. And I recall this probably because there's a photo of it, of a, and picketing at a bank.
- Probably First Chicago. These are banks that don't exist anymore, Continental Illinois, they
- were both involved. Um, and then there were—there were many events where they'd show a
- movie or bring a speaker from South Africa. Ya know, it was a, and a—one time I went to, one
- time—this was off-campus, it was at the uh, some kind of national—uh, on Drexel Boulevard
- 357 there was a black college of law, of some kind. And uh, I think it was a clothing drive for
- refugees and I got there way—right on time, way before anyone else. And it was, the uh—the
- ambassador from the UN from the ANC who was staying there and he said "here just come into
- 360 his room" and I sat down and he was writing letters.
- 361 JC: And did you get to talk to him?
- 362 CB: And then we talked for a little while.
- 363 JC: What did you guys talk about?
- 364 CB: Nothing much.
- 365 JC: (laughs)
- 366 CB: I don't remember.
- 367 JC: (laughs)
- 368 CB: I don't think it was uh, ya know, uh, I may have asked him a technical question or two
- 369 (laughs).
- 370 JC: What was his name?

- 371 CB: Johnny Makitini.
- 372 JC: Johnny Makitini.
- 373 CB: Yeah. M-A-K-I-T-I-N-I.
- JC: Was um, was going to that the first protest, or was that the first—
- 375 CB: That was later on.
- 376 JC: —event that you participated in?
- 377 CB: No, that was later on. Uh, whether it was in seventy-nine or 1980. The first—I don't know,
- it was probably—the first, I mean I think there were a number of programs um—in the fall of
- seventy-nine. There was a picket downtown at this bank and that was when it was called. And
- then in February there was this giant uh, debate where the president of the university had to go
- up and, with a, someone from the South African Foundation, also supporting investment. Had to
- 382 go up against someone from the South Africa—South African Trade Union, Congress, or
- something. And uh s-s—former senator, Dick Clark who headed the—
- 384 JC: Oh okay.
- 385 CB: —the, the uh African—the Committee on Africa and others. So that was sort of a
- culmination where this committee forced her to come participate in a forum and defend her
- position, which she did, ya know, fairly well. And she never changed her position—
- 388 JC: Mhmm.
- 389 CB: —in all those years. So—what was the question (laughs)?
- 390 JC: (laughs)
- 391 CB: The first one?
- 392 JC: Oh, yes.
- 393 CB: Okay, so did I answer it?
- 394 JC: Uh, yes I think so.
- 395 CB: (laughs)
- 396 JC: (laughs) Um, so were you, were you really aware of other events and boycotts and
- 397 demonstrations that were going on?
- 398 CB: Yeah, yeah there was um ya know, there was no—uh, there was some newspapers,
- particularly the Guardian where you could read about the national—what had been the National

- 400 Guard and the U.S. Radical News Weekly, which I later wrote for. Um, where you could read
- about stuff going on at different colleges.
- 402 JC: Mhmm.
- 403 CB: Uh, there was not to many places where you would get that, consistently that, and ya know,
- 404 there was no internet, and that—uh and there would be uh, ya know South Africa. Solidarity
- groups would put out newsletters or whatever. So, yeah. We were pretty interested in what was
- 406 going on at other schools. And there would be conferences with other schools too.
- 407 JC: Uh-huh.
- 408 CB: Ya know.
- 409 JC: And was that during seventy-nine?
- 410 CB: I remember one in the eighties, specifically. I don't, I think, which was held at the U of C. I
- 411 think there may, there may have been one in this earlier time, when uh—at the, at another school
- in town. But I don't remember specifically.
- 413 JC: Sure. Um, so what year would you say was your most active then?
- 414 CB: Well I—I was more uh, essentially involved with the organization in the, in the mid-
- eighties, ya know, I was on _____ (??) or whatever, I was at the point uh, staff member at the
- university. Um—so I suppose and ya know I wasn't writing for the Maroon at that point. And I
- 417 would kind of sporadically, ya know, I may have written two or three or four things over the
- 418 years for (??). But I was, I guess I was, yeah I would say I was more involved at that
- point. Eighty—it started in eighty-five. This is November of eighty-five. It started right after
- Ronald Reagan was re-elected, right after he was re-elected it was almost like, at the point we
- were like, 'oh, what can, what—what hope is there?' and then all of a sudden I—people started
- 422 the Free South Africa Movement started, these uh, sit-ins at the South African Embassy in, in
- Washington D.C and there were like daily arrests of really prominent people. Um, it was like, ya
- know, I mean—it was like uh, almost a—to me it seemed like, oh here's a direction to go. But it
- was, I mean it was also a response to Reagan's constructive engagement with apartheid. And
- also to a new constitution that had been <u>promulgated</u> (??) in South Africa and the protests that
- had come out—there was a new wave of protests in South Africa. And both of these um, sort of
- 428 ways of organizing in the U.S. and around the world responded like in the seventies it was—it
- was taking up the energy from the Soweto and the township demonstrations. And this also.
- 430 JC: Mhmm. So I understand you took a little hiatus for a little bit, did you stay, was it easy to
- stay informed during your little break?
- 432 CB: Yeah. I stayed informed. But there wasn't really much going on in my neighborhood. Not
- 433 too much. Um—and there were, the movement seemed to have died down a certain amount. I

