

BLACK POWER ON A CITY COLLEGE CAMPUS:
HOW WOODROW WILSON JUNIOR COLLEGE
BECAME KENNEDY-KING COLLEGE

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The scholarly research and writings regarding Black students and student activism on community college campuses remain scarce and at the periphery of the mainstream narrative on student activism. This dissertation will examine one student organization, the Afro-American History Club (AAHC), from Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College (WWJC). I will investigate how their efforts successfully demanded a Black Studies program, hired the institutions first Black administrator and first Black president, and influenced a permanent institutional name change from Woodrow Wilson Junior College to Kennedy-King College. Introducing Black community college students from Chicago as key participants in the expansion of the Black Power Movement furthers new lines of scholarly investigation, which allows a more comprehensive and complex understanding of the Black Campus and Black Power Movements. Additionally, this research aims to inject a new term, the Black Community College Campus Movement (BCCCM) into the dominant discourse on student social movements. This term represents the importance of the efforts and impact of Chicago Black community college students to demand education reform as part and parcel of the 1960s Black Campus Movement, America's Black Power Movement, and the broader history of global student social movements.

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Problem Statement

Historical scholarship on student activism on Black community college campuses remains severely marginalized and seldom appears in the dominant narrative of the Black Campus Movement (BCM) or the broader Black Power Movement (BPM). Consequently, the current historical narrative of the BCM does not critically analyze the accomplishments, commitments, and fault lines of Black community college activism, which disrupts the historical accuracy of the Black Campus Movement and Black Power Movement (BPM). Thus, to extend the current narrative on the Black Power Movement aims to be an exhaustive examination of the Black Campus Movement, the role of community college activism remains necessary.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In a general sense, the dominant narrative of the Black Power Movement contains a wealth of intellectual undertakings, which highlight a shift in a critical mass of Black people from non-violence tactics of the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power paradigms of self-determination, community control, and armed self-defense. The emergence of Black Panther Party, a more militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the spread of Black Students Associations and black consciousness movements across four-year college campuses reflected the new shift in political ideology and protest strategies. This master narrative, however, fails to include parallel movements on community college campuses. Therefore, the current historical reconstruction of Black Power remains deficient due to the fundamental exclusion of the Black Community Campus Movement. As such, this research seeks to employ Kendi's Theory of Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement as a theoretical perspective.¹ Hence, the purpose of this dissertation is three-fold: (1) To enhance the current research on social movements, specifically the Black Power Movement by introducing then examining a nuanced layer of the Black Campus Movement (BCM), (2) introduce and to shed light on the vital role Black community college students from Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College's (WWJC) Afro-American History Club (AAHC) played in fashioning the direction of one cycle of

¹ Ibram X. Kendi, "The Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement." *Journal of Social History*. Vol. 42. No. 1. (2003): 175.

Chicago's Black Campus Movement, and (3) introduce the term Black Community College Campus Movement to social movement historiography.

To examine the ideological shift of a critical mass of Black community college students from Civil Rights to Black Power I will highlight specific historical developments, which span from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to the assassination of MLK in 1968. I will explore the significance of this information and how it affected Black community college students from Chicago in greater detail in the literature review. Thus, this research seeks to furnish a comprehensive interrogation of the Black Campus Movement that includes the activism of Black students on one Chicago Community College Campus, which will expand the current roster of actors, ideas, and theories in the struggle for education reform in higher education during the Black Power Movement.

A limited amount of research exists on the Black Campus Movement. Furthermore, a lesser amount of scholarly endeavors concentrate on Black student activism on community college campuses. The significant scholarship on black campus movements include the works of Richard McCormick (1990), Martha Biondi (2012), Stephan Bradley, (2009), Robert L. Cruthird and Jeanette M. Williams, (2013), Ibram X. Kendi (2012) and Joy Ann Williams-Lott (2013). Each author provides analytic or comprehensive narratives that investigate the influence of Black students on the formation and growth of the Black Power Movement. Each author places the accomplishments and challenges of Black students on college campuses as central to thoroughly investigating the Black Power Movement. This dissertation will examine how Black community college students from Chicago played a leading role in demanding education reform

in higher education and in doing so became agents of social change in the creation and expansion of the Black Community College Campus Movement.

Delimitations

This dissertation is limited by its focus on activities at a single predominantly black community college in Chicago. It seeks to investigate one Chicago community college campus, Woodrow Wilson Junior College, as a prime location to discuss and scrutinize the impact of Black Community College Campus activism within the Black Campus Movement and the Black Power Movement. Specifically, it examines and centers Black community college students from Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club and how they created educational reforms in 1968. This project will not concentrate on community college campuses with a majority White student population. Also, this study will not extensively investigate community college activism outside of the City Colleges of Chicago community college system. The use of Chicago as a backdrop to investigate politics, higher education, and student activism permits the emergence of local conflicts that center Black community college students as agents of social change. Each delimitation aspires to provide a comprehensive understanding of the Black Community College Campus Movement and its relation to student activism and Chicago politics in the broader context of the history of social movements.

Literature Review

According to a 1969 U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations on Campus Riots and Disorders, a minimum of eleven disturbances took place on community college campuses from October 1967 to May 1969.² Each disturbance accompanied a host of conditions and determinants where Black students aligned their actions, attitudes, and behaviors with the fundamental principles of the Black Power Movement to foster education reform. Similar to their four-year counterparts, community college student protest demanded Black studies programs as well as the hiring of Black administrators, faculty, and staff. While the number of documented campus unrests by the U. S. Senate does not accurately reflect the impact of the Black Community College Campus activism on the Black Campus and Black Power Movements, it provides a lens by which to assess social movement historiography critically. The salient literature on the Black Power Movement continues to expand to include esoteric storylines from a diverse group of authors, researchers, and scholars but the written history of the Black Campus Movement (BCM) of the late 1960s remains a minute portion of the Black Power Movement narrative. A diminutive amount of scholarship exists concerning the importance of the Black Campus Movement on the broader Black Power Movement. Hence, the precise account of Black student activism and protest remains at the fringes of the current dominant narrative on social movements.

² U.S. Senate, Committee on Government Operations permanent subcommittee on Investigations, Staff Study on Campus Disorders, October 1967-1969. 91st Cong., 1st. sess., 1969.

Only a limited number of scholars center the Black Campus Movement as an independent cycle within the 1960's social movements that demands a thorough examination for clarity and depth of social movement historiography. Leading authors of the Black Campus Movement include Martha Biondi (2012), Stephan Bradley, (2009), Robert L. Cruthird and Jeanette M. Williams, (2013), Ibram X. Kendi (2012) and Joy Ann Williams-Lott (2013). Each author places the accomplishments and challenges of Black students on college campuses as central to investigating the Black Power explosion of the late 1960s. These writers provide an analytic or comprehensive narrative on the Black Campus Movement that meticulously examine the influence of Black Campus Movement on the formation and growth of the Black Power Movement.

Theoretical Framework

As a theoretical framework, this dissertation proposes to utilize Ibram X. Kendi's Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement Theory. Kendi's theory surmises that contemporary Black Power scholars have ignored an integral part of the Black Power era by marginalizing the BCM. Kendi suggests that for Black Power historiography to continue to grow, an accurate foundation that does not marginalize the Black Campus Movement remains vital.³ His analysis identifies significant gaps found in the current scholarly research of the Black Campus Movement. This dissertation seeks to further Kendi's argument by filling the gaps in the literature of the Black Power Movement by centering Black community college students as

³ Ibram X. Kendi, "The Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement." *Journal of Social History*, 42. No. 1. (2003): 176.

active participants in broadening the scope and trajectory of the Black Campus Movement. Equally important, this research seeks to extend Kendi's assumptions by revealing a deeper limitation that decenters the legitimacy of Black student activism and protests on community college campuses from the current Black Power historiography.

Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams' "The Kennedy-King College Experiment in Chicago, 1969-2007: How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education," provides the seminal work that connects the rise of Chicago's Black Campus Movement to community college activism and protest in 1968. Cruthird and Williams present a comprehensive account of the origin and expansion of Chicago's Black Campus Movement, which underlines the influence of community college activism on the Black Power Movement. Cruthird and Williams claim 1968 represents a turning point where students started to question the utility of their curriculum sincerely. Also, 1968, signifies a shift in a critical mass of Black college students' actions and thinking.⁴ Students rejected the previous ideas of wanting to integrate into existing White institutions but demanded the control of the institutions in the Black community. This ideological transformation inspired Black community college students from Chicago to reassess their positionality as agents of social change responsible for the improvement of the broader Black community.⁵

⁴ Robert Cruthird & Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King College Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 3.

⁵ *Ibid*, ix.

During this time Chicago's South Side ethnic composition shifted drastically from a majority White community to predominantly Black community in less than ten years. The social phenomenon of White Flight provided access to lines of upward mobility for White factory and municipal workers while the suburbanization of White flight removed countless factory jobs leaving a significant portion of Black workers unemployed.⁶ In essence, White flight represented the economic divestment of Chicago's Black communities, which ignited a movement by militant Black students on community college campuses. Emboldened Black community college students challenged the legitimacy and serviceability of Woodrow Wilson Junior College as a means of liberation from the status quo.⁷ Cruthird and Williams remove historical misnomers of the inactivity of activism and protest on community college campuses in Chicago. The gist of Cruthird and Williams' work highlights the connection between militant community college students, grassroots organizations, and the rise of the Black Community College Campus Movement.

The authors' investigation of student rebellion adds to the current roster of allies and accomplices of the Black Campus Movement by introducing a radical student organization, the Afro-American History Club (AAHC) from Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior college, as leaders of the Black Community College Campus Movement. For example, the AAHC led a student movement of educational reform that created a change in curriculum that emphasized a Black perspective, influenced hiring practices, and inspired a permanent institutional name change. Cruthird and Williams' narrative expand the current parameters of inclusion and theoretical

⁶ Ibid, iii.

⁷ Ibid, 4.

perspectives regarding active participants of the Black Campus and Black Power Movements to suggest the Black Community College Campus Movement began in Chicago.

Martha Biondi's *The Black Revolution on Campus* remains one of the rare publications on the Black Campus Movement to highlight the impact of Black community college activism on the Black Power Movement. She articulates clearly that militant community college students in Chicago and New York utilized the social atmosphere, techniques, and strategies of the Black Power Movement to transform the trajectory of higher education. Similar to Cruthird and Williams, Biondi presents several events of student protest, which represent a pattern of student rebellion outside the Black Campus Movement's dominant narrative. Biondi covers community college activism in Chicago, where her penetrating investigation of the student uprising at Crane College, now Malcolm X College, allows an analysis of how Black community college students battled Chicago's Democratic machine to demand educational reform successfully. While her account underscores protest at Crane College, she does not explicitly denote the activity of Crane College's fellow institution Woodrow Wilson Junior College, now Kennedy-King College.

Identical to other Black Campus Movement researchers Biondi admittedly accredits the year of 1968 as a watershed moment in the BCM when students took the lead in fashioning the direction of the Black Power Movement.⁸ She indicates how the students of the Black Campus Movement expanded their repertoires of contention by using radically defiant rhetoric, wearing

⁸ Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles CA: University of California Press, 2012), 8.

African-centered clothing, and ultimately demanding Black culture in the formal curriculum.⁹ Her in-depth inquiry includes a detailed history of Black campus activism and protest that includes events at San Francisco State, Brooklyn College, and Howard University. Biondi's coverage of student activism on community college and four-year campuses makes her account uncommon and allows the layered nuances of the Black Campus Movement to emerge.

As an emerging and leading scholar on the BCM, Ibram X. Kendi challenges its current narrative by forcing a critical evaluation of the importance of the Black Campus Movement in the more extensive Black Power Movement. Kendi's article, "The Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement," contends that in the late 1960's student protest realigned the nature of the social movement. He dissects the myriad ways Black Power scholars lessen the significance of the BCM in structuring the objectives and outcomes of the BPM. Kendi credits student activism during the BCM with a dramatic transformation of college campuses where students disturbed the daily rhythm of higher education institutions causing administrators, faculty, and staff to concede to student demands in an unprecedented fashion.¹⁰ Kendi asserts that the protest actions of Black college students in the late 1960s fostered the creation of hundreds of Black Studies Programs and cultural centers and instigated the widespread hiring of black administrators, faculty, and staff.¹¹ Kendi probes the essence of the social problems that activated student rebellion during the BCM in *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstruction of Higher Education, 1965-1972*. In his view, the BCM represents one

⁹ Ibid, 16.

¹⁰ Ibram X. Kendi, "The Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement." *Journal of Social History*. Vol. 42. No. 1. (2003): 176.

¹¹ Ibid.

phase of the larger black power movement that requires exhaustive inquiry as a separate but interlocking cycle in the BPM. His in-depth description of the origin of the BCM at San Francisco State and how it led to rebellions at several other institutions of higher education provides a framework for critically analyzing the influence of BCM activism and protest.

Joy Ann Williamson-Lott's *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois, 1965-75*, explores the genesis and development of the Black Campus Movement at one Traditionally White Institution, the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, from 1965-1975. Her account positions Black students, mostly from Chicago, as leading actors in a nationwide movement to challenge racist institutional paradigms in higher education. She exposes Black student's subjugation to discriminatory institutional practices, which included social isolation from the tenants of student life. For example, Black students were not allowed to live in dorms with their White counterparts until 1945 and found it difficult to obtain private housing in Champaign-Urbana as late as 1968.¹² Williamson-Lott's depiction highlights a complex network of social capital where Champaign's and Urbana's Black communities became an instrumental factor in the matriculation process for a critical mass of black students.¹³ As a culmination of collective resistance practices, groups of highly organized students negotiated their demands from a position of power. As a direct result of students' courage and commitment to a Black Power worldview an educational reform initiative famously known as Project 500 emerged. In a general sense, the campus Project 500, which resulted in the admission of over 500 black

¹² Joy Ann Williamson-Lott, *Black Power on Campus*, The University of Illinois 1965-1975 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 13.

¹³ Ibid, 34.

students in the fall of 1968, conveyed the sentiments of marginalized students seeking access and equity at the University of Illinois during the height of the BCM. The critical mass of new students form the firm basis for the development of orgnaized campus movements and the rise of black consciousness on a major TWI.¹⁴

Similar to Williamson-Lott's account Richard McCormick's *Black Protest Movement at Rutgers* examines the actions of radical Black students at a Traditionally White Institution. He investigates how racist educational policies at Rutgers and the oppressive atmosphere in Newark created the conditions for the race riots of the long hot summer of 1967. McCormick' analysis includes clashes between Black students and Rutgers administrators, faculty, and staff. His depiction accentuates the critical social capital of Black students and their ability to work in concert with Rutgers' surrounding community to challenge curriculum development and the expansion of community land purchased by Rutgers' officials. In essence, radical Black students from Rutgers' demanded policy changes from the Rutgers' hierarchy. Students demanded that Rutgers' officials change administrative policies to meet the needs of a multiracial student body.¹⁵ McCormick's work represents the mainstream narrative on the Black Campus Movement as he reconstructs events and the layered nuances of Black student rebellion at one Traditionally White institution.

Stefan Bradley chronicles the student movement at Columbia University in 1968-1969, in *Harlem vs. Columbia*. In concert with their counterparts at Traditionally White Institutions

¹⁴ Ibid, 134.

¹⁵ Richard McCormick, *The Black Student Movement at Rutgers* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 4.

radical Black student organizations including, the Students' Afro-American Society (SAAS), challenged Columbia's administration to address institutional racism on multiple fronts. Militant students demanded Columbia to comply fully with Affirmative Action programs. Also, students demanded the admission of more Black students and non-academic support to assist Black students in successful matriculation toward graduation.¹⁶ Bradley underscores the tension between Columbia University administration, radical Black Students, and the broader Black Harlem community. The most pressing point of contention involved the expansion of Columbia University into the Black community of Harlem displacing low-rent housing available to working class Black residents.¹⁷ Animosity developed and multiplied between Columbia and the Harlem community during the Civil Rights Movement and increased by the late 1960s. A redevelopment program aimed at seizing Morningside Park, a favorite park Blacks used for recreation became the property of Columbia University.¹⁸ SAAS's social capital created an association with local Black residents that served as a means to galvanize ideas and actions, which temporarily halted the building of a new gymnasium and the expansion of Columbia University.¹⁹ The SAAS challenged Columbia's administration to inject the Black perspective into the curriculum and tapestry of higher education. The scholarship on the Black Campus Movement remains meager in comparison to the written narrative of the Black Power Movement. Bradley's account epitomizes the standard description of Black student protest in the current Black Campus Movement Scholarship, which highlights Black student activism and

¹⁶ Stefan Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia. Black Power in the Late 1960's* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009.), 170.

¹⁷ Ibid, 20.

¹⁸ Ibid, 39.

¹⁹ Ibid, 6.

protests at four-year Traditionally White institutions. While authors Bradley, McCormick, and Williams-Lott provide the current scholarly storylines on the Black Campus Movement, this dissertation will expand the current limits of Black Campus Movement historiography.

The significance of the impact of the student movement of the 1960s continue to gain popularity by researchers and scholars producing new lines of scholarly inquiry. Very limited information on the Black Campus Movement accurately depicts how Black college students challenged then altered the trajectory of higher education. Hence, the current narrative on the Black Campus Movement historiography remains deficient and incomplete. A thorough examination of the available literature concerning the Black Campus Movement, notably, Chicago's Black Campus Movement reveals that Black community college students rebelled against such social inequities as police brutality and the Vietnam War. Additionally, Rising Black expectations tied to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 inspired Chicago's Black community college student population to reevaluate the usefulness of their formal education and upon entering community college sought avenues to dismantle the curriculum. At the periphery of the literature on Chicago community college unrest lies the history of the Woodrow Wilson Junior Colleges' African American History Club and their leveraging of social capital to agitate against the daily procedures of the institution while calling for permanent change. For example, students organized forceful takeovers of administrative offices and classrooms calling for immediate changes in curriculum development, hiring practices, and an increase in student work-study hourly wages. While authors and researchers of the Black Power Movement expand the scope of historical

scholarship to include campus movements, the omission of community college campus protests festers and multiplies. This dissertation will attempt to address and fill the current gaps in the Black Campus Movement's literature by inserting one student organization's (Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club) devotion to Black Power ideologies as a means to secure educational reform. This significant gap in the current literature on the Black Power Movement and the larger social movement historiography demands the crafting of new research questions that will broaden the scope of future research on the Black Campus and Black Power Movements as well as the history of contemporary social movements.

Research Questions: (RQ1) To what extent did the Black Power Movement shift the thinking and actions of a critical mass of Black college students from the ideas and norms of the modern Civil Rights Movement to a new mindset and tactical strategies? (RQ2) In what ways did the fundamental theories of the Black Power Movement ignite the Black Community College Campus Movement in Chicago in the late 1960s? (RQ3) What role did the Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club play in the institutional name change from Woodrow Wilson Junior College to Kennedy-King College? (RQ4) How and where do the commitments to educational reform by Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club and other militant community college students fit into the social movement history?

Method

As a practical approach for designing and completing this dissertation, this research utilized a historical institutional biography. The use of this approach to thoroughly examine and

then describe the actions, attitudes, and behaviors of Woodrow Wilson's Junior College's AAHC provided a means for a critical analysis and historical examination of Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement. This study utilized oral history methodology to uncover and interpret the conditions and determinants that caused Black community college students from Chicago to demand education reform during the Black Power Movement. I also used traditional archival sources as well as published secondary sources to corroborate oral history sources and enrich the main text. Additionally, this dissertation provided a critical analysis of the intersectionality between Chicago politics, higher education, and the Black Power Movement.

Procedure: This author created open-ended questions to extract specific memories and peculiarities of the Black Community College Movement in Chicago and in turn marshal the oral history testimony to support the major objectives of this dissertation. Oral history interviews focused on the respondent's experiences as active participants, scholars, and writers. Oral history interviewees will critically assess the role of Black college students, particularly, Black community college students from Chicago and how they fashioned the direction and expansion of the Black Community College Campus Movement CCCM, Black Campus Movement, and the broader Black Power Movement.

Sample: The author interviewed twenty four oral history participants to capture a broad and diverse set of credos, experiences, and points of view. Utilizing the snowball sampling technique enabled me to identify individuals that played significant roles as active participants, researchers, and scholars in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. Proposed interview

questions: To what extent did the social turmoil of the late 1960s play a role in the emergence of the Black Community College Campus Movement? What factors caused Black community college students in Chicago to engage in a fight for educational control of the City Colleges of Chicago? How and where does the militant actions, attitudes, and behaviors of Black community college students fit into the historiography of contemporary social movements? The use of these and similar questions will permit the memories and thoughts of interviewees to recall salient events, individuals, paradigms, and theories to strengthen this project's goals. Confirmed participants include former members of the AAHC, City College of Chicago administrators, faculty and staff members, local (Chicago) and national Black Power and Civil Rights activists, authors, educators, researchers, and scholars. For example, Prof. Armsted Allen, Dr. Timuel Black, Mr. Billy (Che) Brooks, Dr. Michelle Diardorff, Dr. Nathan Hare, Dr. Leslie McLemore, Dr. Haki Matabuti, Dr. Akinyele Umoja, and Prof. Lenord Wash, as well as several others, provided insight, personal and professional to solidify the evidential base for this dissertation.

Coding: To efficiently maximize the use of primary sources, this dissertation created a coding apparatus that sorts primary sources by categories: 1. Oral history recordings, 2. Correspondence, 3. Curriculum development, 4. Newspaper clippings, and 5. Announcements. The use of this instrument provides a standard by which to connect primary sources with particular chapters.

Data Collection: Data collection consisted of three phases: (I.) Oral history interviews, and (II.) a critical analysis of Chicago politics and how higher education exists as a service

providing agency. The author transcribed each interview and place participants into two distinct categories: 1. Local (Chicago); and 2. National, with two sub-categories, that separate participants from the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement. This style of categorization permitted identification of critical episodes, groups, and individuals, which highlighted the importance of Chicago's community college activism and protest on the Black Power Movement and beyond.