- 434 think that there were some, particularly some African American students on campus who were
- trying to keep it going and I think, yeah. But uh—when did um, when did Danny Davis—well
- Harold Washington was elected in 1983. That was a real focus for a lot of people. I was pretty
- involved in working on that.
- 438 JC: How did you, what did you do for your work for that?
- 439 CB: Like precinct work, really.
- 440 JC: Sure.
- 441 CB: And also writing for the Haymarket.
- 442 JC: Mhmm.
- CB: But yeah, I did election day. I worked every election day for a long time. Um, then after
- that there was attempt to get a ordinance passed—so I was writing. I wrote a few things about
- that, I was following that. That seemed to be where the initiative was at that point. There was an
- attempt to get divestment legislation passed in the state legislature also. And, so that seemed to
- be where the initiative was at that point.
- 448 JC: Mhmm.
- CB: And then, after Reagan's reelection there was sort of a popular protest upsurge.
- 450 JC: Sure.
- 451 CB: That's the sense that I have of the, of the chronology.
- 452 JC: Mhmm. Can you remember what the news and media were covering in South Africa? Do
- 453 you remember how it was depicted, if you think it was depicted accurately based on what you
- 454 know?
- 455 CB: I don't. I don't remember. Um, what I remember are, that there would be conservatives, the
- 456 thing that is clear in my memory (coughs) is that there would be conservatives defending—Pat
- Bucannon (??) for example, I remember columns of his defending Ian Smith's 'Rhodesia' as a
- communist ball-work (??). Uh, ya know? Um, and I guess—I don't remember specifically how
- 459 the Tribune or other papers were covering it.
- 460 JC: Mhmm. Well how did you feel about that event, what was your reaction to it?
- 461 CB: Those kinds of columns?
- 462 JC: Yeah, yeah.
- 463 CB: Well—at the time I was kind of a student of anti-communism.

- 464 JC: (laughs)
- 465 CB: I was writing about it a bit. And um, it seemed—it informed my growing understanding of
- that phenomenon as, it's always, it had always been, it had always been—it's most common
- practitioners had always been racists. And here it was coming around again only it was being
- deployed in defensive racism. Rather than, ya know, just a casual connection.
- 469 JC: Sure. Have you ever been to South Africa?
- 470 CB: No.
- 471 JC: Um, would you like to go.
- 472 CB: Oh yeah, sure.
- JC: Um, so now, you are not particularly active. How does that feel to not be—
- 474 CB: What do you mean?
- 475 JC: Well, because I mean, it's all over now.
- 476 CB: (laughs) Okay.
- 477 JC: (laughs) How is it um, how does it feel now that it's all over?
- 478 CB: Um—well, ya know. It was, I was, I'm grateful for it as a learning experience. Ya know, it
- was such a case study of how systems work and how movements work and all the different
- 480 cross-currents in the liberation movement and the solidarity movement. And all the complexities
- of a ruling system and the cross-currents there too. But of course, there's ya know, it's not like
- it's—I think we suspected—you're whole world view is different then. You felt sort of the
- possibility for revolution. And um, you thought for example, when the ANC came to power
- 484 there would be a really radical transformation and the daily lives of people in South Africa, and
- I'm not a expert on it, but people I trust seem to think that it hasn't gone that far and I remember
- 486 Dennis Brutus just passed away.
- 487 JC: Mhmm.
- 488 CB: And I remember him when he was at Northwestern he'd show up. He'd always be available
- to give a speech or just march on the picket line or—and he ended up being a critic of neo-
- 490 liberalism under the ANC and—
- 491 JC: Sure.
- 492 CB: So—
- 493 JC: So did you know him personally then—

- 494 CB: No.
- 495 JC: —Dennis Brutus
- 496 CB: No. So uh, I guess it's disillusioning in the sense that we had youthful illusions. I guess it's
- a reality check in the sense that change happens—I don't know how change happens, ya know?
- In a hundred years we can look back and see how change happens, ya know? But it was a
- 499 privilege to work with such inspiring and some heroic people.
- JC: Can you tell me about some of the other inspiring people you met?
- 501 CB: I'm speaking more generally—
- 502 JC: Sure.
- 503 CB: —about the kids—you'd read about kids and South Africa confronting these military forces.
- Ya know, that kind of thing. Um, I mean I did meet some fascinating and inspiring people. I
- mean, Prexxy. There were other local activists. I don't want to go through their names (laughs).
- 506 JC: (laughs)
- 507 CB: I'd leave someone out.
- 508 JC: (laughs)
- 509 CB: No, I, ya know. But more it was the people of South Africa that were inspiring. More so, ya
- 510 know.
- JC: Definitely. Um, do you see yourself becoming active again in the future?
- 512 CB: Well I consider myself to be engaged all along. Um, and I don't, so I don't understand the
- 513 question exactly.
- 514 JC: (laughs)
- 515 CB: You mean with South Africa?
- 516 JC: Uh, sure.
- 517 CB: Is that what you mean?
- 518 JC: Yes.
- 519 CB: Should the occasion arise, I would certainly, ya know, be available.
- 520 JC: Are there any other—
- 521 CB: (laughs)

- 522 JC: (laughs) –any other movements that you support or you have considered working towards?
- 523 CB: Well, I work. Doing this online news service and it's—probably my main form of
- engagement and um, it's whatever is going on, it's more locally oriented. Today I am working
- on something on Walmart and two days ago I was working on something on water privatization
- 526 (??).
- 527 JC: Okay.
- 528 CB: So it's—it's not active in the sense of being an activist but it's engaged.
- 529 JC: Definitely. What other things have you covered then, in your business, or your—
- 530 CB: At Community Media Workshop?
- 531 JC: Yeah.
- 532 CB: We, I focus on non-profits and community organizations, so uh, ya know, housing, youth,
- criminial justice, these torture cases for example. I've done some, ya know. Other people have
- done them.
- 535 JC: Mhmm.
- 536 CB: We need to work on that. I'll just help with the announcement here or there.
- 537 JC: (laughs)
- 538 CB: Um food, uh food justice issues were an interest for a long time. And uh labor stuff. I've
- done, ya know a number of things on wage left lately, ya know?
- 540 JC: Mhmm.
- 541 CB: Immigration, those are the kinds of things I—
- JC: Sure. Um, were you afraid of anything while you were writing and being active against
- 543 apartheid?
- CB: No, I don't think there was, I don't remember being afraid of, ya know, paying any personal
- cost for it really, no.
- 546 JC: Of confrontation or anything?
- 547 CB: Oh, not really, no.
- JC: What is your greatest obstacle that you think you faced during the whole course of being
- active? If any?