Data Analysis: Content, discourse, and thematic analysis provided the framework from which to separate the above primary sources. I separated the salient themes into categories that represent the proposed chapter outline. The selection of this data analysis instrument will permit a critical examination of the strategies and techniques of educational reform employed by Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-America History Club. Through the practical measures of triangulation from oral histories participants, primary, and secondary sources the author diligently attempted to investigate the data collected from each oral history participant for reliability, validity, and veracity.

Work Plan

The work plan included traveling to Chicago metropolitan area and other cities to retrieve primary sources and record the memories and thoughts of oral history interviewees. This research project utilized primary sources from the Kennedy-King College Library, the City Colleges of Chicago Achieves department, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Public Library, the Chicago Defender, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Bee, and other newspapers. Specifically, the Wilson Folder from Kennedy-King College Library, the Leonard

Wash Papers from the Vivian Harsh Collection at Chicago's Carter G. Woodson Regional Library, the Freedom of Information Act Files on the City Colleges of Chicago, Chicago Historical Society's Red Squad Collection, Armstead Allen's Personal Achieves on Olive Harvey College's Black Power Conferences and other primary resources. I will begin recording oral history participants in January 2018.

Role of the Researcher

The intricacies of the role of the researcher became inescapable when researching a topic where the author lived and worked. Accordingly, Linda Shopes cautions that "community-based oral history projects, often seeking to enhance feelings of local identity and pride, tend to sidestep more difficult and controversial aspects of a community's history, as interviewer and narrator collude to present the community's best face."²⁰ Shope's assumptions represent a dilemma for any researcher, particularly this author, but provide clarity regarding the power and pitfalls in the role of the researcher. As a lifelong resident of the South Side of Chicago, my intimate connections as a resident in this community heightened the need to self-reflect on the various subtleties of the role of the researcher.

I came to this research project as a faculty member of the Social Science Department at Chicago's Kennedy-King College. As an attempt to raise the student body to higher academic and social excellence, I sought several unconventional educational avenues to connect the

²⁰ **Quoted in** Allen Safianow, "The Challenges of Local Oral History," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 112, No.1, (2016), 33. "Linda Shopes, "Why Are They Talking?" from "What is Oral History," *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, <http://history.matters.gmu.edu/mse/oral>.

history of Chicago's Black Power Movement with a rising militant atmosphere amongst student organizations on campus. I searched several course catalogs and my department's syllabi depository seeking ideas to create courses, which linked relevant educational pedagogy with community service. As a point of reference, my concentration centered on courses taught during the Black Power Movement. One class that stood out was "Sociology 209: The Black Man in the United States." Sociology 209 emerged from student protests of the Black Community College Campus Movement where demands for control of local institutions via self-determination and armed self-defense became paramount. The detailed syllabus for Sociology 209 provided a pedagogical synopsis and historical overview of tangible student learning goals and outcomes regarding how the tenants of the Black Power Movement entered into higher education. Surprisingly, after decades of inactivity, this course remained approved by the Illinois Community College Board.

I became immediately intrigued regarding the social climate surrounding how this class developed and the role Black community college students played in its creation and implementation. I grew drawn to the power in the title, which lent itself to endless possibilities of student engagement. Utilizing this course as a historical narrative to introduce and critically analyze the Black Campus and Black Power Movements to a student population that held a minor connection to this narrative became alluring. The potential impact of Sociology 209 ignited a sense of urgency that motivated me to contemplate how to revive this course. After several meetings and careful strategic planning with Kennedy-King College's Vice President Katonja Webb, Sociology 209 reemerged during the 2008 spring semester.

This course became popular, and from its success, I grew inspired to create an African American Studies program. With the support of Webb, I created a sixty-three credit hour associate degree in African American Studies. During this process, I was introduced to and became enamored with the archival sources that highlighted a revolutionary student movement at Woodrow Wilson Junior College in 1968, specifically, the Afro-American History Club, which demanded Sociology 209 as a means to incorporate Black pride into the formal curriculum. My interest in this movement transformed into an in-depth analysis of the role the WWJC's AAHC played in leading the Black Community College Campus Movement and the expansion of the Black Power Movement, which eventually became my dissertation topic and the thrust of my educational career.

The advantages and disadvantages of the researcher as a member of the targeted population become crucial as the author continues to benefit from the social capital of direct access to members of the targeted population. My connections as the son of a well known Chicago historian created a means of access to a diverse group of educators, scholars, and researchers that the author continues to benefit greatly. This author will consistently reflect on the precarious nature of objectivity and how the reflections of oral history participants can render sensitive information producing bias that negatively affects the desired goals of this research project.

Chapter Outline

1. The *Introduction*, includes a thesis statement, a critical analysis of the salient literature, significance and originality of this research, methods, including theoretical framework, sources, and research questions.

2. Chapter *From Civil Rights to Black Power*, focused on the external and internal causes, events, and theories of the 1960s that shifted the social movement from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement. This chapter will investigate how local conditions became the determinants of protest and how they expanded into national narratives that influenced the transition from the CRM to the BPM. Also, this chapter furnishes a timeline of the events that fueled an ideological and practical transformation in the accepted repertoire of contention disclosing the growing antagonism and resentment toward the philosophy of non-violence by which the transition from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement proceeded.

Chapter 3, *Chicago's Politics of Higher Education and the Black Community College Campus Movement* critically analyzed the City Colleges of Chicago's existence as a service providing agency. This chapter will investigate how the municipality of Chicago City Colleges remain an entity amongst several other services providing agencies governed by the absolute power of the office of Chicago's mayor. This chapter seeks to examine the nature of Chicago politics and how higher education fits into a larger system of the Democratic Machine and how political patronage guides and supports hiring practices, which reinforce the hegemony of Chicago's mayor.

Chapter 4, *The History of the Afro-American History Club (AAHC)*, investigated the origin and development of the Black Community College Campus Movement and the role the AAHC played in its expansion. This chapter will introduce and trace the organization's original name, goals, and leadership and how these entities changed to reflect the shift of Black college students' desire from seeking entry into existing White institutions to demanding control of the institutions in the Black community. Also, this chapter will include a prologue, which covers vital members of the AAHC and how they organized to create educational reform. Additionally, this chapter will explore the social and political atmosphere, which caused the AAHC to shift and expand its goals and repertoires of contention from classic civil rights techniques to adopt more aggressive tactics of activism and protest.

Epilogue, provided a critical reflection of the impact of the Black Community College Campus Movement on the history of social movements, particularly, the Black Power Movement. The use of salient events, phenomemons, and paradigms, which took place after 1968 until 2014 will provide a trajectory of accomplishments and challenges for an examination regarding the student movement at Kennedy-King College.

The Appendix provides primary documents, which support the timeline of events that highlight the efforts of the AAHC to secure education reform.

Implications

The story of a Black student movement and higher education reform is reconstructed by examining the in-between layers, the layers between the national level and the local level, between reform initiatives and the actual reforms. Joy Williamson-Lott²¹

Williamson-Lott's statement demonstrates the complexities in reconstructing an accurate historical narrative of social movements. The implications of this research include but are not limited to historical, pedagogical, political, psychological, and sociological questions. These implications relate to the lack of scholarly recognition regarding the positionality of Black community college students as critical contributors and avid supporters of the BCM and BPM. As an example of their commitment to educational reform through Black Power methods at least eleven student demonstrations led by Black students on community college campuses took place between April 1968 and March 1969. In several of these uprisings, Black students disrupted the daily rhythms of their institutions causing a shift in the institutional power structure forcing administrators, faculty, and staff to address and in multiple instances concede to their demands. The marginalization of the BCCCM's activism and protests severely undermines the accurate historical narrative of social movement historiography. A conscious or unconscious lessening of the efforts of marginal populations from registered accounts does not permit contemporary, and future scholars access to the entire realm of primary and secondary sources by which to extend current research.

One implication of future social movement research discloses the parallel circumstances of the BCM and BPM of the late 1960s and contemporary social movements concerning the excessive force of police brutality. In identical manners to the late 1960s current student

²¹ **Quoted in** Joy Williamson-Lott, *Black Power on Campus. The University of Illinois 1965-1975*, (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 2012), 5.

protest against police brutality to pit Black community college students against the excessive force of local police authorities. Students are continuing to challenge the hegemony of higher education to possess a historical blueprint containing accomplishments, challenges, and fault lines from the BCM and BPM as a guide for collective action. As contemporary student organizations delve into the history of the BCM and BPM, this research can provide theoretical grounds for earnest conversations to emerge between activists from different eras, thus, providing a bridge for intergenerational continuity.

Limitations

The author admits a vested interest in researching the Black Community College Campus Movement at Woodrow Wilson Community College and the complex nature of introducing an esoteric student organization and term into the dominant narrative of student activism and social movements from the vantage point of an insider. The advantages and disadvantages of the researcher as a life-long resident became crucial as the author continues to benefit from the direct access to members of the targeted population. This author consistently reflected on the precarious nature of objectivity and how the reflections of oral history participants can render sensitive information producing bias that possesses the proclivity to affect the desired goals of this research project negatively.²²

Naturally, the methods of oral history contain limitations that warrant acknowledgment. While the oral history methodology continues to garner praise and criticism from the scholarly

²² Sema Unluner, "Being an Insider Researcher While Conducting Case Study Research," *The Qualitative Report* 17 No. 29, (2012): 2.

community, the errors of memory, whether unwittingly or by choice, challenge the authenticity Power Movement. However, the amalgamation of sources will offset the limitations of oral history narratives and the nuances of completing research as an insider with the targeted research population. The author seeks to acknowledge each limitation and utilize the chosen methodology of oral history and selected source considerations to provide a standard by which to increase the certainty of evidence and analysis of data, permitting the oral history methodology to render high scholarly dividends for this dissertation.

Chapter 2

From Civil Rights to Black Power: The Nexus of the Transition of Cycles Within Social Movements

Yeah, the movement was changing. Had to change. Struggle is, after all, a dynamic, complicated, and organic process. And not all motion is progress. Stokley Carmichael. (Kwame Ture)²³

The 1960's represent one of the most compelling, tumultuous, and uncertain historical periods in American history. The challenge to Jim Crow in the Southern portion of America accompanied objection and protest to segregation in the North as Blacks applied pressure to win the sympathy of the U.S. Government to aid their cause for liberation. The Civil Rights Movement (CRM) represents a social movement that produced tightly woven systems of social capital that gained legal victories, which generated unprecedented legislation aimed to provide pathways for individual and group advancements for the masses of Blacks. Amid the non-violent protest of the Civil Rights Movement, mainly, the early 1960's Blacks, especially Black youths, went from active participants to bona fide leaders in the Black liberation struggle. Thus, as the Black experience in America moved from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade through the American Lynching Movement and Jim Crow, Blacks articulated the systematic imbalance of power and the hypocrisy of the problems and preoccupations of a critical mass of White Americans via the paradigms and tactics of direct action through non-violent resistance.²⁴ This chapter examines multiple events that changed the direction of activism and protest of the

²³ **Quoted in** Stokley Carmichael and Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Ready For the Revolution. The life Struggles of Stokely Carmichael* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Singapore: Scribner, 2003), 524.

²⁴ Sean Cashman, *African-Americans and the Quest for Civil Rights, 1900-1990* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992), 3.

1960s by highlighting local stories that expanded into national narratives. In particular, this chapter will emphasize the events that activated the reassessment of the aims of a critical mass of Blacks from the want of integration into White institutions to the demands for control of the institutions in the Black community.

The political process model put forth by author Doug McAdam claims, “a social movement is held to be above all else a *political* rather than a psychological phenomenon. That is, the factors shaping institutionalized political processes are argued to be of equal analytic utility in accounting for social insurgency.”²⁵ The theories of the CRM, mainly, resource mobilization contend power and wealth remain centralized under the control of the elite and ruling regime. Hence, dispossessing the masses of citizens from acquiring the authority to change their positions in that society.²⁶ Undoubtedly, the early 1960s and the CRM represent a critical time where Blacks, notably Blacks Southerners, challenged the American status quo. The CRM analyzed and critiqued the underpinnings of Jim Crow decorum and then proceeded to provide a stern rebuke of southern etiquette through non-violent protest.

The term Civil Rights became popularized in the late 1950s, specifically, during the landmark Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955. According to Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party veteran Hollis Muhammad (Hollis Watkins) the term Civil Rights became a point of contention:

We were initially debating whether it should be Civil Rights or Human Rights. Most of us felt that the movement should not be called Civil Rights because

²⁵ **Quoted in** Doug Adam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 36

²⁶ Ibid.

our movement was bigger than Civil Rights we wanted to our movement to be called Human Rights. ²⁷

The debate of a title of the movement provides considerable insight concerning the depth of understanding of the causes that led to this mass social and political movement. The cycles within the social movement of the 1960s (i.e., Civil Rights and Black Power) require critical evaluation of the causes, events, and theories, notably, those determinants that ignited the transition from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement (BPM). Focusing on external and internal forces of specific occurrences that sparked a reassessment of the goals of Black Student Movement of the late 1960s permits a more significant examination of the shift in the movement from Civil Rights to Black Power.

The Civil Rights Movement (CRM) is one of the most influential periods in American history one that transformed the social climate in America forever. The fundamental goals of the CRM sought equality of opportunity for Blacks to partake fully as American citizens in existing institutions as equals to their White counterparts. This ideology inspired Black youths, both working and middle class nationwide to become politically active and take leading roles in the origin and expansion of the Civil Rights Movement. Hollis Muhammad contends:

Looking at other young people standing up against the things that is wrong, that is, I needed to check into, look at, the possibilities of joining with those young people, mostly young people, who are against things that are detrimental for Black people so, this is the road I must go. That's why I got involved in what is called the Civil Rights Movement. When I saw the Freedom Rides I said this is one way I can stand up against things that is wrong. ²⁸

²⁷ Hollis Watkins, "Civil Rights," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 12, 2017.

²⁸ Ibid.

After more than a decade of dedication to non-violent resistance a critical mass of Blacks, particularly Black youths, abandoned the ideas of integration and adopted theories that promoted self-determination and armed self-defense. This shift in the tenor of the social movement of the 1960s did not happen abruptly. In fact, the pillars of the Black Power movement (BPM) began as a natural outgrowth of the accomplishments and challenges of the CRM. According to Professor Jeff Kolick, much of the Civil Rights Movement, particularly, voter registration, sought to secure sufficient power to elect Black officials, which represents Black Power ideologies.²⁹ In essence, the ideological and procedural maturity from the victories and losses of the CRM caused a significant contingency of Black, especially Black youths, to adopt more aggressive paradigms of Black Nationalism.

Perhaps one of the most misunderstood and overly defined compound terms in contemporary political history is the definition of Black Power. While often used as a conceptual lens from which to assess the evolution of the CRM the phrase Black Power remains ambiguous. Black Power instantly evokes a range of sentiments that beget empowerment, fear, panic, and unity. In the summer of 1966, Stokely Carmichael and Willie Ricks stimulated young Blacks including college students to adopt Black Power as the new slogan and moral center in which to pursue freedom, justice, and equality. Carmichael claims, “the conjunction of these individually harmless and inoffensive words became shocking.”³⁰ Carmichael fixed the term and understanding of Black Power by providing characteristics for a redefinition of Black

²⁹ Professor Jeff Kolnick, “The Civil Rights Movement,” interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 12, 2017.

³⁰ **Quoted in** Stokely Carmichael and Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Ready For the Revolution. The Life Struggles of Stokely Carmichael* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Singapore: Scribner, 2003), 524.

consciousness. This redefinition included new goals and values of self-determination and self-defense in opposition to White liberals and conservatives alike.³¹ As such, Black Power challenged liberal Whites to redefine their roles in the Black struggle for liberation. According to Ture and Hamilton, Black Power's premise rested upon Blacks closing the ranks from Whites to achieve the ultimate goal of group solidarity.³² These sentiments played a significant role in the manner in which Blacks expanded their organizational tactics. Black Nationalists sought to force American institutions to recognize the paradigm of Black Power and its interest.³³

Black Power sparked a rational change in the articulation of revolution inciting Blacks to assume a militant temperament that centered American liberalism and its institutions as apparatuses of oppression.³⁴ The need to erase the connection to the CRM's philosophies tied to a need to reconstruct Black Identity. Black Power's rhetorical fervor transmuted into a principled realism that gave birth to a new era of Black Nationalism. An original member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Dr. Leslie McLemore, contends the Black Nationalism on campuses was a natural spinoff of the sentiments and tendencies of the Black community to challenge America's racist institutions.³⁵ Although CRM leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., disagreed with the revolutionary tone of Black Power because they thought the term

³¹ Jennifer Hendricks. "Stokely Carmichael and the 1967 Impact Symposium: Black Power White Fear, and the Conservative South." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 63, No. 4 (2004): 284.

³² Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton. *Black Power. The Politics of Liberation* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1967), 44.

³³ N. D. B. Connolly, *A Black Power Method* (New York, NY: Public Books, 2016), 6.

³⁴ Fredrick Douglass Dixon, "Activism on Community College Campuses: Black Lives Mattering Then and Now," Office of Community College Research and Leadership, July 5, 2017. <https://occr.illinois.edu/our-products/voices-and-viewpoints-detail/current-topics/2017/06/05/student-activism-on-community-college-campuses-black-lives-mattering-then-and-now>.

³⁵ Dr. Leslie McLemore, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 12, 2017.

was divisive, they nonetheless understood its attraction and social currency among Black youth, particularly college students.³⁶ As a point of reference that highlights the transition from the CRM to the BPM, Dr. King credits the emotional origin and rise of Black Power to the atrocities of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.³⁷ The inevitability of Black Power as a movement was due, in Dr. King's view, to the laws of nature and reciprocity.

In very similar ways, the CRM and BPM saw students take the lead in fashioning the direction in which these cycles of the 1960's social movement expanded. Seen as a natural outgrowth of the CRM, the BPM signaled an expanding dissatisfaction vis a vis relative deprivation linked to the seemingly fixed subordinate social position of the masses of Blacks, in particular, Black youths. Continued disappointment manifested in frustration with the perception of tokenism regarding the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts (1964 and 1965, respectively). Negative sentiments grew out of rising expectations, but anger replaced hope with lack of earnest change in resource distribution. The perceived stagnation of gradualism tied directly to the vestiges of the CRM, which exposed the layered nuances and the power of institutional racism.³⁸ Author, Dr. Charles McKinney, claims that by the mid- 1960s Black students came to the realization that the tools of the Civil Rights Movement did not possess the capacity to end the intractability of institutional racism.³⁹

³⁶ Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here? Chaos or Community* (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1967), 29.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 40.

³⁸ Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power. The Politics of Liberation* (New York, NY: Vintage Books 1967), 14.

³⁹ Dr. Charles McKinney, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 15, 2017.

As a sign of consequence and not consciousness, President Lyndon Johnson's administration produced *The Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders*, which charged White racism as the fundamental reason for the rise of Black rebellions and riots.⁴⁰ The conclusions of the Kerner Report warned that if White racism and its long-term effects did not cease violence between Blacks and Whites could escalate and result in a separation of the two communities into a garrison state.⁴¹ For a central portion of Black student's anger and pessimism festered concerning the future of race relations in America, which quickened the transition from the CRM to the BPM. The conclusions of the Kerner Report, deeply resonated with young Black student activists, which propelled them to adopt the Black Power paradigm to control the institutions in the Black community.

It remains of upper importance to remember that a significant portion of Black students participated directly or indirectly in the school desecration movement, which radicalized their worldviews on education.⁴² While the ideological transformation from Civil Rights to Black Power exploded, several crucial events signified a genuine shift in Black student's attitudes from the non-violent resistance strategies of the CRM to more aggressive actions representative of Black Power theories:

- the Civil Rights Act of 1964;
- the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project in 1964;
- the Los Angeles Riots of 1965;

⁴⁰ Howard Shuman, "Sociological Racism." *Trans Action*, No. 2, (1969): 1.

⁴¹ Thomas Wagstaff, *Black Power*, (Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, 1969), ii.

⁴² Dr. Akinyele Umoja, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 19, 2017.

- the appointment of Stokely Carmichael as Chairman of SNCC in 1966;
- the James Meredith's March Against Fear in 1966;
- the birth of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in 1966;
- the riots of the long hot summer of 1967;
- the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968; and
- America's involvement in the Viet-Nam War.

Each event fueled an ideological and practical transformation in the external and internal context of the social movement of the 1960s, which disclosed a growing antagonism and resentment toward non-violence as a technique to achieve social progress. These particular occurrences became national milestones regarding the rise of Black Power, but each episode's central theme represented a connection to local determinants and conditions that sparked challenges to local power structures, which depict an organic transition from the CRM to the BPM.⁴³

The national narrative of the rise of Black Power affords an overarching glimpse into the movement that generated a heightened radicalization of Black college students. However, for a more critical analysis of the BPM, local historical narratives provide a better perspective on the problematic themes that supported the explosion of the BPM. For example, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 remains a watershed moment that crystallized the transition from Civil Rights to Black Power and represents an external development that amplified the shift from the CRM to the BPM. Seen as a device to remove the legal and systematic impediments that held Blacks in fixed

⁴³ Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt." *Social Problems*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1969): 393

positions of inferiority, this federal act promised Blacks more opportunities for sustainable improvements in their daily lives.⁴⁴The inability of extraordinary laws passed by the highest court in America to equate an improvement in the lives of a significant portion of Black's became pivotal in the rise of the BPM. In theory, the passage of the Civil Rights Act signified an unparalleled legal power and access to federal protection but when it did not live up to its anticipated potential a critical mass of working class and middle Blacks sought alternative avenues for mobilizing, which included the fundamental aspects of Black Power.

The Mississippi Freedom Summer Project (MFSP) of 1964 symbolized the internal energy of the transition from the CRM to the BPM in the following ways.⁴⁵ The overarching and most pressing goal of the MFSP was to challenge the political hegemony of White racist authority in local counties which legally and systematically excluded Blacks from the voting process. Mississippi residents, college students, and activists from various regions of the country traveled to the Mississippi Delta to register Black Mississippians to vote. The MFSP dramatically enhanced the mindset of a significant portion of Blacks in Mississippi and beyond by developing an alternative Black education system with a specialized curriculum fashioned in part by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's veteran Charlie Cobb.⁴⁶

Community Centers and Freedom Schools became educational spaces where a combination of remedial and history courses emphasized leadership development, current

⁴⁴ Tony Lopresti. "Realizing the Problem of Environmental Civil Rights: The Renewed to Enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." *Administrative Law Review*. Vol. 65, No. 4. (2013): 757.

⁴⁵ John Ditmer, Jeff Kolnick, and Leslie-Burl McLemore, "Freedom Summer: A Brief History with Documents.," (Bedford/St. Martin's: Macmillian Learning, 2017), 14.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 15.

events, and Negro history.⁴⁷ The pre-school initiative of the Freedom Schools organized by Mary Wright Edelman became the impetus for the Johnson administration's Head Start program, which was part of the War on Poverty directed by Sargent Shriver. The buildings that housed this revolutionary educational initiative were often Black churches reflecting the social capital the MFSP carried and took advantage of, which underwrote the financial independence found at the root of the BPM's urging for Black institution building. The most radical aspect of the MFSP emerged with the organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). In response to a continuous, systematic denial of voting rights, the MFDP represented a direct challenge to the all-White, segregationist state legislation at the 1964 Democratic National Convention, in Atlantic City, New Jersey.⁴⁸ The story of the MFDP in Atlantic City contains complexities that include a controversial compromise and concessions of the MFDP's original goals. While the prevailing notions of creating an alternative independent political party did not equate a practical political win for the MFDP at the 1964 Democratic National Convention their influence on future electoral outcomes, notably the political revolution in Lowndes County Alabama, was essential to the internal forces and structural transition from the CRM to the BPM.⁴⁹

Traditionally, a contingency of Black leaders in the Mississippi Delta advocated for and utilized armed self-defense as a resistance strategy to the violence perpetrated by local Whites. For example, famous freedom fighters Medgar Evers, Amzie Moore, Sr., Dr. T.R.M. Howard, and

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid, 23

E.W. Steptoe contradicted the use of non-violence when interacting with violent Whites. Additionally, clandestine organizations such the Deacons of Defense and the Black Hats routinely secured the Black community especially when an incident caused an immediate threat to the status quo of Jim Crow decorum.⁵⁰ For instance, Amzie Moore, Sr. provided security for Mamie Till, the mother of Emmitt Till during the highly publicized murder trial of J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant. According to Professor Dr. John Ditmer, a militant atmosphere existed in Mississippi that embraced the moral codes of Black Power, armed self-defense and community control in both action and rhetoric before a national shift of ideas from Civil Rights to Black Power developed.⁵¹ The complex social web of armed resistance in the Mississippi narrative of Black liberation does not emerge in the dominant discourse regarding Civil Rights or Black Power. Openly promoting armed defense became a form of empowerment and fashioned a social atmosphere in Mississippi of self-determination and self-defense, which confirms the intersection between Black Power theories and practices within the MFDP and the larger Mississippi Freedom Movement.⁵²

The Watts Riots of 1965 was an innate response to the problem of police brutality stemming from conflictual police-community relations, nationwide. The long-standing perceptions of White law enforcement officers in all-Black communities consistently using excessive force to maintain law and order led to a significant portion of Black's adopting Black

⁵⁰ Akinyele Omowale Umoja. *We Will Shoot Back. Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2013), 140.

⁵¹ Dr. John Ditmer, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 21, 2017.

⁵² Emily Crosby, *Civil Rights History From the Ground Up. Local struggles, A National Movement*. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 262.

Power tactics of armed self-defense against police brutality.⁵³ The August 11, 1965 incident between Marquette and Ronald Frye and Los Angeles police officers erupted into civil unrest, which moved Black Power from a slogan in relative obscurity to a decisive moment that forced America to recognize the shift from Civil Rights to Black Power.⁵⁴ Black Power was in the streets, and it was televised for the entire nation to view as an estimated thirty-four people, mainly Blacks died in the revolt against police brutality.⁵⁵ The Watts rebellion erupted from the nexus of an increasingly familiar pattern in American cities of soring incidents of an excessive police force, which exposed a nefarious culture of law enforcement practices of police brutality.⁵⁶ The Watts rebellion exposed a common theme of police brutality versus armed self-defense. Blacks, particularly Black youths, became familiar with the politics of violence as they recognized the similarities in their daily lives with Blacks in other cities. Due to the magnitude and nature of the Watts Riots many Blacks saw this revolt “not as an inchoate riot but as a revolt against perceived oppression.”⁵⁷As a result of the Watts Rebellion, a growing need was felt to replace the non-violent tactics of the CRM with acceptance of Black Power theories of meeting violence of the police with armed self-defense.⁵⁸

⁵³ Jack Jones. “McCone Panel Calls for Massive Riot Area Aid.” Los Angeles Times. December 7, 1965.

⁵⁴ Jack Levin & Alexander Thomas, “Experimentally Manipulating Race: Perceptions of Police Brutality in an Arrest: A Research Note.” *Justice Quarterly*, 14, No. 3 (1997): 578.

⁵⁵ Gerald Horne. *Watts Riot*. (Amenia, NY: Salem Press Encyclopedia, 2013), 3.

⁵⁶ Donna Murch. “The Many Meanings of Watts: Black Power, Wattstax, and the Carceral State.” *OAH Magazine of History*, 26, No. 1 (2016): 37.

⁵⁷ **Quoted in** Gerald Horne. *Watts Riot*. (Amenia, NY: Salem Press Encyclopedia, 2013), 3.

⁵⁸ Robert Cruthird & Jeanette Williams. *The Kennedy-King Experiment 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 52.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee became a leading student organization for social change and Black solidarity among student groups at the height of the CRM. Their reputation as a non-violent student organization in the early 1960s represented the core values of the CRM seeking to integrate into White institutions. During the transition from the CRM to the BPM, SNCC switched to a more militant image with a change in leadership in 1966.⁵⁹ Former SNCC member and Civil Rights attorney Lewis Myers, Jr. explained:

SNCC held a meeting, a national meeting outside of Nashville that's when Stokely Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, John Lewis had been the chairman of SNCC, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Stokely who became legendary is given the credit of being one of the early advocates of the Black Power Movement.⁶⁰

The replacement of John Lewis with Stokely Carmichael as Chairman solidified the transmutation of a critical mass of Black college students from a philosophy of nonviolence to radicalism which operationalized the concepts of Black Power. In fact, before Carmichael's ascension to leadership former SNCC Chairman James Forman openly questioned the non-violent strategy as a useful tool for social progress.⁶¹ SNCC's transition from the goals of integration towards a more aggressive program of liberation and self-defense spelled out SNCC's final chapter as an organization as it moved to a radical position of separation from White people and institutions to building all-Black institutions.⁶² SNCC's choice to select Stokely

⁵⁹ Stokely Carmichael and Ekwueme Michael Thelwee. *Ready For then Revolution, The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael {Kwame Ture}* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Singapore: Scribner, Scribner, 2013), 487.

⁶⁰ Attorney Lewis Myers, Jr., interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. January 20, 2018.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Jennifer Hendricks, "Stokely Carmichael and the 1967 IMPACT Symposium: Black Power, White Fear, and the Conservative South." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 63, No. 4 (2004): 288.

Carmichael as Chairman resonated in very fundamental ways with Black youths across America, which amplified the radicalization of Black youths.

James Meredith's March Against Fear began in obscurity as many of the CRM's top executives did not support or pay serious attention to Mr. Meredith's mission. Meredith planned to march from Tennessee to Mississippi through America's most racist and violent counties as a sign of courage against the historical brutality that accompanied Jim Crow decorum. As the march moved from the border of Tennessee to Mississippi, Mr. Meredith was shot, which escalated the transition from the CRM to the BPM in several very significant ways.⁶³ Author Adam Goudsouzian contends Meredith's March popularized and in many respects, gave birth to the phrase "Black Power," through the charismatic voices of Stokely Carmichael and Willie Ricks in a gathering of participants in Greenwood Mississippi.⁶⁴ Author, Professor Charles Payne, maintains,

For the first time, the idea of Black Power was articulated to the broader American public, which centralized Black youths, particularly, radical wings of Black students, SNCC and CORE, and their skepticism of American institutions to the forefront of the movement.⁶⁵

The term enthused a considerable population of Black youths and placed fear into a significant population of Whites, specifically, White liberals who worked diligently within the CRM. Outside of Mr. Meredith's shooting perhaps the most telling incident, which symbolized

⁶³ Aram Goudsouzian, *Down to the Crossroads. Civil Rights Black Power and Meredith's March Against Fear* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014), 62.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 143.

⁶⁵ Dr. Charles Payne, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 12, 2017.

the March's importance concerning the philosophical and practical transformation from Civil Rights to Black Power came in a television interview that featured Dr. King and Stokely Carmichael. In this interview, Dr. King voiced his continued devotion to the non-violent struggle while in that same interview, Stokely Carmichael denounces the use of nonviolence exposing the ideological cleavage between the leading proponent of Civil Rights and the prophet of Black Power.⁶⁶ These opposing views further expanded the divide of intergenerational continuity between the CRM and the BPM.

In large part, veteran activist remained with Dr. King's philosophy of non-violence while a critical mass of the younger generation flocked to the doctrines espoused by Stokely Carmichael of Black Power. The exchange between iconic leaders during the Meredith March became a turning point in the action taken, and rhetoric used that moved the social needle further from the CRM to the BPM. Author Dr. Akinyele Umoja asserts, "And with that Black power shift is not just a political shift, but it's also a cultural win in terms of style and dress in terms of identity, how to refer to themselves."⁶⁷ Meredith's March Against Fear became a significant event, an undeniable milepost that determined a cultural transition of the social movement of the 1960s by providing a slogan that gave a cultural meaning and symbolic acceptance to a newly found Black Nationalism.

As the Watt's rebellion simmered, the national epidemic of police brutality in the Black community continued to increase. In the aftermath of the Watts revolt, Oakland, California's

⁶⁶ Aram Goudsouzian, *Down to the Crossroads. Civil Right Black Power and Meredith's March Against Fear* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014), 84.

⁶⁷ Dr. Akinyele Umoja, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 19, 2017.

racial turmoil intensified with rampant discrimination, oppressive social conditions, economic inequality, especially in the area of Black youth unemployment, and political disempowerment, exacerbated by police repression. These intersecting conditions of structural racism led to Black young people to employ Black Power strategies to address and improve their second-class citizen status.⁶⁸ The birth of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) sought to address police brutality, economic dispossession, and control of community institutions.⁶⁹ As a means to combat police brutality, the BPP organized armed citizen patrols to monitor the interactions between the Black community and police practices.⁷⁰

The BPP set the pace for the sweeping shift in the national, racial mood with their reformist, socialist platform, which included an explicit rejection of CRM strategies. The cultural aspects of the BPP renounced the formal attire of the CRM and replaced it with Black berets and jackets. Their promotion of self-determination included free community breakfast and health programs for Black families, which furthered the shift from the CRM to the BPM.⁷¹ The birth of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) in Oakland in 1966 tied the fundamental premises of armed defense against police brutality, economic responsibility, and control of community institutions to student activism and higher education. Merritt College, an Oakland community college, became the symbolic home of the BPP, as former Merritt students Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale used the campus as a base for organizing a national movement for

⁶⁸Joshua Bloom, & Waldo E. Martin, *Black Against the Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013), 4.

⁶⁹ The Black Panther Party Newspaper, Electronic Archive, Published in Black Thought and Culture, Alexander Street Press. (2005), 7.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Joshua Bloom & Waldo E., Jr. Martin, *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013), 8.

self-defense as founding members of Merritt College's Afro-American Association.⁷² The rise in the BPP's popularity is connected directly to the advent and expansion of the modern Black Campus Movement (BCM) of the late 1960's. Chicago's BCM saw community college students create BPP chapters at two predominantly Black community college campuses, which elevated their ability to utilize the community's social capital, which in turn gave vitality to Chicago's BPM.⁷³

Community relations between Black youth and police authorities worsened in the twilight of the 1960's. The ubiquity of excessive force and police brutality moved to open revolt by the summer of 1967. Riots between Blacks and police departments erupted at an alarming rate, giving currency to the phrase, "the Long Hot Summer of 1967." A mounting surge of retaliation for countless acts of police brutality across America found a generation of young Blacks no longer concerned or enamored with accommodating, outdated, and passive behaviors.⁷⁴ Discontent over excessive police force among a significant portion of the Black population, specifically Black youths, can be gauged by the approximately 159 race riots that took place during the summer of 1967.⁷⁵ The most famous riots took place in Atlanta, Boston, Cincinnati, Buffalo and Tampa.⁷⁶ It remains vital to mention, the majority of riots took place in cities with less than 50,000 citizens. Riots in less densely populated spaces reflect the amount

⁷² People's Minister of Info JR. (2012, June 9). "Merritt College: Home of the Black Panther Party," an interview with filmmaker James Calhoun. San Francisco Bay View.

⁷³ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams. *The Kennedy-King College Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education.* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 1.

⁷⁴ Nathan Hare. "Behind the Black College Revolt. Negro Youth in America," *Ebony Magazine*, 22 no. 10, (1967): 58.

⁷⁵ Walter Rucker & James Nathaniel Upton. *Encyclopedia of American Race Riots, Volumes 1* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 848.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 849.

of Black dissatisfaction found outside of the large metropolitan areas.⁷⁷ The overarching themes of White domination via police brutality, deplorable social and political disenfranchisement, which evoked the riotous acts and destructive events of the long hot summer of 1967, were not unique. Blacks were employing aggressive tactics as a response to police brutality, challenging the traditional power dynamic between Blacks and Whites in unconventional arenas including sports.⁷⁸

The timing of the Olympic Games in Mexico City in the summer of 1968 came with an extreme social pressure from the Black Nationalist community for Black athletes to boycott the games. The political demonstration of Olympic medalist Tommie Smith and John Carlos changed the connection between Black activism, sports, and the landscape of global protest forever.⁷⁹ After winning a gold medal in 200 meters in record-breaking time, Tommie Smith in concert with Bronze medal winner John Carlos raised a Black-gloved clenched fist in solidarity to symbolize the plight of the oppressed Black masses in America and beyond. The intersectionality of the world's most significant stage of athletic competition and prowess in concert with the political savvy of Smith and Carlos exposed the growing acceptance of Black Power consciousness and pride among America's most celebrated athletes and announced the arrival of universal Black Power.⁸⁰ In an undeniable manner Black Power's symbolic Black fist

⁷⁷ Thomas Surge & Andrew P. Goodman. "Plainfield Burning: Black Rebellion in the Suburban North." *Journal of Urban History*, 33 No. 4. (2007): 569.

⁷⁸ Daryl B. Harris. "The Logic of Black Rebellions." *The Journal of Black Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 3. (1998), 374.

⁷⁹ Simon Henderson. "Nasty Demonstrations by Negroes: The Place of the Smith–Carlos Podium Salute in the Civil Rights Movement." *Bulletin of Latin American Research Supplement*, 29. (2010): 78.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 83.

captured the global spotlight and carved out space in the international theater of human rights concerning the plight of Blacks in America.

The assassination of the CRM's hero Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., April 4, 1968, at The Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, caused riots in over 150 cities in America. Beloved by generations of nonviolent advocates and criticized by groups who believed the tactics of the CRM did not possess the ability to create social progress, Dr. King's assassination forever changed the course of the social movement of the 1960s. For many, the shooting of Dr. King, the Nobel laureate and moral leader of nonviolence seemed ironic, and the reaction to his death (i.e., fires, looting, and shootings) exposed the hypocrisy inherent in the relations between Blacks and Whites.⁸¹ The psychological aftermath of Dr. King's assassination forced his followers to reassess the usefulness of the CRM paradigms. The adherents of Black Power saw his death as a crossroads and the final sign that the utility of CRM strategies no longer served a practical function.⁸² The response to Dr. King's death elevated the year 1968 as an absolute climactic turning point in the transition from Civil Rights to Black Power as the aggressive actions, attitudes, and behaviors of Black youths expanded and deepened, which propelled them into riotous activity across America. Many historians contend that Dr. King's assassination became inevitable with its condemnation of the Viet Nam War.

America's involvement in the Vietnam War brought damning criticisms from a substantial portion of the American populace and beyond, but nowhere more so than among

⁸¹ Phyl Garland. "He Lived and Died for His People." *Ebony Magazine*, 22 no. 10, (1967), 124

⁸² Unknown Author. "The Death That Caused Disorder." *Milwaukee Star*. April 10, 1968, 2.

young Black men. The Viet Nam War, named by Dr. King the “abominable war,” split the country politically into warring camps who disagreed about its real motives. The complexities of the Viet Nam War’s political dichotomy lie in its interpretation as a conventional war or an insurgency.⁸³ Viewed as a war fought by the poor for the advancement of the rich, the Vietnam War saw Blacks soldiers dying at a disproportionately higher rate than White soldiers.⁸⁴ The Anti-Viet Nam War Movement aligned a broad range of supporters, including Black and White student organizations. One of the most notable groups the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) articulated their anti-war position with the revolutionary theories of the Black Panther Party.⁸⁵ Anti-Viet Nam campaigns became commonplace at higher education institutions. Non-militant students became radicalized due to their stance on the Vietnam War. As a result of the omnipresence of the differing opinions, the Vietnam War became a springboard for Blacks, notably, Black youths to dissociate themselves from nonviolence paradigms and embrace armed self-defense methods of resistance.

Each event mentioned above played a significant role in the transformation of the social movement of the 1960s from Civil Rights to Black Power in the areas of political consciousness, culture, and education. While these historical developments profoundly influenced the direction of the transition from Civil Rights to Black Power, the compelling factor both individually and in the aggregate, became how this transition effectuated the worldview of a

⁸³ Edward C. O’Dowd. “What Kind of War is This?” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37. No.6 (2014): 20.

⁸⁴ The American War Library. Vietnam War Casualties by Race, Ethnicity and Natl Origin. The Names of Viet Nam War Personnel. <http://www.americanwarlibrary.com/vietnam/vwc10.htm>. September 21, 2017.

⁸⁵ Unknown Author. “SWORDS in the Hands of Children: Reflections of an American Revolutionary.” *Kirkus Reviews*. Vol. 85, No. 13. (2017), 1.

significant amount of Black youths. For example, Black Power centered Black youths as leading agents of change more aggressively than the CRM. Black youths led the charge that reconstructed and redefined Black identity by promoting a thorough and continuous reassessment of the process by which to interpret the elements of Black oppression. Amending the Black identity required an amelioration of folkways, mores, and values that removed historical misnomers of Black inferiority, which included an improvement in the modes of communication and dialectical terms. In the minds of Black Power advocates the terms that represented the CRM, particularly the word Negro, symbolized one avenue of continued acquiescence and accepted symbolic inferiority.

A vision of new Black identity provided the framework for Black youths to reevaluate the usefulness of their current curriculum then demanded separate institutional systems controlled by conscious Black men and women. Prof. Aram Goudsouzian argues Black Power provided a scathing critique of several American institutions;

It gave a critique of White liberals, those who are in the movement and yet can leave the movement while Black people have to deal with the daily realities of race in America. It is a critique of the slow pace of reform, yes, the Civil Rights Act has been passed, yes, the Voting Rights Acts has been passed, but that hasn't changed life on the ground for Blacks still dealing with second-class citizenship. Black Power in many ways is a critique of the dominant trends with the Black Freedom Struggle and also growing out of that struggle, it's calling for Black Americans to achieve political power, unite to use Black elected officials and thus change the discourse in society by providing a burgeoning sense of Black pride and a burgeoning sense of Black Culture.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Aram Goudsouzian, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 26, 2017.

The word Black and the term Black Power provided an ideological and verbal framework for Blacks youths, which a critical mass devoted their liveliness to developing a high political efficacy and Black consciousness in an effort reconstruct the identity of Blacks.⁸⁷

The reconstruction of the Black identity mandated the Black man, woman, and child to know thyself and learn the greatness of Black people before the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The proper history of Blacks in a global sense will provide avenues for Blacks to love one another.⁸⁸ A conversation concerning the rebuilding of the Black identity mandated recognition of the intersectionality between the need for Blacks in America to reconnect with their brothers and sisters in Africa and aid in their fight against European colonialism including a formal cognitive dissonance with Eurocentric mores, traditions, and values.⁸⁹ A vision of new Black identity provided the framework, political and social, for an honest reassessment of the usage of non-violent tactics as a means to improve the daily lives of the Black working and middle classes.

As a fundamental principle of the shift from Civil Rights to Black Power required that radical Blacks immediately separate from the Democratic and Republican political parties and create an Independent Black Political Party, which met the needs of all Blacks. The Black Political Party will build from and address the cultural, economic, and political needs of local communities.⁹⁰ Building from a local base of power the proclivity to expand to state and

⁸⁷ James McCoy & Abraham Miller, *Black Power and Student Rebellion: Conflict on the American Campus*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969), 1.

⁸⁸ Elijah Muhammad, *The Message to the Blackman in America*. (Chicago, IL: Secretarius MEMPS Publications, 1973), 27.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 57.