- 550 CB: Um, I suppose—you probably don't remember—you remember Charlie Brown and Linus?
- 551 JC: Sure.
- 552 CB: And one year, all the tee-shirts said uh, 'I love mankind, it's people I can't stand' or
- something like that, anyway I love democracy in principle, but I don't have always the (rips
- paper) patience for all the, all the, dealing with a lot of different points of view in a meeting. And
- coming to consensus (laughs).
- 556 JC: Mhmm.
- 557 CB: Whereas I have the patience to sort through a lot of different points of view and figure out
- what to say about something, on my own. So, writing's an interesting activity cause you got a
- lot of input from a lot of different sources and people. And then you sit down and put it together
- yourself. And you're (??) too attached to control (laughs).
- 561 JC: (laughs)
- 562 CB: To control the outcome of something (laughs)
- 563 JC: Uh-huh.
- CB: (laughs) But it, uh, I often haven't had the patience to work in a group of people, toward a
- consensus. That's probably my biggest obstacle.
- JC: Sure. What do you think was your biggest contribution to the movement against apartheid?
- 567 CB: Well, I always, whenever I see a student group or something, my suggestion is you should
- get someone to write for the school newspaper, cause it's really a great thing, I mean—cause
- they're always like, 'how can we get covered?' well—(laughs).
- 570 JC: (laughs)
- 571 CB: Join in (laughs) I mean and it's hard, it's different at different schools. Like here, I guess
- you have to go through the journalism department—
- 573 JC: Mhmm.
- 574 CB: —and get assigned and stuff. But at U of C there was no journalism department and they
- just needed stories. And they needed people who could do them. So I thought it was—to me it
- was a great opportunity to increase the flow of information about activities that students were
- doing. And just sort of amplify the information that was coming from the people that they were
- 578 bringing on campus and that kind of stuff cause ya know, you get fifty people to an event and
- that's nice. But if you put in the paper, you might even get fifty more people to read about it
- 580 (laughs).

- 581 JC: Sure.
- 582 CB: Or ya know, more who knows? Or at least people will see it and be aware of it. So—it's
- also great writing for a school paper cause you get so much feedback from people right away.
- Okay. Next question.
- 585 JC: (laughs)
- 586 CB: (laughs)
- 587 JC: Uh, what was the best part about what you were doing?
- 588 CB: Feeling like you're doing something that matters and feeling that you're connected with a
- whole—community's not the word, world of people, tradition of people who are making a
- difference and people all over the world, that you're connected with all of them in a common
- 591 purpose of making a more just world. And peaceful. Um, yeah.
- 592 JC: What was the worst part then?
- 593 CB: Um, the worst part was some of the squabbling that went on. And, I still don't know what
- to make of some of it, whether it was all just ego, whether there were real political differences.
- Sometimes it seemed like there were an awful lot of energy going into really un—and this isn't
- most of the time, just once in awhile—it would seem like there was an awful lot of energy going
- into really unproductive, political disputes that were just distractions and perhaps—
- JC: Can you remember any specific occurrences like that? That's particularly impacting you
- 599 think?
- 600 CB: Um, in the eighties when there was sort of an upsurge of interest and this group that I was
- 601 involved with was, had a—was mostly white students, I think. Although, the clerical workers
- campus, the clerical workers union plugged into that and faculty too. So that was a committee.
- And then there was some organizations of black students and at a certain point they called the—
- we were calling a rally and they made a big thing about—they called it opportunistic and pre-
- 605 mature. Adventurous. That's what they called it, adventurous to have a rally (laughs). And I
- 606 think there point of view was—I was just reading about this last night too—remember more the
- frusttaion than there were the reality. If I ever figure out what the reality was, but I think that
- their point of view was that there needed to be more work. And also that they had been working
- on this issue for a logn time and they should be sort of setting the pace. And they were just kind
- of cautious and I don't know if they were put (??) in very broad—in terms of reaching out to a
- lot of different people. And I think they didn't understand a couple things which was—but it got
- very kind of personal and ugly—I think that they didn't understand a couple things which is that
- when there's an upsurge of interest, you just have to sort of go with it, and also that when you're
- organizing on a campus, it's hard to have a long term view. The most, I saw this over years,
- our most active students are gonna be the ones who are graduating (laughs).