⁹⁰ Peniel E. Joseph. *Neighborhood Rebels. Black Power at the Local Level* (London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 4.

national power will secure local social capital that will include Black populations previously excluded from the political process.⁹¹ The Black Political Party duties will include forwarding a comprehensive knowledge of the American political system to empower local candidates in local elections as a means of controlling local political power. Changing the goals of prior political paradigms where Blacks supported and voted for White liberal candidates and others as a means to address their needs gave way to Black Power ideologies that sought to dismantle the White political structure.⁹²

As the trend of the political and social movement transformed from Civil Rights to Black Power the demands for Black consciousness via Black Pride in classroom instruction mounted. As a result of these calls for Black representation in the formal curriculum, the field of Black Studies emerged. According to Howard University student activist Lou Turner, Howard's student revolt epitomized the layered nuances of the origins of the formal Black Studies Movement:

1968 was the high point of the Howard University Student Movement, Nathan Hare was fired, which became significant as the students went on strike during the winter/spring semester the strike was over the teaching of Black Studies at a Black university and that was what we were protesting, and we went on strike we occupied the school's administration building, somebody ended up burning down the ROTC Building, remember the Viet Nam War was going on and some folks burned down the fire engine that came to put them out. We essentially, created kinda like the Mississippi Freedom Schools we created an alternative education system. While school was cut officially were out we had conferences, workshops, we had study groups all through the semester and teaching each other what we wanted to learn Black Studies so

⁹¹ Afram Associates. Black Power Conference Reports. Congress of African Peoples. (1969). 5.

⁹² Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton. *Black Power. The Politics of Liberation* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1967), 173.

in a certain sense at least at Howard the alternative curriculum and pedagogy that we created in response to our striking our formal classes was our re-creation of a Black Studies program. In terms of the Howard student movement that was significant for what it had accomplished changing the course of not just Black student politics but Black pedagogy with what I think was an embryonic form of Black Studies.⁹³

Exploring Howard University's student revolt forces an investigation of why Black students felt the necessity to halt the daily operations of the institution to secure culturally relevant pedagogy at one of the premier Historically Black Colleges. Surprisingly, similar to Traditionally White Institutions, students at Howard did not find Black ideologies of Black consciousness in curriculum design or classroom instructions. Although this sentiment concerning Black representation in classroom instruction seems ironic parallel thoughts emerge at other HBCU's.

Officially, the first formal Black Studies program in higher education began under intense struggle at San Francisco State University in 1969 under the leadership of Sociologist Dr. Nathan Hare who explained,

The BSU (Black Student Union) slogan at San Francisco State was bring the campus to the community and wed and unite the campus and the street bringing the campus to the community and the community to the college that was our motto. We were going to have things in the community and bring them there to see our program and to make them conscious. Black Power and Black studies you gotta bring it to the people use Black studies to teach the people take it out there you gotta make it mobile you gotta take it somewhere where you taking it to? Take it to the people and to the community. Collecting knowledge to spread it if you don't collect it you got nothing to spread but if you don't spread it you're just collecting that's why I called Black Studies a museum that offended and pissed off others in Black Studies. By 1968, I was calling it the museum approach to Black Studies. Stokely Carmichael spoke to my students, the Black students on the eve of the

⁹³ Lou Turner, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 26, 2017.

strike (San Francisco State 1969) he said it's not the content of the course that counts but what you do with it, you make it mobile. He said, the ideology determines the methodology for freedom not keeping the status quo of White racism or White supremacy as you call it. It's not what you do it's the way you do it that counts and that's what people don't seem to understand. You can't get bogged down in the past you gotta keep an eye to the future I was saying that back at Howard.⁹⁴

Black Studies remains one of the most officially recognized accomplishments of the BPM. This field of study remains a direct demand by Black students who aborted the notions of Civil Rights and demanded curriculum solely focused on the actual achievements of Blacks in America and beyond. Born from a long history of resistance and rebellion, Black Studies epitomized a reformation movement in higher education. This campaign for education reform focused on addressing then correcting the lack of Black representation in the formal curriculum.⁹⁵ By creating a separate curriculum, Black Studies sought to inject Black consciousness and nationalism into the classroom instruction that emphasized the perspectives of the Black experience from a positive lens.⁹⁶ In a practical sense, Black Studies created an avenue of educational prowess in higher education that culminated in a series of academic degrees (i.e., B.A., M.A., and Ph.D.) that became one pathway that allowed Black students to become professional authors, educators, and scholars.

Black Studies Movement utilized a radical method of instruction that openly rejected the Black deficit and inferiority models of educational instruction. Black Studies infused Black authors, paradigms, and subjects into higher education that included an elevation in Black

⁹⁴ Dr. Nathan Hare, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 1, 2016.

⁹⁵ Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies. How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline.* (Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 25.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 42.

Pride, which trained students to take responsibility as agents of social change via community service.⁹⁷ The Black Studies Movement created Black Student Unions (BSUs) and organizations dedicated to immediately increase the number of Black administrators, faculty, and staff.⁹⁸ In reality, BSUs remains one of the only vestiges of the BPM on college campuses today. The Black Studies Movement represents a constant reminder of the educational intervention and dramatic remapping in higher education that introduced a new line of scholarly socialization for Black and White students.⁹⁹ According to author Professor Hasan Jefferies,

When you think about the lasting legacy of Black Power one of the most lasting institutional legacies is what happens on Black campuses not only bringing more Black faculty but also creating Black Studies programs also, creating Black spaces there is lasting institutional impact of Black students on these campuses whether Black campuses or predominantly White campuses wherever they are they are in the late 1960s early 1970s. I can say for a fact that I wouldn't be teaching at Ohio State if it were not what Black students did 40/50 years earlier on that campus, so their legacy reverberates down through the ages, and if you're a faculty of color you owe more than a tip of a hat you owe your paycheck to the students who were willing to put their education on the line on these campuses for folks to come ten years twenty years down the road.¹⁰⁰

Black Studies asserted a formal model of resistance by translating the culture of higher education curriculum as students read non-canonical Black works, wrote on Black topics, researched the questions of Black interest, and placed a growing Black Nationalism into classroom instruction. The Black Studies Movement took the license to center the increased demand for Black consciousness and joined it with an intense political struggle for education

⁹⁷ Ibram X. Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement. Black Students and the Racial Reconstruction of Higher Education 1965-1972*. (London, UK: Palgrave MacMillian, 2012), 3.

⁹⁸ David Aretha, *The Civil Rights Movement* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2012), 23.

⁹⁹ Rafael Torrubia. *Black Power and the American People. Culture and Identity in the Twentieth Century* (London, UK: IB Taurius and Company, 2016), 4.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. Hasan Jefferies, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 26, 2017.

reform, which forced administrators, faculty, and staff to concede to the importance of a comprehensive understanding that “Black is Beautiful.”¹⁰¹

The fundamental arguments of control of community institutions and armed self-defense found in the ideologies of Black Power provided a sense of strength not seen during the quest for integration during the CRM. Jefferies contends,

You've always had Black folks who were asking for, and one of the goals of Black organizing was community control. To desegregate they're (whites) not going to integrate then we want to control the resources of our education so community control one is educational as an example and it's also who are we going to be our elected officials making decisions that affect our lives on a daily basis we want to be in those decision making positions and the kids who wind up on these campuses during the late 60s early 70s are coming out of those communities and on the one hand they're reflecting what's bubbling up to the surface in those communities it's a more vocal more strident demand for community control, but it's also a sort of feedback loop.¹⁰²

Political Scientist Dr. Michele Deardorff claims,

I'm one of those who thinks the notions of Black Power existed well before the use of the term to justify Black autonomy. I think if we look at the freedom struggle from the very beginning it was the creation of Black autonomy. Black autonomy when it comes to Black economics, Black autonomy when it comes to political rights, Black autonomy when it comes to how you raise your children to how you have a family all of those things and in order to have that kind of autonomy that means you have to be able to make decisions for yourself and your own community which means there has to be political and economic power in possession of the Black community that is independent of the White community. I think when we see that shift to what we know called the Black Power Movement, of course, we're going to see youths on the cusps cause they're the ones who are going to be able to demonstrate that it's possible to speak truth to power and survive and that's going to invigorate entire communities. Non-violence was used mostly as a

¹⁰¹ Rafael Torrubia, *Black Power and the American People. Culture and Identity in the Twentieth Century*, (London, UK: IB Taurius and Company 2016), 4.

¹⁰² Dr. Hasan Jefferies, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 26, 2017.

tactic, particularly, when you're doing sit-ins and direct action picketing, boycotting because then you have a very few small number of African Americans in a closed situation surrounded by a lot of armed whites and for them to go into that situation armed would have been suicide, so non-violence was the tactic but self-defense that wasn't the same thing and so I think I would say they moved to armed resistance but that the need once you get to Civil Rights after '64 then the battle for access becomes one of the courts enforcing the Civil Rights act of '64, so there was no longer a need for sit-ins the same way but then the targets the goals for equality becomes quickly clear are much more political.¹⁰³

In more than a theoretical fashion, the shift from Civil Rights to Black Power allured a generation of Black youths that desired to separate themselves from the fundamental doctrines of the CRM. Backed by the assumptions and possibilities of physical confrontations the advocates of Black Power represented White America's dreaded retribution concerning the atrocities of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Jim Crow, and the continuation of second-class citizenship status for Blacks.¹⁰⁴ An unsettling mood of confrontation crept into American daily life as Blacks gathered a newly acquired fortitude to utilize armed self-defense as a response to White massive resistance to Black Power.¹⁰⁵ Blacks that abetted liberalism and passivity became open targets of public admonishment, which tied to a social consequence of alienation, which provide hope to Blacks and a polarizing uncertainty for a significant population of Whites. A large number of Blacks, particularly Black youths, believed the demands for social and political change rested on their shoulders and Black institutions, when

¹⁰³ Michelle Deardorff, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. June 12, 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Rafael Torrubia, *Black Power and the American People. Culture and Identity in the Twentieth Century*. (London UK: IB Taurius and Company, 2016), 4.

¹⁰⁵ Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton. *Black Power. The Politics of Liberation* (New York, NY; Vintage Books,. 1967), 173.

controlled by Blacks trained in revolutionary theories, possessed the ability to become the central zone for community development.

The deviation from Civil Rights to Black Power mandated a critical identification and definition of the dominant factors that sustain Black oppression. The BPM promoted a continuous reassessment of the process by which to interpret Black oppression and devise potent remedies. The BPM's logic designated White imperialism and liberalism as significant factors of global Black oppression. The role White racism played in the lack of resource distribution in the international Black communities including economic and political power places the masses of Blacks in a position of subordination to avaricious American and European entities, which remained problematic for Blacks. The prediction of decisions through laws based on preserving White superiority leaves Blacks in positions of inferiority.¹⁰⁶ A definition of local problems of White superiority and Black inferiority surfaces in overcrowded and inadequate educational system, dilapidated housing, and voter suppression. The BPM's process by which they fashioned solutions to the factors of Black oppression included the possibility of physical battles and fights. Militant Black community college students from Chicago recognized the hypocrisy of White liberalism in their inability to secure a Black Studies Program until 1969. These students became energized and stimulated by answering the factors of Black oppression with physical confrontations.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Lerone Bennet, Jr. "Confrontation on the Campus." *Ebony Magazine*, 22 no. 10, (1967), 27.

¹⁰⁷ Stokley Carmichael. "Free Huey Rally." Oakland, California. February 17th, 1968.

The BPM kindled an urgency of Black global unification as a means of existence. The BPM placed heavy emphasis upon the connection between Black's global unification and the existence of Blacks in America. A critical examination of World History exposes the genocidal relationship between Blacks and Whites worldwide. Since the earliest conception of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, the assault on Black bodies represent sustained profits for White capitalist barons and their scions. If Blacks in America cannot link their holocausts experience with their brothers and sisters in African, then Blacks across the planet will find themselves doomed to repeat that genocidal experience.¹⁰⁸ This worldview tied to the beliefs of the beliefs of the BPP and the expansion of a Black cultural awareness that captured the attention of Black youths. Representing a clarion call to service in their local communities the BPP's dedication to reformist ideologies and a sincere concern for the conditions and determinants that negatively affected Black progress and unity in America, Africa and beyond enhanced their positions as agents of political and social change.¹⁰⁹

The transition from Civil Rights to Black Power roused a heightened connection to Black culture that ignited the Black Arts Movement (BAM). From a complicated mix of political and cultural activism, the BAM became the stylistic outlet for the BPM that tied the cultural beliefs, expressions, and talents of young Blacks into the current events and social climate of the turbulent 1960s and 1970s at the height of the BAM's popularity.¹¹⁰ Black political thoughts sprouted in the form of revolutionary rhetoric in poetry, song, and dance. Perhaps like no other

¹⁰⁸ Kwame Ture & Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power. The Politics of Liberation* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1967), 11

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 26.

¹¹⁰ James Smethurst, *Black Arts Movement*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 287.

time and venue during the BPM Black women's tales of oppression and marginalization became an undeniable voice in the BAM. An amalgamation of generations of intellect from Black artist immersed the BPM with an activist social liberation, which did not eschew from the need to employ violent means in action and rhetoric to secure the goals of the BPM. BAM became part of the tapestry of Black Power widening the attraction that allured young Black talented activist. On college campuses, pool halls, and street corners across America, the BAM sponsored contentious debates, lectures, and poetry sessions that dealt with the social issues that affected their local communities. Author Mike Snell wrote:

“The Black Arts Movement (BAM) was a radical, Afrocentric cultural movement whose participants sought to transform the political, economic, and cultural conditions of African Americans and oppressed people around the world during a particularly volatile moment in the history of racist imperialism.”¹¹¹

The BPM provided a blueprint of future possibilities. Black Power moved from general discuss for White systematic hegemony to specific ways to combat the overwhelming suppressive circumstances of the masses of Blacks. The BPM openly challenged the ruling systems of American society with defiant calls for Black unity that no longer wanted acceptance into White institutions but demanded the control of their communities. The BPM provided a blueprint of future possibilities by offering standards by which to critically evaluate the circumstances that will suppress the meaningful progress of current and future generations of Blacks. By changing the means and terms of how Blacks looked at and responded to the systems of Black oppression and providing alternative modes of political engagement the BPM

¹¹¹ Mike Sell, “Black Face and The Black Arts Movement.” *The Drama Review: A Journal of Performance Studies*, 1, no. 1, (2013), 143.

gave a sense of hope for a more united and stronger Black community.¹¹² The BPM offered a model of political insurgency, a framework for critically assessing the social factors that caused great civil unrest.¹¹³

In sum, the BPM moved into and affected the Black community by providing standards on how to build from the accomplishments and challenges of the CRM and prior social movements. By highlighting institution-building via the construction of a Black Independent Political Party along with reconstructing and redefining the Black identity a reevaluation of practical outcomes took place. These fundamental principles gave birth to the Black Campus Movement and the Black Studies Movement, which fathered the concept of Black Student Unions. These entities quickly changed the arenas of revolt from courtrooms and street corners to college campuses. The BPM provided courage, hope, and a sense of pride by organizing from the platforms of Black self-determination and self-defense absent from the quest for integration during the CRM. The BPM furnished the need for critical identification and definition of the specific factors that sustain Black oppression that included White Liberalism. Also, Black Power placed the urgency of Black global unification as a means of existence into the daily rhetoric and mindsets of Blacks. Black Power linked the social and political events to the artistic expressions of Black culture known as the Black Arts Movement. The BPM provided

¹¹² Cedric Johnson, *Revolutionaries to Race Leaders. Black Power and the Making of African American Politics*. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xxiii.

¹¹³ Doug Adam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 36.

a global slogan, a myriad of radical organizations and new ways for the Black masses to organize, think, and rebel against the White power structures in America and beyond.

The shift from Civil Rights to Black Power entered into Black community transforming the Black identity from Negro to Black while shifting the goals of the movement from seeking to incorporate into existing White institutions to building Black institutions in the Black community. As Civil Rights transformed to Black Power, it produced the field of Black Studies, which severely complicated the terrain of higher education by forcing a clearer and deeper understanding of the need of culturally relevant pedagogy in the Western-dominated formal curriculum. The transition to from Civil Rights to Black Power abandoned the organization's tactics of the CRM and embraced Black Power's fundamental principles of self-determination and self-defense. In sum, the conversion to Black Power from Civil Rights symbolized a social force that challenged, penetrated, and in some regards dissolved the traditional power dynamic structure in American institutions.

Chapter 3

Higher Education in Chicago's Politics and The Black Community College Campus Movement: Social Movement Engagement with Urban Power Structures

Good politics and good government mean that you are attuned to the social problems, to serving the people in their needs. Mayor Richard J. Daley¹¹⁴

The nature and instrumentality of Chicago politics is key to a critical examination of the intersection between Black community college activism, the Chicago City Colleges (CCC) system, and the authority of the office of the Mayor. To contextualize the City Colleges of Chicago it is necessary to understand their function as municipal service providers. The City Colleges of Chicago comprise a network of several interconnected agencies, which provide a host of services (viz., Housing Authority, Park District, Public Building Commission, Public Schools, and Transit Authority). Unlike elite liberal arts public, state-controlled higher education institutions, or rural community colleges, the control of the City Colleges of Chicago fall directly under the auspices of the mayor who is the leading stakeholder of power and resource distribution. The City Colleges of Chicago's administration governs the daily operations of seven colleges under the legal designation, "Property of the City of Chicago." Thus, the City Colleges of Chicago persists as an interplay between the political control of Chicago municipalities and the larger

¹¹⁴ Peter Yessne, *Quotations From Mayor Daley* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 38.

civic society. More specifically, the City Colleges of Chicago represent the systematic power of calculated patronage under mayoral control.¹¹⁵

The administrative Infrastructure that manages the operations of the Chicago City Colleges mirror that of the other service provider agencies in Chicago, which include a chain of command and hierarchal order. No elections for these elite jobs where the mayor holds the absolute power to appoint each agency's top post and their axillaries. As such, nepotism is a spirited tradition in Chicago politics where the mayor selects loyal subordinates from political acquaintances to hold key positions, which reinforce a political patronage system that serves the interest of the office of the mayor.¹¹⁶ This method is ingrained in each service-provider agency, which strategically positions individuals in the highest levels of administration as stewards of the ruling regime. Hence, securing employment and career advancement ties directly to one's relationship to Chicago's central zone of power, the mayor's office.¹¹⁷

The mayor selects, then appoints the chancellor who serves as chief officer of the City Colleges of Chicago whose employment is contingent on contracts offered by and negotiated through the mayor. The chancellor along with a seven-member board of trustees controls the functioning of the city college system.¹¹⁸ For example, college presidents, vice-presidents, vice-chancellors, deans, and professors represent positions of clout tied to political nepotism.¹¹⁹ No minimum level of formal education nor years of service to the field of education are required to

¹¹⁵ See Appendix A 1.

¹¹⁶ "It's All Relative," *Time Magazine* 118, no. 23 (1981): 36.

¹¹⁷ Edward Shils, "Centre and Periphery," in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 117.

¹¹⁸ City of Chicago, retrieved November 15, 2017, <https://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en.html>.

¹¹⁹ Mike Royko, *Boss. Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York, NY: Plume Publishing, 1976), 205.

hold the position of Chancellor of the City Colleges of Chicago. The relationship between political nepotism under the auspices of Chicago's mayor governs the leadership, direction, and daily rhythm of the City Colleges of Chicago. Traditionally, this political system creates and sustains a status quo that confines a critical mass of Blacks to a second-class existence because they possess limited control over the decision-making process in the major institutions in the Black community.¹²⁰

Decades of discriminatory housing practices forced the majority of Blacks to live in the impoverished areas of the city – the South and West sides. These community areas operated in distinctive fashions. The West Side, known as little Mississippi, represented the path traveled by thousands of Blacks during the second wave of great migrations. West Side youths were more aggressive in their physical interactions with racist white storeowners and police officers compared to Blacks on the South Side. While the attitude of protest dominated South Side youths, both areas saw multiple brutal incidents of police brutality. “Police brutality was the direct cause of the rioting on Chicago’s West Side in the long hot summer of 1966.”¹²¹ For instance, July 10, 1966, known as the fire hydrant riot where Chicago police officers clubbed five black teenagers for opening a fire hydrant on Chicago’s West Side, represented an ongoing battle between Black youths and the Chicago Police Department, which spread to higher education. “In all, 533 citizens were arrested, two black men were killed, and fifty-seven were

¹²⁰ Harold Baron, Harriet Stulman, Richard Rothstein, and Renard Davis, “Black Powerlessness in Chicago,” *Transaction* 6, no. 1 (1968): 27–33.

¹²¹ Tera Agyepong, “In the Belly of the Beast: Black Policeman Combat Police Brutality in Chicago, 1968-1983,” *The Journal of African American History* 98, no. 2 (2013): 255.

injured.”¹²² According to the historian, Dr. Timuel D. Black, West Siders shared a dedication to using physical confrontations as a method to oppose the cruelty of racist white storeowners and police. According to Dr. Timuel Black, this rebellious mindset in concert with aggressive tactics to combat the white racism made the West Side the point of origin of the Black Power Movement in Chicago.¹²³

The cumulative effects of poor education, employment, and housing conditions on the South and West sides peaked by 1968. With the attitude toward the tokenism connected to passage of the unenforced civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965 and the lack of earnest change in resource distribution, the rising expectations of Black working-class youths and their families were amplified in the growing militancy of period. Rising expectations among the Black working and middle classes stemmed from the rhetorical promise of the “American dream” that social improvement in their lot would come with access to fundamental resources like education, housing, jobs and political power. Their continued racial marginalization from these resources, and thus from social improvement, fueled the collective discontent of Black working and middle classes. This collective marginalization fused these disparate classes into what sociologist Oliver Cromwell Cox calls a “political class.”¹²⁴ The “equal opportunities” to ameliorate the racial oppression in the daily lives of Blacks promised by President Johnson’s “Great Society” failed to provide equal protection and opportunities for Blacks compared to

¹²² Ibid., 256

¹²³ Timuel Black, interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. March 17, 2016.

¹²⁴ Oliver C. Cox, *Race, Class, and the World System: The Sociology of Oliver C. Cox* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1987). Also see Anthony Oberschall, “Rising Expectations and Political Turmoil,” *Journal of Development Studies* 6, no. 1 (1969): 5.

whites, widening the economic and political cleavages between Black and whites, causing anxiety and frustration to mount.¹²⁵ This manifested itself in Chicago in the form of social turmoil in high schools and higher education. An atmosphere mixed with anger, apprehension, despair, and hope-filled rising expectations and militancy propelled Black student activists into action.

Historically, Chicago's Black vote steadfastly supported the Republican Party until the mid- 1930s. Unlike other ethnic groups when Black's shifted their allegiance to the Democratic Party, essentially through word of mouth, they formed a Democratic majority and a very powerful voting bloc. The transition of Black voters represented a political realignment and due to their substandard position Blacks could not continue to vote for political administration's that did not provide the material needs for individual and group advancement.¹²⁶ According to author William Grimshaw, "Blacks were incorporated into the new Democratic Party on the basis of their marginal economic standing, in essentially the same way that economically marginal white ethnic voters were brought into the New Deal."¹²⁷ The Black vote became a stronghold for Chicago's Democratic machine, which dominated Chicago politics and resource distribution during the 1960s.

From the outset of the Civil Rights Movement through the advent and rise of the Black Power Movement, Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley controlled the Democratic Party Machine.

¹²⁵ Joseph Fishkin, "The Great Society and the Constitution of Opportunity," *Drake Law Review* 62, no. 4 (2014): 17.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ **Quoted in** William Grimshaw, *Bitter Fruit. Black Politics and the Chicago Machine 1931-1991* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 48.

A political juggernaut, this system prospered due to devotion to the absolute power of Mayor Daley by multiple levels of political appointees and would-be appointees. Daley keenly grasped the victories and fault lines of his predecessors and profited greatly from his proficiency in the power of ethnic interest negotiation. Notably, Daley employed then advanced the fundamental aspects of “Ethnic Politics” from former Chicago iconic Mayor Anton Cermack. Mayor Daley hardened the intersectionality between religion (Catholic), ethnic politics, (Irish) which reinforced a continued second-class citizenship status for Blacks.¹²⁸

The hierarchical imperative embedded in Daley’s philosophy of ethnic politics meant that Chicago’s Black community subsisted at the bottom of the city’s economic, education, housing, political and social strata. For example, in 1968, at the height of the Black Power revolution, there was minimal representation in Chicago’s power structure, or its policy-making apparatus. Author and political adviser Hal Baron explained the extent of Black powerlessness during the emergence of the Black Power Movement, “of the top 10,997 policy-making positions in Chicago and Cook County Negroes occupied only 285—or 2.6 percent.”¹²⁹ This fact, coupled with Daley’s political clout over Black elected officials, left Blacks with a disproportionately deficient ability to participate fully in Chicago’s body politic compared to their white counterparts.

Daley used his authority to create and sustain political power in the Black community by selecting loyal Democratic Party members as officials that best served his needs. Under the

¹²⁸ Len O’Connor, *Clout Mayor Daley and His City* (Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Company, 1975), 308.

¹²⁹ Harold Baron, et al., *op. cit.*, 28.

directives of Mayor Daley, Congressman Dawson, recruited “highly skilled, experienced political practitioners”, labeled “civic-notable elites” from the Black electorate to “assure compliance with organization goals.”¹³⁰ Daley’s prized Black politician, Congressman William “Boss” Dawson, became one of Daley’s most valued officials. Dawson a political figurehead represented one of very few connections for Blacks to municipal resources and services, and more importantly, he became Daley’s gatekeeper of the Black community consistently delivering the Black or “Plantation” vote.¹³¹

Dawson’s style of leadership utilized the fundamental principles from Daley’s ethnic politics methodology as blueprint from the tactics where he personally profited greatly from the numbers racket in the Black community and other underworld activities. Whether a political tactic or sincere concern Dawson used his political influence to acquire patronage jobs for his friends and family, identified and fined slum landlords in the Black community, as well as provided access to recreational activities making him a complex actor in Daley’s political arsenal.¹³² Congressman William Dawson’s political worldview included the ability to appear concerned with the improvement of the daily lives of his constituents while thwarting Black progress by neglecting sincere Black interests. Dawson’s hypocritical actions and political clout over the Black community made him a formidable opponent for politicians who chose to challenge or oppose the wishes of the Daley regime. Due to his loyalty to Daley and political shrewdness Dawson exist as an iconic but nefarious political figure that a critical mass of Black

¹³⁰ **Quoted in** William Grimshaw, *Bitter Fruit. Black Politics and the Chicago Machine 1931-1991* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 69.

¹³¹ Mike Royko, *Boss, Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York, NY: The Penguin Company, 1971), 62.

¹³² *Ibid.*

Chicagoans did not trust because of his willingness to double cross Blacks to curry favor with Daley.

Interestingly, regardless of their fixed inferior social status, lack of decent affordable housing, and the emergence of the Black Power Movement, ironically, Black Chicagoans steadfastly voted Mayor Daley and his political cronies to elected positions.¹³³ These voting patterns remain an anomaly to the Blacks that complied with the Democratic Machine's expectations, essentially, strengthening and solidifying the status quo of white supremacy. According to author William Grimshaw, this voting phenomenon was not as simple as it appeared. A critical portion of Chicago's Black middle and working class did not comply nor support the Daley's Democratic Machine's aspirations. In fact, Chicago's as Daley's administration matured the mayoral elections in 1963 and 1967 revealed the Daley's control of the Black vote declined. The Republican Party did not capitalize on the waning Black support as they consistently ran weak candidates that did not match the political resources nor organization capital of the Democratic Machine. The diverse ethnic composition of the Chicago's Democratic Machine became key to Daley's political control when Republicans and other grassroots organizations challenged his grip on Chicago politics, which included a growing resentment for the Democratic Machine by young Black voters, but a crucial portion of the "Plantation" vote remained loyal to Daley and his machine.¹³⁴

¹³³ Paul Kleppner, *Chicago Divided. The Making of a Black Mayor* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Press, 1995), 66.

¹³⁴ William Grimshaw, *Bitter Fruit. Black Politics and the Chicago Machine 1931-1991* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 125.

In a self-destructive manner, a significant amount of Blacks did not critically analyze Daley's political motives and strategies that left a crucial portion of Blacks as second-class citizens compared to their white counterparts. This critical mistake allowed Daley to offer the most basic municipal services as caveats to secure the Black vote. Daley explained, "As a leader of the Democratic Party of Cook County I pledge to continue a policy based on the principle that good government is good politics and good politics is good government."¹³⁵ In essence, Daley's stance on good government placed Irish Catholic Democrats in a position of superiority while the masses of Blacks existed at the periphery of opportunities, resources, and services.

In contrast to Daley's control of city government, he publicly adhered to and promoted a nonpartisan philosophy concerning public education where he contended that education was above politics.¹³⁶ The position of higher education in Chicago politics meant that the direction of higher education came under mayoral control with collateral linkages to private business interests and the influence of the local labor unions.¹³⁷ His nonpartisan rhetoric about education to the contrary, Daley used his political influence to exert his hegemony over the City Colleges by appointing loyal auxiliaries as City College chancellors, board members, and college presidents. It is the political reality of Daley's administrative hegemony over Chicago's higher

¹³⁵ Peter Yessne, *Quotations From Daley* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 36.

¹³⁶ Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line. The Broken Promise of The Civil Rights Movement in Chicago* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 73.

¹³⁷ Jim Carl, "Good Politics is Good Government: The Troubling History of Mayoral Control of the Public Schools in Twentieth-Century Chicago," *American Journal of Education* 115, no. 2 (2009): 305–336.

education landscape that makes a critical analysis of Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement within the context of the Chicago politics necessary.

Considering the layered nuances of the politics in Chicago, specifically in 1968, and the convergence between higher education and student activism, specifically, Black community college student activism and protest, the response to campus unrest by Mayor Daley becomes a compelling point to examine. Daley's astute skill to allegedly entertain and concede to the wants of various ethnic populations, particularly Blacks, reveal his theoretical perspective on how he planned to respond to the demands of the Black Power Movement. The origin and rise of the Black Community College Campus Movement lies in the economic, political, and social conditions and determinants in 1968, which reveal an apartheid system of education, employment, and housing access that systematically placed Blacks at the lowest rung of the social strata. Taking into account the importance of Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement relative to the Black Power Movement explosion of the late 1960's, it is imperative to investigate the role that high school students played in fashioning educational reform in higher education. The overarching issues of a lack of a quality education and overcrowded schools led high school students to demand equity with their white counterparts.

Black high school students played a significant role in challenging Mayor Daley's control of Chicago Public School's by pointing out and directly addressing the problems of overcrowded Black schools. By 1963, high school students were actively involved with grassroots organizations and teachers in combating the system of segregated Chicago public education.

For example, students organized building takeovers, marches, and walkouts.¹³⁸ In conjunction with Chicago's Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO), Black students organized a highly successful protest coined "Freedom Day" on October 22, 1963, where approximately 225,000 stayed home from school. Black Students marched on City Hall causing disruption to Chicago's business and political districts. This event made Chicago's Woodlawn area, on the Southside, a central region where students organized with Black administrators and staff to demand control of the education institutions in the Black community.¹³⁹ Led by the Woodlawn Organization and Saul Alinsky, and influenced by the educational philosophy of Barbara Sizemore, which emphasized how white supremacy shaped education policy, this organization and the larger community challenged the hegemony on Mayor Daley by demanding control of educational institutions, including Hyde Park High school.¹⁴⁰ For a brief time under the leadership of Sizemore the cultural and human resources in the Black community implemented educational programs that highlighted culturally relevant pedagogy.¹⁴¹ This early manifestation of the Black Power paradigm of community control became a direct challenge to Mayor Daley's control of education, one which flowed into Black Community College Campus Movement's challenge to the City Colleges of Chicago, especially among the student body and organizations at Woodrow Wilson Junior College.

¹³⁸ Dionne Danna, "Something Better for Our Children: Black Organizing in the Chicago Public Schools, 1963—1971" PhD diss., University of Illinois, 2001, Database (accession number), 1.

¹³⁹ Elizabeth Todd-Breland, "Barbara Sizemore and the Politics of Black Educational Achievement and Community Control, 1963–1975," *The Journal of African American History* 100, no. 4 (2015): 636–662.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 637

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 644.

When analyzing the social mentality and mood of a period, to capture its historical resonance, it is vital to look beyond the ideas of the ruling class and thoroughly investigate the environment and circumstances that created and sustained the ruling elite's power structure. A critical examination of the aims, goals, and outcomes of student success in the City Colleges of Chicago during the late 1960s requires an analysis of perceived and practical differences between Black and white community college students. Sociologically, Black and White community college students represent working-class populations compared to university students at the time. Meritocracy is the reigning rhetoric of social advancements for both populations by way of access to higher education as the means to improve the opportunity structures of their daily lives. The foundation of meritocracy incorporates the working-class ethos of hard work, sacrifice, and fortitude, which in turn mandates access to institutions of higher education to facilitate social mobility.

The ideology of meritocracy promotes the belief in equity of opportunity as the driving force in the social mobility of working class individuals and groups seeking to explore self-improvement through self-determination and formal education as the necessary provision to gain access to middle class status and resources. There, however, exists differences between Black and White community college student's ideological perspectives and expected outcomes regarding formal education. The cleavage between Black and White student success rates emerge and expand after course or certificate completion. For White students, the advantages of attending community colleges (i.e., completing a certificate program or transferring to a four-year institution) functions as a channel to their rite of entry into a white controlled

apprentice programs or to institutions of higher education where the graduation rate of White students surpasses that of Black students. For Black students, this distinction produces an illusionary set of common conceptions regarding the potential and purpose of formal education. For example, Black students who earn the same training certificate as their white counterparts who successfully enter into the apprentice programs, which lead to securing employment through historically White unions, reveal systematic barriers for Black students.¹⁴²

The rhetoric of equality of opportunity in higher education lessens the appearance of the racial differences in the systems of meritocracy. In reality, these differences have their origin in the inequitable distribution resources, namely economic, political, and social. The meritocratic rhetoric of equal opportunity in higher education fails to address these disparities, which eventually become the conditions and determinants that fuel Black protest and rebellion during the Black Power Movement and beyond. The ideology and temperament of the Black Power Movement equipped radical Black students with an attitude of commitment towards the control over community institutions, which transformed the most radical student organizations into leaders of the Black Power Movement.

Sociologist Karl Mannheim's theory of situationally transcendent ideas provides a lens by which to evaluate the Black Community College Campus Movement. His premise asserts that the key to a comprehensive understanding of social movements lies in how people form and

¹⁴² Michele Hoyman and Lamon Stallworth, "Participation in Local Unions: A Comparison of Black and White Members," *ILR Review* 40, no. 3 (1987): 323–335.

interpret their worldview as it relates to their position in the larger society.¹⁴³ Therefore, Black community college students in Chicago 1968, particularly, Woodrow Wilson Junior College's AAHC, clarified their positions as oppressed and Black first, then identifying as students second.¹⁴⁴ These students absorbed the ideas and theories of the Black Power Movement, which held the capacity to transcend their current position in society to a higher understanding of Black consciousness. For example, the AAHC, created a constellation of demands: a separate curriculum for Black students, which emphasized injecting Black authors with militant philosophies into the formal curriculum, demanded the immediate hiring of Black administrators, faculty, and staff, as well as influenced a permanent institutional name change. The demands of the AAHC represented a reassessment of what and who controls the education and political destiny of Blacks Chicagoans in 1968. The AAHC, transformed from individuals seeking social change into a highly effective student organization that demanded educational reform.¹⁴⁵

Lying beneath the surface of the opportunities encompassed in the agenda in higher education remains a distinct separation of practical access to the benefits furnished by the perceived advantages of completing community college programs. The paradigms of diversity and stratification acknowledge an obvious dichotomy in the attraction of formal education

¹⁴³ Karl Mannheim – Ideology & Utopia,” Duke University Sociology Department, accessed November 6, 2017. www.soc.duke.edu/~jmoody77/TheoryNotes/manheim.pdf.

¹⁴⁴ Fredrick Douglass Dixon, “Student Activism on Community College Campuses: Black Lives Mattering Then and now,” accessed June 5, 2017. <https://occr.illinois.edu/our-products/voices-and-viewpoints-detail/current-topics/2017/06/05/student-activism-on-community-college-campuses-black-lives-mattering-then-and-now>.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 3.

between these groups. Diversity represents the perceived connection to the opportunities found in the access to higher education via meritocracy. Conceptually, diversity embodies a horizontal relationship that promotes a working-class ethos of hard work, labor, and sacrifice that connects directly to a reward system. Diversity in higher education represents systematic checkpoints where White students matriculate towards the ultimate goals of graduation while Black students find systematic barriers toward those same goals.

While the paradigm of diversity joins access of opportunity with hard work, the concept of stratification in education embodies a vertical approach, which denotes who receives access to a quality education. Stratification becomes the official custodian that provides the mandated training to secure the material culture of the American middle-class. In a general sense, stratification in education, particularly higher education, represents competition for upward mobility, which provides credentialing that legitimizes the principles of meritocracy.¹⁴⁶ In reality, stratification personifies the systematic promotion of meritocracy to a critical mass of White students while those same tenants of meritocracy do not equate the ability to enter into higher spheres of education and employment for a significant population of Black students. Higher education creates and sustains a tiered system dedicated to the expansion of status quo that defines and maintains class where Whites benefit greatly from meritocracy while the diametrically opposed situation reigns for a bulk of Black students.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Julie R. Posselt and Eric Grodsky, "Graduate Education and Social Stratification," *Annual Review of Sociology* volume 1, no. 1 (2017): 354.

¹⁴⁷ Elise S. Brezis and Joel Heilier, "Social mobility at the Top and the Higher Education System," *European Journal of Political Economy* 52 (2018): 38–39.

As such, the mass of White community college students utilized higher education as a means to enter into, secure, maintain, and expand the trappings of middle class status. In contrast, Black community college students recognized formal education as one of the limited mediums that represent opportunities of entrance into a higher social stratum but with systematic impediments that retard meaningful progress. The City Colleges of Chicago's atmosphere theoretically supported meritocracy for all students but the racist systematic roadblocks kept Blacks in a seat of inferiority. The reality for Black community college students earning a certificate, diploma, or degree did not promote the same tenants of meritocracy compared to their White cohorts in the City Colleges of Chicago. In fact, a crucial portion of white community college students prospered from their acquired skills while Black students remained exiled from the City of Chicago Workforce Development programs. As late as 1967-1968 the intersectionality between race, employment, and the nepotism found that the City Colleges of Chicago continued to incorporate the white working class into the workforce as a right while the masses of Black students found a very limited trajectory of success through those avenues to success.¹⁴⁸

The tension from the duplicity of the practical rewards for White students and the professed advantages of the completing a certificate program or associate's degree with restricted pathways for success strengthened as radical Black students reassessed the

¹⁴⁸ Paul Kleppner, *Chicago Divided. The Making of a Black Mayor* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Press, 1995), 83.

serviceability and value of the curriculum in the City Colleges of Chicago.¹⁴⁹ Militant Black student organizations, particularly Woodrow Wilson's AAHC, began to internalize the fundamental concepts of the Black Power Movement then demanded the inclusion of Black authors into every course taught in the Social Science Department in March 1968.¹⁵⁰ These coordinated actions taken by students represented an expansion of prior student movements' ethos with clear demands that included an increasing role for students to provide input, in fact, control over curriculum and hiring practices. As militant Black community college students organized to demand educational reform under the auspices of Black Power Mayor Daley's response to Black Power exposes his aptitude to cleverly maintain the economic and political domination over the masses of Black Chicagoans.

Chicago's Woodrow Wilson and Crane Colleges became the hubs of Black Community College Campus dissent, activism and protest by 1968.¹⁵¹ As a sign of a heightened sense of Black consciousness militant students dedicated one portion of their efforts to removing the name of White figures from community colleges in the Black community and replacing the previous names with names of Black heroes.¹⁵² Malcolm X became popular at both campuses as a replacement name that represented the new paradigm of Black Power. Crane College students claimed Malcolm X to replace Crane College. The newly hired first Black president, Dr.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 31.

¹⁵⁰ Chancellor Shabat to Wilson College Faculty and Students, *The Wilson College Folder*, August 18, 1968.

¹⁵¹ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 71.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 72-73.

Charles Hurst, agreed with and supported the student's symbolic choice of Malcolm X to represent the institution, the Westside community, and the larger Black Power Movement. President Hurst played a leading role in the institutional name change as he publicly declared his endorsement for the name Malcolm X. Hurst emphasized the need for internal change in the City colleges of Chicago, "There must be a revolution in this country a violent revolution, but hopefully, not the kind of revolution marked by bloodshed and loss of life."¹⁵³ Radical Black students at Crane College appreciated and embraced Dr. Hurst's stance on Black Power, which made him a seemingly suitable fit for the students and an increasingly radical Westside campus community. The name Malcolm X College officially supplanted Crane College in 1969.

While the name Malcolm X epitomized the radical mentality of a critical percentage of Westside community college students the process for renaming Woodrow Wilson Junior College took on a very different tenor than that at Malcolm X College. Although disappointed regarding the inability to utilize Malcolm X, Wilson College's AAHC, agreed and wanted to use Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as a replacement for Woodrow Wilson. Dr. King and Mayor Daley became bitter rivals who fought publicly concerning the conditions and determinants that kept Blacks in low-income housing and overcrowded public schools. King and Daley's contentious relationship played a major role in the renaming of Woodrow Wilson Junior college.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ **Quoted in** Francis Ward, "Name it Malcolm X, Crane Chief Urges," *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 14, 1969.

¹⁵⁴ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 103.

Dr. King and Mayor Daley clashed in 1966 as Dr. King and his organization Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) led Chicago's Freedom Movement, which highlighted and challenged Chicago's housing crisis, which fixed a critical portion of Blacks in Chicago's most impoverished neighborhoods. Dr. King, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, and their wives lived temporarily on 1550 N. Hamlin to call the nation's attention to the poor housing conditions for Blacks that created and sustained Chicago's housing crisis.

Under the theme of "End Slums", Dr. King and the SCLC organized several marches and rallies in white communities that exposed a highly sophisticated urban planning design that amplified Chicago's reputation as the largest segregated city in America. King and the SCLC dedicated their tactics to providing long term structural changes to address the racial subjugation in Chicago's housing ordinances and laws.¹⁵⁵ Daley and King's public conflict festered as Daley's utilized his political control to maneuver Chicago's leading Black clergy and politicians to openly oppose Dr. King's Freedom Movement. In fact, the Chicago Sun-Times July 22 article's headline read, "Chicago Negroes Urge King to Return South."¹⁵⁶ In essence, Daley's allegiance to codify racial segregation along with his political control of Black clergy and politicians created a volatile atmosphere where animus from Blacks and whites towards Dr. King, which made him abandon Chicago and the Freedom Movement.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ "Freedom Movement a Riot Remedy," *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 22, 1966.

¹⁵⁶ "Chicago Negroes Urge King to Return South," *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 22, 1966.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix A 2.