- 616 JC: Mhmm.
- 617 CB: Ya know?
- 618 JC: Sure.
- 619 CB: Um, so that's the thing I remember there was, were walk-outs. It seems like the—like we
- went together with a couple of rallies. Jessie Jackson spoke on campus once and had some
- words afterwards with everyone about the need to work together. And I don't remember how it
- was resolved, I think it was resolved, and it was sort of resolved in that we had our little season
- of activities. Once again, it culminated in a debate with the president of the University of
- 624 Chicago saying the same things again. October twenty-two, 1985. She debated Jennifer Davis at
- the American Committee on Africa, I think she did also at the 1979.
- 626 JC: Mhmm.
- 627 CB: She didn't say anything new—so, um and then once you build up this set of demands you
- take it to the administration and the administration answers and says no, then I guess your, oh I
- think someone tried to do a hunger strike or something.
- 630 JC: Mhmm
- 631 CB: (opens folder) Um, oh I have the _____ (??). But it's hard to maintain the energy. Or we
- didn't find a way, I think that we didn't find a way to maintain the energy. I think the hunger
- strike, oh no, as a matter of fact, we did—we did—an interesting thing after that which was we
- 634 held a protest at IBM downtown. So because there was a major stock in the University of
- 635 Chicago's portfolio, it had a major role in propping up the apartheid regime. We just felt that the
- goal was to influence corporate—one of the goals was to influence corporate behavior. Or make
- them pay our political cost for what they were doing, so that targeting them directly made a lot of
- sense, so that's what we did. Next—and I don't remember how that dispute ever got resolved.
- 639 JC: If you had to pick one person that was the most influential throughout the whole process to
- you personally, who would that be?
- 641 CB: I, I don't know. I have no idea.
- 642 JC: (laughs)
- 643 CB: The most influential throughout the whole process—I don't know (air/breathy noise). I—
- 644 pass.
- JC: What have you learned after being active, what strong lessons have you taken from this?
- 646 CB: Well, I think it was first of all, my first opportunity to really examine how capitalism
- worked and the idea that it's so tied to freedom. And it kind of made me inveterate skeptic of

- 648 that claim. That might be the main thing. Although, there's also the torturous track, path of
- social change (laughs), ya know?
- JC: Sure. Do you view your life any differently now that the process is over, of conquering
- apartheid?
- 652 CB: No, no I don't think.
- 653 JC: Um—
- 654 CB: I went to see Nelson Mandela in Detroit when he came. And I was really kind of
- disappointed because he was here as a diplomat, really to court the Bush administration, and I
- wanted someone to come here and teach the American people about making revolution (laughs).
- 657 JC: Sure.
- 658 CB: And he wasn't gonna do that (laughs). I mean, guess its better not to have really wild
- expectations (laughs).
- JC: (laughs) Do you remember anything else from Nelson Mandela when you heard him speak?
- 661 CB: Well, ya know, it was just amazing to see him and everything and to be in the speak (??).
- And I also remember Aretha Franklin playing 'The Impossible Dream' with Elvis (??), fantastic.
- Just plain piano and singing.
- JC: What challenges do you think South Africa still faces today?
- 665 CB: It's like America. It's the challenge of fulfilling its potential. And I read articles about it
- very occasionally so I don't follow it very closely, I have a few South African friends who I'm
- only in occasional touch with but—it's really—moving beyond the neo-liberal approach and
- having a economy that's sort of bottom up. I don't know how much it's really changed in terms
- of daily life beyond the legal indignities. There's more opportunity, I'm sure, for the middle
- class. So that's my—I'm not perfectly conversing with the situation—
- 671 JC: Sure.
- 672 CB: —but that's my sense of it.
- JC: Is there anything that you could suggest that could specifically conquer any problems they
- may be having?
- 675 CB: (laughs)
- 676 JC: If that makes sense (laughs)?
- 677 CB: Um, well uh, yeah, no. No, I think we all have to find our own way.

- 678 JC: Sure.
- 679 CB: If I—
- 680 JC: If, if you—
- 681 CB: If I was a brilliant political philosopher I suppose they could fly me over there and ask me.
- 682 JC: (laughs)
- 683 CB: But I'm not and they won't and I don't have any—there is no easy answers, I don't think.
- And I don't even know specifics of people's complaints at this point.
- 685 JC: Mhmm.
- 686 CB: Ya know?
- 687 JC: Sure.
- 688 CB: So I'm kinda out of touch.
- 689 JC: Sure.
- 690 CB: So I wouldn't even be able to fake—
- 691 JC: (laughs)
- 692 CB: —an answer to that question (laughs).
- JC: Is there anything that you would have done differently over the work that you were doing?
- 694 CB: Do it better, be more sustained, be more focused, be less flakey. But I did the best I could
- with what I was doing, I think. Be more patient. Patience.
- 696 JC: Sure. Is there anything else that you want to talk about? Anything else you would like to put
- on the record (laughs)?
- 698 CB: Let's see (opens folder) South Africa—IBM—no.
- 699 JC: Well, then (air/breathy noise) we are done.