Daley's response to renaming Woodrow Wilson Junior College appeared diametrically opposed to the strategies and techniques used for the institutional name change at Crane College. Publicly, Daley, did not object to the name Malcolm X College for the Westside community but exerted his ability to manipulate Black elected officials to influence the renaming of Woodrow Wilson Junior College. Daley, a devote Irish Catholic, born and raised on Chicago's Southside, became determined to memorialize the assassination of slain presidential hopeful Senator Robert F. Kennedy (RFK), a fellow Irish Catholic, as a sign of admiration, love, and respect. Daley's intimate ties with the Kennedy family surfaced as the name Robert F. Kennedy moved from one of many suggestions to one of the final choices to replace Woodrow Wilson.¹⁵⁸

Mayor Daley took advantage of the emotions associated with the tragic assassination of Sen. RFK to legitimize the naming of a community college in the Black community after a white politician during the Black Power Movement. Certain populations in the Black community tied the social advancements of the Civil Rights Movement to President John F. Kennedy's administration. The tragedy of the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Senator Robert F. Kennedy became a historic chapter in American history worthy of memorialization. The AAHC took the position that the students, specifically, the AAHC would play the most significant role in renaming Wilson. Ultimately, Wilson's AAHC, found the authority of Mayor Daley's desires to inject Robert F. Kennedy into the new name problematic. AAHC member

¹⁵⁸ Peter Negronia, "Chicago City College Board Weighs New Campus Names," *Chicago Tribune*, June 8, 1969.

Leonard Wash believed the hyphenated name Kennedy-King College represented a concession to the wishes of the powerful mayor Daley.¹⁵⁹

The AAHC publicly voiced their discontent for the new institutional name and the new president Maceo Bowie in an article in the student controlled Wilson College Press, titled, *Revolutionary Understanding*. Students viewed President Maceo Bowie as a puppet of the colonizer concerned with carrying out the orders of Mayor Daley. Also, the article forwarded a warning for Black students to avoid the euphoria of thinking that we are free and concentrate on a communitive spirit that unites the masses of Blacks.¹⁶⁰ In a similar article, titled, *Kennedy-King Not One Man's Fault: It's a Family Affair*, students pointed to Woodrow Wilson's anti-Black reputation and his support for the paradigm of separate but equal as proof of his racist ideologies, which did not reflect the new Wilson student body composition. The popularity of the Kennedy family as allies of the Civil Rights Movement as reason to infuse Senator Kennedy's name did not represent radical student's desires.¹⁶¹ Hence, the name Kennedy-King College did not sound like Black Power and did not reflect the attitude of protest found in the AAHC nor Kennedy-King's surrounding community.¹⁶²

A critical examination of the differences between how Daley responded to the Black Community College Campus Movement remains imperative for clarity and depth. Due to the location, militant mindset, repeated physical confrontations with racist police and store

¹⁵⁹ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 104.

¹⁶⁰ "Revolutionary Understanding," The Wilson College Press, September 8, 1969.

¹⁶¹ "Kennedy-King Not One Man's Fault; It's a Family Affair," The Wilson College Press, September 8, 1969.

¹⁶² See Appendix A 3.

owners, Chicago's Westside including Crane College, more so than the Southside and Wilson College, became the most contested space of student protest, and rebellion.¹⁶³ Crane College's location sat less than one mile from the Chicago headquarters for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense making the campus a stronghold for recruiting new members. Also, Daley, looked to the Westside as more riotous than the Southside cohorts giving them a sense of revolutionary superiority over students on the Southside creating a hierarchy in the student movement. Daley used differences in geographical locations, student demands, and potential usage of violent tactics to respond to the Black Community College Campus Movement.

Daley's aimed to destroy all student activism and protest on all City Colleges of Chicago campuses, particularly, the Black student protest. Daley used differences in geographical locations and student demands to respond to the Black Community College Campus Movement. Daley's reply to the student protest manifested in the renaming of two of the seven city colleges, which provided a sense of social progress as students and grassroots organizations took symbolic control of their communities. Additionally, Daley consented to the implementation of Black Studies programs, hiring Black presidents, administrators, faculty, and staff.¹⁶⁴ Further examination of Daley's response to student protest reveals Daley hired an outsider, Dr. Charles Hurst, a Black Power advocate with professional training in linguistic strategies as Malcolm X's first president. Dr. Hurst's rhetorical style inspired and stimulated Westside students and residents to unify under the fundamentals of Black Power.¹⁶⁵ His

¹⁶³ Timuel Black, "Chicago 1968," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, Chicago, March 17, 2016.

¹⁶⁴ "President Bowie Greets Incoming Wilsonites," *The Wilson College Press*, September 8, 1969.

¹⁶⁵ "Crane President Champions His School's Angry Blacks," *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 13, 1969.

commitment to including students in important decisions made a significant number of students comfortable with Hurst as president.

In an opposite manner to Malcolm X, Wilson students, particularly, the AAHC, did not believe that President Bowie represented the fundamental concepts of the Black Power Movement, the student body, or the broader Englewood community.¹⁶⁶ Militant students did not want Bowie as president because of his relationship as Daley's henchman and his willingness to protect racist instructors from student retribution. Seemingly, Daley conceded to the demands of radical Black students but his answer to the Black Power Movement reinforced an apartheid-type education with lasting effects. Kennedy-King and Malcolm X became Chicago's "Black" colleges, isolated in Chicago's most impoverished communities educating and servicing the most at-risk student populations.

The City Colleges of Chicago, remains one of the service providing agencies responsible for providing a quality higher education experience for a diverse student population. Similar to other service providing agencies (housing, transportation, and sanitation) it operated under the total control of the Mayor. Mayor Richard J. Daley exercised an absolute power that controlled the City Colleges during the Black Power Movement in a savvy manner that seemingly compromised to the demands of militant Black students. I contend that Daley's response to the efforts of Wilson College's AAHC and other radical students to control education institutions in the Black community to utilize Black educators, willingly or unconsciously, to strengthen America's status quo of White superiority. Daley's political tactics hardened the colonialization

¹⁶⁶ Dr. Harold Pates, "City Colleges of Chicago," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, Chicago, May 7, 2016.

of Blacks as the tenants of White flight included an economic divestment of Black community leaving a critical mass of working-class Blacks with disproportionately high unemployment rates compared to their White counterparts.¹⁶⁷ The battle for control of higher education institutions in the Black community led to multiple symbolic victories (i.e., Black Studies programs, hiring of Black administrators, faculty and staff, as well as two institutional names changes) for Black students but did not lead to a shift Chicago's power political dynamic. In fact, Daley's response to the demands of the Black Community College Campus Movement set the pace for decades of systematic marginalization of Blacks from access to the rewards associated with meritocracy and higher education.

In sum, for community college students in Chicago, the facilitation of access to a quality education in higher education falls squarely within the authority of the City Colleges of Chicago controlled by the unmitigated authority of the Chicago's mayor. The politics in the City Colleges of Chicago in 1968 disclose Mayor Daley's political shrewdness and savvy, which exposed a complex system of nepotism he used brilliantly as an administrative political strategy to quell the efforts the AAHC and other militant students at a very crucial time in a burgeoning social movement of Black Power. Daley's commitment to the paradigm of ethnic politics remains critical to assess his mastery of race relations management as he controlled the Black community via Black gatekeepers and resource distribution. Daley's approach to race relation management became evident with his response to the demands of the Black Community College Campus Movement. In the court of public opinion, Mayor Daley surrendered two City

¹⁶⁷ Mike Royko, *Boss. Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York, NY: Plume Publishing, 1976), 143.

College campuses to militant Black students in the height of the Black Power Movement. In reality, Mayor Daley's so-called compromise possessed an illusionary sense of accomplishment. His seeming capitulation to allow radical Black students to control the institutions in Black communities ironically reinvigorated patterns of "separate but equal education" in higher education by 1968. Due to Daley's diligence to race relation management Kennedy-King and Malcolm X Colleges became racially isolated institutions within the City Colleges system that serviced Chicago's most at-risk students from its most impoverished areas. Daley's proclivity to use the fundamental principles of the Black Power Movement to perpetuate an apartheid system of education epitomized the complexities of the differences between theories of Black Power and the reality of Mayor Daley's profound political skill and absolute power.

Chapter 4

The History of Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club: The Role of Grassroots Pedagogies in an Emerging Black Consciousness

In a system of oppression and educator is either a revolutionary or an oppressor. Lerone Bennett. ¹⁶⁸

The origin of community colleges represents one of American higher education's most dramatic shifts to its status quo.¹⁶⁹ The inception and overall development of the two-year college holds a significant association with an elitist movement of influential university presidents, particularly, the University of Chicago's President, William Rainey Harper. In theory, he advocated for an increase of access for student populations traditionally excluded from the ranks of higher education.¹⁷⁰ Rainey and other presidents believed the first two years of the college curriculum epitomized a general education, by in larger, an extension of a high school education. Essentially, his ideology labeled and separated the first two years as "Junior College" and the last two years as "Upper" and "Senior College".¹⁷¹ Several critiques accompanied Harper's theory, according to Arthur Cohen, this separation "eliminated all but the truly gifted into the senior division, regulating the lower division to junior colleges."¹⁷² Hence, Harper's

¹⁶⁸ **Quoted in** Janice Hale "De-mythicizing the Education of Black Children." *First World: An International Journal of Black Thought*, vol. 1 no. 1, (1977): 30.

¹⁶⁹ Kevin Dougherty, "The Community College: The Impact, Origin, and Future of a Contradictory Institution." In *ASHE Reader Series on Community Colleges*. Edited by Eboni M. Zamani-Gallaher, Jamie Lester, Debra D. Bragg, and Linda Serra Hagedorn, 4th Edition, Page 59. Boston: Pearson Learning Solutions, 2014.

¹⁷⁰ Arthur Cohen, "The Case for the Community College." In *ASHE Reader Series on Community Colleges*. Edited by Eboni M. Zamani-Gallaher, Jamie Lester, Debra D. Bragg, and Linda Serra Hagedorn, 4th Edition, Page 5. Boston: Pearson Learning Solutions, 2014.

¹⁷¹ Richard Drury, "Community Colleges in America: A Historical Perspective," *Inquiry* Vol. 8. No. 1, (2003), 1-2.

¹⁷² Quoted in, Richard Drury, "Community Colleges in America: A Historical Perspective," *Inquiry* Vol. 8. No. 1, (2003), 1-2.

dedication to a more inclusive and definitive college curriculum remains complex, this intricacy created dissention and eventually led to the creation of America's first private community college Joliet Junior College in 1901.

The advent of Joliet Junior College represented an experiment that included a period of swift and consistent growth. Supported by the stellar reputation of Harper and the University of Chicago in concert with the determination of J. Stanley Brown the state of Illinois played a significant role in the national junior college movement. As a direct result of the creation of Joliet Junior College Chicago joined the national junior college movement with the emergence of Crane College in 1911. As with several junior colleges at that time Crane College developed as an answer to the social conditions of pre-World War I America. Similar to many large industrial areas Chicago faced problems of urbanization and immigration, including poverty, violence, and discrimination.¹⁷³ Junior colleges became a pathway to increase the American workforce and a means to close the gaps of inequality that burdened a critical mass of those labeled the permanent underclass.¹⁷⁴ In comparison to Joliet Junior College, Crane College's development included uncertainty from the protest for teacher autonomy in the classroom and nonpartisan school board by Chicago's militant Teacher's federation.¹⁷⁵ This protest and rebellion by educators reflected a tradition of activism in Chicago set forth by activist such as Jane Adams.

¹⁷³ Kelley Sharkey-O'Malley, "The History of Crane: How Chicago Shaped Its First Junior College." Doctoral Dissertation. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/92842>

¹⁷⁴ Steve Brint & Jerome Karabel, *The Diverted Dream. The Community College and the Promise of Equal opportunity in America, 1900-1985* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 5.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Hardin, "A History of the Community Junior College in Illinois: 1901-1972." Thesis. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 1975,

Crane College flourished to become the nation's largest junior college by 1931. Crane became a victim of The Great Depression and closed in 1933 but reopened with the financial assistance of the Civil Works Educational Service. After the re-birth of Crane College Chicago established a system of junior colleges, The City Colleges of Chicago, that eventually grew to seven individual campuses. During the turbulent 1960s student activism on community college campuses became one pathway that advocated the paradigms of Black Power, particularly, taking control of the education institutions in the Black community. The activism on community college campuses in Chicago paralleled the student activism at other community colleges in America. For example, Oakland's Merritt College students Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale used their positions as student leaders to create the national reformist organization the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. In a similar manner to the Black Panther Party, militant Black community college students from Chicago sought to utilize the principles of Black Power to control the education institutions in the Black community to bring about unity.

It remains necessary to fully understand that the nature of the militant actions of Black college students and Black student organizations of the late 1960s originated as challenges to issues of the extremely biased European/Western canon-focused curriculum found in higher education. Specifically, militant Black community college students from Chicago sought to democratize higher education by making "overt and explicit efforts to change the system" of education by injecting an examination of an accurate depiction of the history of Blacks in the

formal curriculum.¹⁷⁶ Hence, the Black Community College Campus Movement originated as a result of a mounting dissatisfaction in the absence and distortion of Blacks in American historiography. This frustration created an enduring thirst for pathways for Black students to acknowledge and examine scholarly research and rhetoric that connects to the historical reality of the masses of Blacks in America and beyond. No student organization felt the brunt of disdain from the vestiges of the formal curriculum in higher education more than the Negro History Club (NHC) at Woodrow Wilson Junior College in the mid-1960s.¹⁷⁷

Woodrow Wilson Junior College's NHC originated as a student organization in 1965 during a period of change in the social movement of the 1960s in the era of development from Civil Rights to Black Power. Interestingly, this organization started as a by-product of the first Negro History course in the City Colleges of Chicago created and taught by Professor William Gnatz.¹⁷⁸ This fact remains vital to an examination of the social atmosphere in higher education in Chicago during the transition of social movement cycles from the CRM to the BPM. While the first Black Studies program did not emerge until 1969 at San Francisco State University the insurgent mood that gripped a significant portion of Black militant community college students at Wilson College produced one of America's earliest formal Black Studies course. Professor Gnatz became known for his keen historical recollection and uncompromising stance on the importance of culturally responsive pedagogy, which caused him to answer the call of students'

¹⁷⁶ **Quoted in** Clarence Anthony & Judith Stein, *Growing Aware. Case History of an Experiment in Remedial College Work Conducted at the Urban Education Center, City Colleges of Chicago, 1967–1968* (Chicago, IL: Chicago City College Urban Education Center, 2004), 2.

¹⁷⁷ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), p. viii.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

desires to find themselves and the history of Blacks in America in their classroom instruction. Professor Gnatz's revolutionary actions, attitudes, behaviors, and thoughts injected a Black consciousness into Wilson College's formal curriculum and led to the formation of the NHC and later the Afro-American History Club. Hence, with a high degree of certainty, Professor Gnatz's Negro History class morphed into the launching pad for Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement.¹⁷⁹

In a similar manner to several Black student organizations, during 1965 students of the Woodrow Wilson Junior College's NHC began receiving more militant training than the traditional training of the late 1950s and early 1960s. From its inception, Wilson's NHC dedicated its efforts to the revolutionary ideas of demanding a greater African American presence on the Wilson College campus. Thus, the NHC ideologies and endeavors positioned them outside the classical realm of Negro student organizations committed to institutional integration of the CRM.¹⁸⁰ According to author Robert Cruthird, the word Negro and its negative connotations of inferiority did not properly fit the NHC's aims or reputation. In this case, the term Negro constituted a moniker and not the fundamental ideals of the organization. It remains worth mentioning that from its outset, the NHC epitomized a militant student organization that utilized the Wilson campus to create an atmosphere of student activism and protest on multiple fronts.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, iv.

¹⁸¹ Robert Cruthird, "The History of the Afro-American History Club," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. March 26, 2018.

The NHC's choice of a faculty adviser, Dr. Nathaniel Willis, personified a shift in philosophical views from Civil Rights to Black Power. Dr. Willis, a chemistry professor, earned the reputation as a well-versed civil rights veteran and a long-time member of CORE and the NAACP. His worldview provided a radical reassessment of the organizational and theoretical problems of the Civil Rights Movement for students at Wilson College.¹⁸² Dr. Willis used his position as Night Director to open the facilities of Wilson College to the Englewood community linking students with a commitment to serve the broader Black community. Also, he provided access to individuals and groups of activists that believed the tactic of non-violence reached its usefulness.¹⁸³ Under Willis' leadership and training, the NHC became radicalized, which led to their active participation in the politics of public engagement and coalition building with grassroots organizations. Their dedication to education reform connected the student activism on the Wilson campus to the rising Black student movement nationwide.

Dr. Willis' scope of organizational understanding and vision for future generational success became evident as he employed his social capital as an activist to facilitate relationships between local institutions to provide mentoring and training for militant students, mainly students from the Woodrow Wilson College's NHC.¹⁸⁴ At this time, "movement activity" by Black youths including the NHC swept the South and West sides of Chicago.¹⁸⁵ As examples of

¹⁸² Dr. Harold Pates, "From Woodrow Wilson Junior College to Kennedy-King College," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. May 16, 2016.

¹⁸³ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education*. (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), iv.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Cruthird, "The History of the Afro-American History Club," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. March 26, 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

the impact of Dr. Willis' guidance and nurturing, the NHC "removed the vending machines from the cafeteria; put on a Black History Month program; established channels for correspondence with the Wilson administration and Chancellor Shabat; organized protest against teachers and administrators; compiled a reading list for members. Also, club members sought the removal of several professors from the Social Science, Humanities and English Departments."¹⁸⁶ This impressive list of accomplishments secured the NHC's position as agents of educational reform in their communities and beyond. During this time the Wilson College campus became a fugitive space where conflicts between administration, faculty, and the NHC occurred on a consistent basis.

As further evidence of how the radicalism of the NHC intensified during Dr. Willis' tenure students organized and participated in local and national conferences that addressed the condition of Blacks in America and beyond. For example, a contingency from the NHC traveled to participate at the historic Black Power Conference July 20, 1967, in Newark, New Jersey. Known as one of the largest gatherings of Black Power activists and scholars in American history, the conference sought to "establish an unprecedented shift in Blacks' ideas and practices in their non-violent struggle for civil rights."¹⁸⁷ The Black Power Conference organizers went to great lengths to empower a generation of young activists, particularly, college students, which included several plenary sessions that provided explicit strategies and techniques regarding the duties of college students in the Black Power Movement.¹⁸⁸ The

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ **Quoted in** Regina Jennings, *Black Power Conference of Newark, New Jersey. Encyclopedia of Black Studies*, eds. Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama (Newark, NJ: Encyclopedia of Black Studies, 2005), 1.

¹⁸⁸ Afram Associates. *The Black Power Conference Papers* (New York, NY: Afram Associates, 1969), p. 45.

Chairman of the education committee, Sociologist Dr. Nathan Hare, highlighted four areas of concentration in this workshop:

1. Black control of Black education;
2. Black consciousness;
3. Higher education; and
4. Black student and personnel.

Dr. Hare emphasized how each area of specialization worked in concert and required the full attention and commitment of Black students in the quest for Black liberation. His address prompted students to “Develop specific strategies for physically taking over schools and classrooms, disrupting racist slurring whenever the situation demands.”¹⁸⁹ Dr. Hare charged students with the responsibilities of “guiding Black professionals to take responsible stances which are consistent with the aims of the Black community –in that case –Black control over all school personnel.”¹⁹⁰ Dr. Hare’s marching orders inspired militant students including the NHC to reexamine the composition of Black professionals at their institutions and “increase their spirit of revolutionary proficiency.”¹⁹¹

The overall political objectives of the Black Power Conference encouraged students to control all institutions in the Black Community, build a Black political party for political independence, and train future generations of revolutionaries.¹⁹² The thrust of the conference

¹⁸⁹ **Quoted in** Afram Associates. *The Black Power Conference Papers* (New York, NY: Afram Associates, 1969), 10.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 6.

itemized the responsibilities of college students, which included organizing Black Student Unions on college campuses, opposing urban redevelopment, and forcing the colleges in Black communities to make the facilities available for their communities.¹⁹³ The experience from attending the Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey, further radicalized members of NHC and stimulated feelings of rebellion and protest.

Answering the calls from the goals of Black Power Conference, particularly those from Dr. Nathan Hare, Dr. Willis, the members of the NHC, and other organizations that met in Chicago, Baltimore, and Los Angeles for Regional Student Conferences. The Regional Student Conference in Chicago took place at Christ Methodist Church, 6401 S. Sangamon in Chicago's Englewood community very close to Wilson College.¹⁹⁴ The conference produced five overarching goals:

1. To establish a national Black communicative system;
2. To create awareness and provoke activity in the Midwestern states;
3. To develop operational unity among Black students and other city groups;
4. To define and present new, meaningful alternative as to the human cast off the oppression as imposed on the Black oppressed;
5. To establish a strong bond between Black students and the community, to keep the wealth of youthful Black knowledge within the community.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Ibid, 46.

¹⁹⁴ The First Midwestern Regional Conference of the Black Student Alliance (November 23–24, 1967). Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

¹⁹⁵ See Appendix A 4.

Several well-known Black activists, authors, celebrities, and scholars attended and presented at Chicago's Regional Student Conference, including Dick Gregory, Lerone Bennett, Haki Mutabhuti (Don Lee), and Muhammad Ali.¹⁹⁶ Each speaker emphasized the need for students to prepare themselves for leadership roles in the Black Power Movement. Due to the efforts of many, Chicago's Regional Student Conference became a watershed moment in defining and expanding Chicago's Black Community College Movement. In particular, Reverend John Porter, head of Chicago's Christ Methodist Church and personal friend of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. opened his church to host this student conference. Throughout the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, Reverend John Porter's church became ground zero for movement activity in Chicago's Englewood community, including hosting several mass meetings. Reverend Porter, a Morehouse graduate and classmate of Dr. Martin Luther King, became an influential figure in Chicago's Black Community College Movement because his Church rested in Wilson College's immediate vicinity. His intimate relationship with Dr. King led to the Civil Rights leader traveling to Reverend Porter's church to meet with the NHC and other student organizations.¹⁹⁷

Dr. Willis and the NHC supported the sharp position taken by Dr. King in 1966 when he and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) chose Chicago to challenge America's housing crisis. A public battle between Dr. King, the SCLC, and Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley escalated into the origin of the Chicago Freedom Movement, which ended with a political

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ From Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to Rev. John Porter, October 9, 1966.
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-mlk-rev-john-porter#>

victory for Mayor Daley. While Dr. King lost this encounter with Daley, the NHC found a growing resolve to pledge allegiance to the paradigms of the Black Power Movement as a response to Daley's tactics.¹⁹⁸ As an essential but little-known fact, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. traveled to Woodrow Wilson Junior College to support a teacher strike in 1966.¹⁹⁹

Compelling social forces fashioned the aims of the NHC, which symbolized a politically inspired transformation of militant Black students across America from seeking entrance into existing White institutions to demanding control of the institutions in the Black community. The NHC dedicated their efforts to creating educational reform, which accepted new repertoires of resistance, including physical violence. The NHC provided a practical blueprint for future student organizations that placed Black Power paradigms as paramount to educational reform. Hence, the NHC's commitment to education reform made them forerunners of Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement.²⁰⁰

By 1967 a series of events transformed the growing militancy among Black students further. The urban rebellions during the summer of 1967 furnish insight into an escalating trend of Black youths using violent measures in response to police brutality.²⁰¹ "The long hot summer of 1967" remains a crucial event, which solidified the turning point for a significant portion of Black youths, including college students, to use physical confrontations when they encountered

¹⁹⁸ Authur Siddion, "Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

¹⁹⁹ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), v.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁰¹ Thomas Surgue and Andrew Goodman, "Plainfield Burning. Black Rebellion in the Suburban North," *The Journal of Urban History*, vol. 1 no. 1: 253.

brutal and racist police. By this time the NHC responded to their heightened sense of Black consciousness by changing the organization's name.²⁰² The new name, the Afro-American History Club (AAHC), paralleled a critical mass of Black student organizations who separated themselves from the word Negro while adopting the term Afro-American as a link to the African continent.

The negativity associated with the word Negro held connotations and myths that blacks were incapable of liberating themselves.²⁰³ Author Tom Smith asserts, "Negro" was criticized as imposed on Blacks by Whites. As denoting subservience, complacency, and Uncle Tomism.²⁰⁴ According to author Ben L. Martin, "Names can be more than tags; they can convey powerful imagery. So, naming-proposing, imposing, and accepting names-can be a political exercise."²⁰⁵ With conscious intentions of espousing the principles of Black Power, their new name symbolized a natural outgrowth from the humble but ambitious beginnings of the NHC.

Educational Reform at Woodrow Wilson Junior College, and the Rise of the Black Community College Campus Movement played out in public forums as early as January 3, 1967. In an open meeting sanctioned by Wilson College administrators, the AAHC publicly forwarded a detailed written document, titled *The Declaration of Purpose*.²⁰⁶ This which outlined their

²⁰² Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 340.

²⁰³ Generation, Viet Nam, *Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, The Basis of Black Power. The Sixties Project* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1993), 2.

²⁰⁴ Tom Smith, "Changing Racial Labels. From "Colored" to "Negro" To "Black" to "African American," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (1992): 499.

²⁰⁵ Ben L. Martin, "From Negro to Black to African American: The Power of Names and Naming," *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (1991): 83.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix A 5.

demands regarding Wilson College's curriculum to President Charles Monroe.²⁰⁷ At this assembly Wilson and City Colleges of Chicago's administration, faculty, staff, and Englewood community residents heard President Monroe repeat these questions posed by the AAHC: What is the attitude of the faculty towards the AAHC? Why does the curriculum of a college that has such a large percentage of Black students reflect so little of Black problems? Why are there no Black faculty members on the curriculum committee?²⁰⁸ This line of questioning excited a mostly student attended meeting, notably when President Monroe mentioned the absence of White faculty and students.²⁰⁹ As an answer to the AAHC's questions President Monroe scolded Wilson's White faculty for their absence and actively encouraged them to expand their scope of concern and understanding for the desires of Black students. Additionally, he publicly petitioned White administrators, faculty, and staff to investigate pathways to familiarize themselves with the plight of Black students.²¹⁰ After the meeting concluded members of the AAHC reevaluated the problem of receiving a quality education at Woodrow Wilson Junior College then agreed to increase pressure on the Social Sciences department to immediately provide connections and assert Black pride in the formal curriculum.

The AAHC's Declaration of Purpose demanded the immediate inclusion of Black authors and texts into the formal curriculum in Wilson College's Social Science Department.²¹¹ Several

²⁰⁷ President Charles Monroe, Report on the Special Convocation in the Auditorium Wednesday, January 3, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 2.

²¹¹ Chancellor Oscar Shabat to Colleagues, *The Wilson College Folder*, November 18, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

reasons caused the AAHC to target the Social Science department for protest, the most pressing reason centered racist White professors teaching history courses dominated by the Western canon. Students identified three professors with reputations for excluding the accurate history of Blacks in America and beyond from classroom instruction, inconsistent and unfair grading practices, and the lack of respect for alternative views that emphasized Black pride.²¹² The AAHC marked Dr. M. Bruckner, Dr. Noel Johnson, and Dr. Leon Novar as incapable and unwilling to provide a quality education for Black students.

The AAHC's Declaration of Purpose included a "Preamble," which stated their purpose and position as a revolutionary student organization in the "Total Black Revolution."²¹³ The body of the Declaration of Purpose included a sound underlying sentiment that explained the AAHC's worldview, "We the members of the Afro-American History Club are sincerely dedicated to the eradication of the crippling effects of four hundred years of dehumanization, degradation, exploitation, indoctrination, and castration of blackness. Our phase of this eradication campaign is the rehabilitation of Black students."²¹⁴

The AAHC's Declaration of Purpose included four all-embracing goals:

1. Instill within the hearts and minds of Black Students, a keen sense of Black awareness and Black Pride;

²¹² Afro-American History Club to Dean Kalk, *The Wilson College Folder*, January 25, 1967, Kennedy-King College Library.

²¹³ **Quoted in** Afro-American History Club Wilson College. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

2. Enlighten the students of Wilson about the glorious History of the Black People;
3. Motivate Wilson's (and all other) Black Students to overcome the shackles of a second-rate primary and secondary education;
4. Develop the AAHC into a strong and viable club.²¹⁵

The goals and objectives expressed in the AAHC's Magna Carta erased any notions of labeling the AAHC a small group of violent malcontents. In fact, by constructing and requiring a distinct curriculum for Black students, the AAHC embodied a commitment to the Black Power ideology of controlling the education in the Black community. Due to their dedication to educational liberation, the members of the AAHC became proficient in the power of identity politics and community organization. As their practical understanding of educational, political, and social revolution grew, the AAHC's demands for a reevaluation of the usefulness of Wilson's curriculum became paramount as a condition for sharpening their revolutionary actions.²¹⁶

With no administrative activity nor sincere correspondence regarding compliance to the Statement of Purpose demands during February of 1968, the AAHC employed more aggressive tactics that espoused their desires. March 7–8, the AAHC organized “teach-ins” or classroom takeovers of two history courses.²¹⁷ The AAHC removed Dr. Leon Novar and Dr. Noel Johnson's

²¹⁵ Afro-American History Club to Dean Kalk, *The Wilson College Folder*, January 25, 1967, Kennedy-King College Library.

²¹⁶ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 3.

²¹⁷ Chancellor Oscar Shabat to Colleagues, *The Wilson College Folder*, November 18, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library, 2.

history courses and began to teach a prepared lesson plan that emphasized the actual accomplishments of Black Americans.²¹⁸ The classroom takeovers proved hugely successful as the AAHC severely interrupted the daily operations of Wilson College, which sparked interest from students outside the AAHC who became intrigued with the intersectionality of Wilson College, education reform, and Black Power. At this juncture, the AAHC proved their devotion to the beliefs of institutional control, which centered the AAHC as advocates for Black Power.²¹⁹

In a memo dated March 8, 1968, titled *Help Stamp Out Racism*, the AAHC summarized the conditions and determinants that caused the sit-ins.²²⁰ The blatant stagnation from the Social Science department's administrators and faculty to comply with the AAHC's Statement of Purpose prompted the classroom takeovers. Calling the systematic exclusion of Black authors from social science courses a sin the AAHC aspired to correct the transgressions of the department.²²¹ The AAHC provided a sound solution to correct the omissions of the presence of The Blackman, woman, and child in the documents by delivering an extensive reading list of Black authors and scholars for classroom instruction. According to the AAHC centralizing Blacks in American historiography remains mandatory to balance and combat the Western/Euro-centric curriculum at Wilson College.²²² The nature of this correspondence including the language in the memo's title symbolizes the AAHC's answer to the original problem of the student movement: to challenge and reconstruct a hugely biased White-focused curriculum.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ See Appendix A 6.

²²⁰ See Appendix A 7.

²²¹ Afro-American Club to The Students of Wilson Campus. Help Stamp Out Racism!!!!!!!!, March 8, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²²² Ibid.

Their devotion to education reform emerged in ingenious ways as they placed particular demands on Wilson administrators and faculty regarding curriculum development. This memo personifies how the AAHC forced White administrators and faculty to submit to the pillars of the Black Power Movement.

Interestingly, as a direct consequence of the AAHC classroom takeovers Wilson College's administration complied with the AAHC's demands on March 11, 1968. For clarity, this act of rebellion represented an impressive and substantial victory for the AAHC as they procured an official agreement with Dr. William Kosinar, Chairman of the Social Science, approved by Herbert C. Kalk, Dean of Faculty and Instruction.²²³ The agreement required each instructor in the Social Science department to utilize the materials from at least one Black author during the fall semester in 1968. Equally, or if not more impressive, the agreement expanded the AAHC's original scope and "reached the English and Humanities departments," who joined the support of the AAHC's document.²²⁴ Wilson College's Dean of Instruction and Curriculum Dr. Kalk's explanation of the classroom takeovers pointed to the seat of trouble as a breakdown in communication between some Wilson faculty members and the AAHC. Also, he reinforced the faculty's general agreement for the need of an updated curriculum with student input.²²⁵ Finally, the classroom takeovers produced two resolutions that urged administrators and faculty to create and sustain open lines of communication with student organizations with Dr.

²²³ Afro-American History Club to The Students of Wilson Campus, "Teach-Ins of March 7th and 8th," *The Wilson College Folder*, Kennedy-King College Library.

²²⁴ **Quoted in** Chancellor Oscar Shabat to Colleagues, *The Wilson College Folder*, November 18, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library, 2.

²²⁵ Dr. Herbert Kalk to the Students of Wilson College, March 11, 1968, Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

Kalk as the liaison and the establishment of a Student Grievance Committee for avenues to formally address student's concerns.²²⁶ The fact that the AAHC's efforts forced classroom disruptions, which led to documented resolutions from Wilson administrators endure as critical milestones in their fight for education reform. Both victories reaped practical rewards that transformed the power dynamic between the AAHC, the Wilson College campus, and the expansion of the Black Community College Campus Movement.

The curriculum changes put forth by the AAHC's demands generated a "Curriculum Revision" document from the Social Science department, dated March 11, 1968.²²⁷ This amendment included readings demanded by the AAHC and was agreed upon by instructors for the introductory course in Social Science.²²⁸ For instance, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley and *Facing Mount Kenya* by Jomo Kenyatta became the first two works injected into the academic program. The agreed-upon courses for the Social Science 102 course included *Black Power: Power of Liberation* by Charles Hamilton and Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) and *Dark Ghetto* by Kenneth Clark. The Social Science department expressed their willingness to consider additional works by Black authors for future curriculum development but did not include course outlines detailing the use of the agreed-upon books.²²⁹

Directly after the success of the sit-ins, the AAHC sought to expand their plan of action and magnitude of protest in multiple ways. For example, the AAHC strategically positioned its

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ See Appendix A 8.

²²⁸ See Appendix A 9.

²²⁹ Social Science Department to Members of the African American History Club and Herbert C. Kalk, Dean of Faculty and Instruction, March 11, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

members and allies on Wilson College's student newspapers. Militant students wrote articles that scathingly critiqued Wilson College's administration, curriculum, and fellow students' passivity concerning taking control of their education. Specific articles included *The Making of a President*, *Financial Aid in Exile*, *Revolutionary Understanding*, *Black is Bountiful*, *Who Do You Think You Are*, *The Afro Sentiment*, *The Press takes a Stand*, *An Opposing View*, and *Chancellor Shabat Meets with Afro Club*. This line of reporting became popular with a critical mass of Wilson College students provoking a growing bravado that increased the AAHC's influence regarding education reform. The reaction of Wilson College administrators to the classroom takeovers seemed to provide a medium for communications between the AAHC and the administration that sought to formally probe into the reasons for the protest by creating Student grievance Committee.²³⁰

By choosing to engage in educational reform through activism, protest, and rebellion, the AAHC exemplified a drastic change in philosophies of a critical mass of Black college students in America. It remains imperative to recall the AAHC's origin, the NHC, as a militant student organization, which learned the power of community development via working in concert with a diverse selection of grassroots organizations. The AAHC furthered the principles of the NHC by expanding its roster of allies in the fight for Black liberation.

As an example of the AAHC's vision of coalition building, AAHC members utilized their social capital to mesh their struggle with the broader community, specifically, local organizations from the Wilson College community. The marriage of grassroots organizations,

²³⁰ See Appendix A 10.

so-called street gangs, with the AAHC changed the atmosphere at Wilson. For example, on July 22, 1966, Wilson students, including future AAHC students, collaborated with The Almighty Black P. Stone Nation, the Gangster Disciples, and the Chicago Police Department to host a gang truce at Wilson College.²³¹ This meeting helped settle disputes between rival gangs which have been feuding for years.²³² According to Sgt. Neal Wilson, “the gang chieftains asked for additional recreation facilities. In return, they would clean up the Englewood and Woodlawn neighborhoods and aid police in law enforcement.”²³³ Both organizations vowed to provide safe passage for students, which led to coalition building with the AAHC that blossomed by 1968. Jeff Fort and the Blackstone Rangers and Larry Hover and the Gangster Disciples supported the efforts of the AAHC to control Wilson College.²³⁴ This summit made clear that the AAHC took Dr. Hare’s request for control of Black institutions seriously as they (1) expanded their commitment to the Black Power principles of community building and (2) compelled Woodrow Wilson Junior College to open their facilities to the Black community. From this ambitious platform, the AAHC’s definition of educational and social progress expanded into taking a strong position that advocated community-based need programs of Black Power, self-determination, self-sufficiency, and self-defense as pillars for future group survival.²³⁵ These significant victories remain markers of the continued progress toward education reform by the AAHC and the growth of Chicago’s Black Community College Campus Movement.

²³¹ See Appendix A 11.

²³² **Quoted in** Authur Siddion, “Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Joseph Pernel, *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era* (New York, NY: Routledge Publishing, 2006), 252.

By April 1968, Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement, mainly the activism at Wilson College, produced the substantive and noteworthy success of educational reform. At this moment, the tenor of the social movement dramatically changed forever. The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., April 4, 1968, at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee inflamed the nation's toxic race relations, which erupted in riots in over 150 American cities.²³⁶ In the wake of the mourning of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Black communities in Chicago responded in opposite manners. The residents on the Westside responded by rioting, which resulted in millions of dollars of damage to the Black community, while the heart of the Southside Black community, 63rd street remained unharmed due to orders from Jeff Fort and Almighty Black P. Stone Nation.²³⁷ A critical portion of Wilson College students, including the AAHC, found it necessary to memorialize the slain civil rights leader. One way to accomplish this task came in the form of using Dr. Martin Luther King's name to replace the name, Woodrow Wilson. This last fact becomes crucial and requires particular attention as the AAHC continued to pursue educational reform through the politically controlled renaming of Woodrow Wilson Junior College.²³⁸

After the initial wave of reactions to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. the AAHC fomented an abandonment of non-violent paradigms and tactics. While March 1968 brought tremendous change in curriculum development for the AAHC and Wilson College, April

²³⁶ Phyl Garland, "I've Been to the Mountaintop," *Ebony Magazine*, no. 23 no. 7, (1968): 124.

²³⁷ Dr. Timuel Black, "Chicago 1968," Interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon. March 17, 2016.

²³⁸ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education*, (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 97.

provided the hostile reaction to their demands by the Wilson administration and faculty. In the exact manner that caused the March 7–8 classroom takeovers, a few key faculty members became non-responsive to the agreed-upon demands between the AAHC and the Social Science Department. The non-activity of a group of instructors and professors contradicted the documented correspondence of Wilson College’s President Monroe, Dean of Faculty and Instruction Dr. Kalk, and Social Science Chairman Dr. Kosinar, which sharpened student animosity.²³⁹ Ironically, the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the drum major for peace and justice, caused the AAHC and several other militant student organization to lengthen their repertoires of contention to include physical confrontations.

With the AAHC brandishing an educational model of reform that called for a direct application and appreciation of Black authors, ideas, and scholars, the fall semester of 1968 held the potential for meaningful educational change under the auspices of Black Power.²⁴⁰ The transition from the spring semester to the start of the fall semester of 1968 at Woodrow Wilson Junior College included a summer that significantly changed America’s social atmosphere. The assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy on June 5, 1968, in Los Angeles at the Ambassador Hotel and Democratic National Convention in Chicago August 26–29, 1968 served as flash points, which caused a widening of Black Power strategies by Black youths including the AAHC and other militant students at Wilson College.

²³⁹ Dr. Herbert Kalk to Wilson Students. March 11, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁴⁰ Afro-American History Club to Wilson College Students, *The Wilson College Folder*, March 11, 1968. Kennedy-King College Library.

Senator Kennedy's assassination served as a reminder of how the spirit and tactics of non-violence did not represent the aims of the AAHC. The Kennedy family legacy tied directly to Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley's tenure in multiple ways. Daley receives credit for delivering the union vote that ascended John F. Kennedy to the Presidency of the United States, which increased Daley's political power to an iconic status. Also, in a parallel fashion to President Kennedy's run for President Mayor Daley backed Robert F. Kennedy's campaign for president in 1968 with the full support of the powerful Chicago Democratic Machine. Daley's clout and admiration for the fallen Kennedy brothers played a vital role in the renaming of Woodrow Wilson College.

Chicago's Democratic National Convention, August 26–29, became a thunderous clash between old politics and news politics, student protesters, and Chicago's Police Department regarding America's involvement in the Vietnam War. In the ultimate act of power Mayor Daley ordered Chicago police to "shoot to kill" protestors of the Vietnam War in a legal rally in Chicago's Grant Park on August 28th.²⁴¹ As the nation watched televised images of Chicago Police officers strike young activist and students (mainly white protestors) with clubs and shoot tear gas into crowds of youth, Daley's orders became infamously recognized as Police brutality carried out and sanctioned by a highly structured oppressive regime. According to author Frank Kusch, a significant percentage of Chicago police officers enjoyed the opportunity to carry out Mayor Daley's orders and punish those affluent college students.²⁴² According to Robert

²⁴¹ Frank Rusciano, *Chicago Riots Mar the Democratic National Convention* (Amenia, NY: Salem Press Encyclopedia, 2013), 21.

²⁴² Frank Kusch, *Battleground Chicago. The Police and the Democratic National Convention* (Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger, 2004), 160.

Cruthird, the fallout from the events of the summer of 1968 created urban turmoil that “became much too intense for the indifferent, conservative, highly political social structure of the City of Chicago.”²⁴³ The events of the summer of 1968 set the pace for an intense semester of student activism and protest at Woodrow Wilson Junior College, beginning in August 1968.

Before the assassination of Senator Kennedy and the Democratic National Convention, the AAHC in concert with other radical students aimed their efforts for education reform toward Wilson College’s federally funded Work Study Program. On August 1, 1968, the AAHC organized the Work Study Strike Committee, comprised of students from several departments, challenging low wages and the insensitivity of White staff toward Black student workers.²⁴⁴ The committee leveled 11 demands to Wilson College and the City Colleges of Chicago’s administration:

1. A minimum wage of \$2.25 per hour;
 - a. Retroactive paid to revert to Spring-Semester 1968;
 - b. Strike members to be paid for the period of the strike:
2. Five percent (5%) raise in salary per semester effective August 1, 1968;
3. Time and a half for overtime;
4. Basic minimum pay for holidays;
5.
 - a. There should be the same minimum wage for classification;

²⁴³ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 30.

²⁴⁴ Woodrow Wilson Junior College Work Study Strike Committee. Strike. August 1, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

- b. There should be no discrimination of pay according to sex;
- 6. Summer full-time students should be allowed to work a maximum of (40) hours if they choose;
- 7. Students should be allowed to make up lost time during the pay period;
- 8. There must be two weeks' notice before dismissal from Work Study.
- 9. All Work Study jobs should be defined;
- 10. The Work Study officials should confine themselves to their assigned duties;
- 11. No action is to be taken against the strikers.²⁴⁵

The AAHC-led Work Study Strike Committee did not receive any response to their demands from Wilson College nor the larger City College of Chicago administration. This open disregard of student demands led the AAHC to amplify their strategies of education reform. August 6, 1968, the AAHC and other students took control of the college's admission, registration, and counseling offices.²⁴⁶ Students refused to leave until administration met their demands. In a panic, President Monroe "called the police to quash the disturbance but turned them away when students agreed to negotiate."²⁴⁷ The building occupation and strike lasted one day. The students did not secure all their demands but "when it was over, students were increased from \$1.40 to \$1.65 an hour and from \$2 to

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 2.

²⁴⁶ Authur Siddion, "Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

²⁴⁷ **Quoted in** Authur Siddion, "Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

\$2.50 per hour.”²⁴⁸ In reality, the office takeovers by AAHC exposed their dedication to the ideals of Black Power as they successfully disrupted Wilson College’s daily operations for a second time in six-month period. The fact that the aim of this strike demanded and secured an immediate wage increase from the federally funded work study program remains extremely important for historical documentation. To this end, no student organization from Wilson College ever achieved a feat that rendered such immediate results during this time. The organization of the Work Study Strike at Wilson College epitomized the evolving power of student rebellion at Wilson College further legitimizing the AAHC as leaders of the Black Community College Campus Movement.²⁴⁹ Soon after the Work Study strike victory, the AAHC turned their efforts for educational reform back to implementing their reading list for the fall semester of 1968.²⁵⁰

By the beginning of the fall semester of 1968, the Woodrow Wilson Junior College’s Afro-American History Club (AAHC) reexamined their position as leaders of the Black Community College Campus Movement and elevated their organizational strategies and tactics. Seizing the momentum from multiple significant victories from the spring semester of 1968 the AAHC addressed their perceived fault lines to position themselves to act from a greater seat of collective power.²⁵¹ Due to the apparent slight from specific professors regarding compliance with their Statement of Purpose, the AAHC abandoned any

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ See Appendix A 12.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Robert Cruthird, “The History of the Afro-American History Club,” interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, March 26, 2018.

expectations of cooperation from individual professors by September 1968. The AAHC believed the professors from the Social Science Department needed to honor the agreement to add black authors to the curriculum immediately.

At a campus meeting with the AAHC in September 1968, Chancellor Shabat and President Monroe listened to AAHC members reiterate the need for all professors to comply with the AAHC and Social Science Departments' agreement. Two full-time history professors, Dr. Noel Johnson and Dr. Leon Novar, did not add Black authors or readings to their syllabi. On several occasions, students complained about Novar and Johnson's inconsistent grading practices and the omission of the history of Blacks in their classroom instruction.²⁵² This meeting aroused the curiosity of many, including hundreds of Wilson College students, where a simmering of malcontent swelled and began to dictate the mood of this meeting and the campus.²⁵³ The plausible deniability of professors forwarding an education taught solely from Western canon to Black students no longer went without a public challenge.²⁵⁴

On September 25, 1968, the AAHC moved to hold Dr. Johnson, Dr. Novar, and the Social Science department accountable to their agreement by demanding course outlines that included Black authors and proposed weekly reading assignments by all professors. The AAHC's style of rhetoric furthered their practical techniques of rebellion by pointing out

²⁵² Chancellor Oscar Shabat to Colleagues, *The Wilson College Folder*, November 18, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library, 2.

²⁵³ Members of the AAHC to Members of the Student Body, Members of the Faculty, President Monroe, and Dean Herbert Kalk. September 25, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

racist professors as “recalcitrant instructors,” “perpetrating the indoctrination of students in a ‘white only’ sociological perspective.”²⁵⁵ This correspondence included the AAHC’s plans to intercede on behalf of “receiving a quality education.” More specifically, Dr. Johnson and Dr. Novar’s classrooms became the targets for future movement activity.²⁵⁶ Adding to the complexity of this situation, Johnson and Novar held positions of tenured professors who appeared to have the support of key White administrators and faculty, including Chancellor Oscar Shabat.

As a result of the continued violation of the AAHC’s *Statement of Purpose* with the English, Humanities, and Social Science Departments, AAHC members entered a request to secure a completed list of readings from Black authors from instructors and professors on September 25, 1968.²⁵⁷ For the convenience of each professor, this request included an information sheet for the professors’ responses and, more importantly, this request contained a deadline for completion of September 30, 1968.²⁵⁸ In a memo dated October 2, 1968, the AAHC members continued to pressure the English, Humanities, and Social Science Departments by issuing a second request for instructors and professors to submit a list of Black-authored texts.²⁵⁹ This line of detailed correspondence by the AAHC to non-responsive faculty members, which included clear desired outcomes, represents the

²⁵⁵ Members of the AAHC to Members of the Student Body, Members of the Faculty, President Monroe and Dean Herbert Kalk. September 25, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers. Section 6, Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ See Appendix A 13.

²⁵⁸ Herbert C. Kalk to Chairman and Faculty Members of English, Social Science and Humanities Departments, “Use of Books by Black Authors,” *The Wilson College Folder*, September 25, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

²⁵⁹ Herbert C. Kalk to All Faculty Members, “Tell it Like it Was, Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson,” *Wilson College Folder*, November 20, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

organizational and political savvy of the AAHC taken from the tenants of the Black Power Movement. The continual efforts of the AAHC for education reform exposed non-compliant professors as insensitive to the desires of students to actively participate in curriculum development.

As a direct consequence of the non-responsiveness of certain Wilson College faculty members, AAHC members filed an official complaint with the Student Problems Committee on October 21, 1968.²⁶⁰ Due to the complaint the Chairman of the Student Problems Committee, Larry Nash, requested that all instructors and professors submit a list of titles of texts by Black authors used in their classroom instruction to Student Problems Committee member, Mr. Hayashida, by Tuesday, October 22, 1968, in the hope of rectifying this matter at the Student Problems Committee meeting, October 23, 1968.²⁶¹ Mr. Nash's initial request yielded approximately 50% compliance of faculty members.²⁶² According to Dr. Kalk, "The Light response to the request was apparently a result of the objections of certain faculty members in filling out such a form."²⁶³ In the opposite manner to Dr. Kalk's comments, AAHC members found that certain professors filed a complaint with Chancellor Shabat explaining how they felt forced to use Black authors and texts.²⁶⁴ As no surprise to the AAHC, Chancellor Shabat validated Johnson and Novar's non-conformity with a hands-off approach to correcting the situation.

²⁶⁰ Larry Nash to Woodrow Wilson Junior College, *Wilson College Folder*, Kennedy-King College Library.

²⁶¹ See Appendix A 14.

²⁶² Herbert C. Kalk to All Faculty Members, "Tell it Like it Was, Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson," *Wilson College Folder*, November 20, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library. 1.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 2.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*.

Dr. Novar submitted his first completed book list for the Social Science 102 course to The Student Problems Committee on October 22, 1968. He explained how his syllabus and reading list for his Social Science class was agreed upon by the AAHC, "However, for History 112, I have made no agreement."²⁶⁵ Dr. Kalk called Novar's reply puzzling and unsatisfactory.²⁶⁶ In correspondence dated October 23, 1968, Dr. Kalk requested Dr. Novar to forward a book list for his History 102 course by Friday, October 25, 1968.²⁶⁷ Dr. Novar asked Dr. Kalk why he needed this information and if someone else had requested it.²⁶⁸ Dr. Kalk reminded Dr. Novar of the hierarchal chain of command at Wilson College and how his authority as Dean of Instruction and Faculty gave him the power to determine the use of his book list.²⁶⁹ During a brief meeting between Kalk and Novar, Novar charged Kalk with employing formal bureaucracy regarding this reading list.²⁷⁰ At the conclusion of the meeting, Dr. Novar admitted using only one book for the entire semester, *The American Nation*, by John Garraty. Novar's justification centered on the price of the text, 11.00 dollars, as the problem and he refused to force additional fees on students.²⁷¹ Dr. Kalk challenged Dr. Novar to allow his students to decide. Finally, Dr. Novar's defense for the lack of Black authors in History 112 remained that all students received a bibliography with Black authors to complete a book report assignment.²⁷² According to Dr. Kalk, this meeting

²⁶⁵ **Quoted in** Herbert C. Kalk to All Faculty Members, "Tell it Like It Was, Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson," *Wilson College Folder*, November 20, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library, 3.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ See Appendix A 15.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

became the final conversation with Novar regarding his use of books by Black authors.²⁷³

Novar's ability to withdraw from the original agreement without repercussion along with Dr. Kalk's incapacity to secure Novar's compliance to the Statement of Purpose heightened a volatile situation, which inspired the AAHC to target Novar's courses for protest.

In a contradictory fashion to Dr. Novar actions, Dr. Johnson contends she did not know of the AAHC's Statement of Purpose. According to Dr. Kalk, Johnson's sentiments do not bare the truth. In fact, Dr. Johnson received four official notices and an additional handwritten note from Dr. Kalk.²⁷⁴ He saw Dr. Johnson in passing and questioned her regarding the submission of her reading list; Johnson asked if Novar had signed. Finding out he had not, she replied, "I'm not signing either."²⁷⁵ On the heels of this encounter, Dr. Johnson provided her History 111 course with a bibliography with Black authors and promised to create a lesson from the list. Dr. Johnson never sent a book list to the AAHC, the Student Problems Committee, nor Dr. Kalk.²⁷⁶ The actions, attitudes, and behaviors of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Novar seemingly went without reciprocity.²⁷⁷ The tension between Johnson, Novar, and the AAHC exploded as the fall semester moved towards final exams.

Two separate history courses taught by Dr. Leon Novar and Mrs. Noel Johnson created the most student interest. A popular student-directed publication, *The Wilson College Press* newspaper, exposed this crisis and further fueled a movement to remove

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ **Quoted in** Herbert C. Kalk to All Faculty Members, "Tell it Like it Was, Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson," *Wilson College Folder*, November 20, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library, 5.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 6.

²⁷⁷ See Appendix A 15.

Novar and Johnson. “In particular, we are concerned that Black people be accurately and adequately represented in the History 111 and 112 courses because one cannot divide U.S. History. It is imperative that educators be non-biased in the classroom, otherwise, education is reduced to indoctrination and brainwashing.”²⁷⁸ The collaboration of the AAHC’s organizational tactics and rhetorical capabilities kept the pressure on Novar and Johnson to comply with the educational agreement. For instance, the AAHC’s raw militancy exposed Novar and Johnson as contentious objectors to the AAHC’s Statement of Purpose. As the AAHC’s action and rhetoric became more direct, a small group of Black faculty publicly supported their efforts for education reform.²⁷⁹

The AAHC’s tenacity sparked a small group of Black faculty members to create a statement of support, which caused animosity between Black and White faculty and administrators. “We, the concerned Black Faculty of Wilson Campus, wish it known that we are committed to revolutionary changes in instruction, curricula, student participation, administrative policy and community involvement. We are committed to quality education that is relevant to the Black population of this community.”²⁸⁰ Two Black faculty members, Eloys L. Goon and Dr. James E. Moore, created, circulated, and signed the statement of support for the AAHC.²⁸¹ The public support by Black faculty increased the campus and community popularity

²⁷⁸ Authur Siddion, “Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

²⁷⁹ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 335.

²⁸⁰ Concerned Black Faculty to Wilson Faculty, *The Wilson College Folder*, January 1969, Kennedy-King College Library.

²⁸¹ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 112.

of the AAHC, which caused a groundswell amongst the Wilson College Black student body in their goals to uncover Novar and Johnson's duplicity.

Dr. Novar publicly deflected the AAHC's demands and did not feel compelled to honor the agreement between faculty and students and therefore would not use Black texts in his U.S. History classes.²⁸² While Dr. Johnson did not publicly refuse to use Black authors in her courses, she created a booklist with a few Black authors but only after months of non-compliance, refusal, and vagueness of responsibility.²⁸³ The AAHC acknowledged the empty promises of Novar and Johnson as a sign of blatant disrespect and moved from rhetoric to action. The new rules of engagement entailed the threat of physical confrontations. Dedicated to a style of social justice that accepted violence as appropriate tactics to secure their desired outcomes, the AAHC reverted to their blueprint from the highly successful classroom takeovers from March 7–8. The results of the first wave of classroom takeovers provided a baseline of success, which AAHC members revisited and reassessed for organizational efficiency. They then moved on to utilize classroom takeovers a second time.

Once again, the fear of organized and infuriated students tied to possible physical confrontation and bloodshed became more than a probability; in fact, it became reality. Beginning November 9, 1968, Black Power emerged at Wilson for the second time. The AAHC and several students moved to take over Novar and Johnson's History 111 and History 112 courses, respectively.²⁸⁴ The AAHC members told Johnson and Novar "that they would not be

²⁸² Chris Stovall, "Afro-Americans Demand Transfer of 2 Teachers," *Wilson College Press*, December 1968, 1.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

permitted to continue mis-instructing the students at Wilson.”²⁸⁵ The club members used the terms indoctrination and brainwashing when describing the instructional techniques of Johnson and Novar.²⁸⁶ In both classroom takeovers, members from the AAHC assumed the role of instructor and co-taught from a prepared lesson plan. AAHC members returned Monday, November 11, 1968, to Johnson and Novar’s classrooms for the third round of classroom takeovers and continued to teach. Novar explained that the class disruptions clashed with his preparation for mid-term exams and if the AAHC did not allow him to keep the regular classroom instruction he planned to fail all students in that class.²⁸⁷ Novar’s response to the classroom takeovers furnishes insight into his proclivity to prioritize his concerns over the desires of Black students.²⁸⁸

For the AAHC, the shock and awe factor of classroom takeovers paid immediate benefits for their cause to secure education reform. Dr. Novar called the police seeking to remove the AAHC, but President Monroe did not allow the police to intervene, which caused students to become interested in the classroom occupation. Several students left their assigned classroom to join the takeover while other students watched in amazement. President Monroe attempted to appeal to the students not involved in the classroom takeovers by asking students to return to their usual routine and let administration take the lead in resolving the situation, to no avail. In more than a theoretical sense, the AAHC disrupted the daily classroom operations of Wilson

²⁸⁵ **Quoted in** Chris Stovall, “Afro-Americans Demand Transfer of 2 Teachers,” *Wilson College Press*, December 1968, 1.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ See Appendix A 16.

as club members interrupted the continuity of mid-term preparation. The AAHC raised their tactics from the previous protest by returning on the next scheduled class day to stop the flow of courses, which in many ways brought the institution to its knees.²⁸⁹ President Monroe's futile attempt to restore order amplified the AAHC's prominence as education liberators and caused Wilson College administrators, faculty, and staff members to question his ability to lead the institution efficiently.

The November classroom takeovers represent the pillars of Black power and student activism in the most practical form, as militant students took control of their educational destinies through aggressive measures. A critical mass of Wilson College students backed the invasion or went along for fear of being ostracized and labeled sellouts. Prompted by the actions of Dean Kalk, an opposite reaction to the teach-ins emerged. In opposition to his original stance supporting the AAHC, the Dean of Instruction Herbert C. Kalk became an ally and open supporter of both Johnson and Novar. Dr. Kalk's response to the classroom takeovers provided clarity on his stance about student activism at Wilson College. "The invasion of Dr. Novar's classes on Monday, November 11, was uncalled for and unfair to Dr. Novar and to his class. I am indeed sorry that the class sessions were disrupted and the students were denied the time for preparation for their mid-term examination."²⁹⁰ The November 1968 sit-ins added to the AAHC's growing record of tangible accomplishments in their endeavor to create and sustain education reform.

²⁸⁹ Herbert C. Kalk to the AAHC, *The Wilson College Folder*, November 12, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

²⁹⁰ Herbert C. Kalk to the AAHC and Members of Dr. Novar's Classes, *The Wilson College Folder*, November 12, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

After the November classroom takeovers, student dissatisfaction continued to grow, and the social intercourse between the administration and the AAHC worsened. Novar and Johnson denied culpability for their non-compliance. On November 19, 1968, in a Chicago Sun-Times article, Novar and Johnson placed the blame on Kalk and the Wilson administration, using the term “administrative incompetence” to describe Mr. Kalk’s attitude. Also, in total contradiction to their signing of the AAHC’s Statement of Purpose, Novar and Johnson declared they were unaware of the agreement. The multifaceted approach of the AAHC to sift efficiently through administrative bureaucracy and artificial glibness enhanced the argument concerning their ability to effectively thwart White supremacist education.

Prompted by the November classroom takeovers, the Wilson Faculty Council (WFC) called an emergency meeting on Wednesday, November 13, 1968, to address the alleged violation of the AAHC Statement of Purpose agreement.²⁹¹ The WFC listened to Dr. Johnson and Novar and the AAHC separately and moved to reconvene on Thursday, November 14, 1968. During the November 14 meeting, faculty members and the Chicago City Colleges Union Committee heard a presentation by Dr. Novar and met with the leadership of the AAHC.²⁹² The meeting lasted until 6:00 p.m., when the WFC adjourned to consider all statements. Friday, November 15, the WFC decided to present its findings on Monday, November 18. The WFC findings presented two propositions: (1) “The central concern of the teacher must be the education of the student” and (2) “The City College campus should be responsive to the needs

²⁹¹ Michelle Meredith, “Wilson Faculty Council Meeting,” November 13, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁹² Ibid.

of the sensitivities of the community within which the college is located.”²⁹³ In sum, the WFC recommended that the faculty increase their sensitivity to the desires of the AAHC and the broader community surrounding Woodrow Wilson Junior College. Lastly, the WFC recognized future demonstrations by students, as the faculty did not adequately meet the needs of the students.²⁹⁴ The Wilson Faculty Committee’s conclusions represented the AAHC’s most significant formal victory as they successfully challenged the power structure at Wilson College and the more extensive City College of Chicago system, and prevailed.²⁹⁵

The AAHC’s achievements rendered unprecedented results. In separate documents addressed to Chancellor Shabat and President Monroe, Dr. Johnson and Novar submitted their resignations:

Because of student dissatisfaction and distrust in my instruction, further, because of my being at odds with the agreement reached by the Social Science Department and the Afro-American History Club relative to the inclusion of Black texts into my courses, I don’t feel that I can continue in my present position as instructor of history and Social Science at this college. Therefore, I, Leon Novar, hereby tender my resignation to become effective immediately.²⁹⁶

Dr. Novar’s abrupt resignation stunned the Wilson College community. Interestingly, on the same date and time, Dr. Johnson submitted her resignation using the exact words from Novar’s resignation letter.²⁹⁷ While the AAHC continued to reach new heights in the quest for educational reform the Wilson College administration specifically, President Monroe began to

²⁹³ Wilson Faculty Council to the AAHC and the Wilson Campus. *The Wilson College Folder*, November 19, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

²⁹⁵ See Appendix A 17.

²⁹⁶ **Quoted in** Dr. Leon Novar to Chancellor Shabat and President Monroe and Dean Kalk Registration, November 13, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁹⁷ Dr. Noel Johnson to Chancellor Shabat, President Monroe and Dean Kalk, November 13, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

increase his support of Johnson and Novar. With the administrative assistance of Monroe, both professors rescinded their resignations and filed petitions to transfer to a different City College of Chicago campus immediately. In a personal telegram dated November 16, 1968, President Monroe provided an avenue for Johnson and Novar to transfer, which defied the City Colleges of Chicago's Involuntary Transfer Policy.²⁹⁸ This policy forbids the removal or termination of professors in the middle of the semester "with the exception of incompetence or immorality."²⁹⁹ This policy's original intent sought to support and protect professors as well as ensure classroom continuity. Ironically, Dr. Monroe created and implemented this policy.³⁰⁰ Monroe's attempt to circumvent a policy he created proved the extreme levels of hypocrisy at Wilson College, which caught the attention of the Cook County College Teacher's Union, who threatened to strike if Monroe violated the policy. President Monroe and Chancellor Shabat sought to minimize their roles regarding Novar's and Johnson's illegal transfers, but the continuous communication from the AAHC made their attempts to camouflage the accurate facts futile.

While Johnson and Novar utilized the option provided for by Monroe to pursue pathways to evade City Colleges of Chicago policies, the AAHC maintained their relentless pursuit of educational reform. As late as the eleventh week of the fall semester, club members continued to collaborate with the Student Problems Committee to investigate professors who

²⁹⁸ C.R. Monroe to Dr. L. Novar and N. Johnson, November 16, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

²⁹⁹ "Shabat Backs Transfers in Teachers Feud," November 19, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

³⁰⁰ Norman Swenson, "Cook County College Teachers Union," *Wilson College Folder*, November 26, 1968.

refused to comply with the AAHC's agreement.³⁰¹ For example, the AAHC's curriculum committee discovered two additional professors who did not comply with the original agreement. Dr. Bruckner and Professor Erskin did not identify or use texts by Black authors on their class outline or in their classroom instruction.³⁰² In their display of support for the AAHC's goals, a small segment of the Social Science Department instructors demanded the immediate removal of Dr. Bruckner from Wilson College and the entire City College of Chicago system. They refused to hold class until the remainder of the social science professors supported their request.³⁰³ This form of support further connected the Black faculty members with student activism. Even more, it allowed Black faculty members to reveal the racist nature of their cohorts in the Wilson College ranks. This critical event benefitted both the AAHC members and the concerned Black faculty by strengthening their bond in the quest for education reform under the auspices of Black Power.³⁰⁴

The pending transfer of Novar and Johnson quickly became a highly contested issue, which held implications regarding contractual concerns from the City Colleges of Chicago Teacher's Union. The addition of Bruckner and Erskin to the list of non-compliant professors made the final weeks of the semester a battleground for Black liberation and education reform. After several meetings with the AAHC, union officials, and City College administrators, President Monroe, supported by Chancellor Shabat, defied the Involuntary Transfer Policy and permitted

³⁰¹ Afro-American History Club to Dean of Students, "Use of Black Texts," November 20, 1968. Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1. The Vivian Harsh Collection.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Concerned Faculty and Students. "In Support of the Social Science Department," Leonard Wash Papers Series 6 Box 1, The Vivian Harsh Collection.

³⁰⁴ "Black Students Struggles Stretching Into Fall Semester," *Muhammad Speaks Newspaper*, August 16, 1968.

Johnson and Novar to transfer to mainly White City College campuses. The open nepotism used by Shabat and Monroe to ensure this unlawful decision became a symbol of City College of Chicago's and Mayor Richard J. Daley's response to the AAHC's efforts for education reform and the Black Power Movement. Worsening a combustible situation, President Monroe used the AAHC's connection with grassroots organizations in an attempt to divert attention from his role in the transfer of Johnson and Novar. According to Monroe, "It became evident the AAHC was no longer the spokesman for the students. The Panthers had taken over."³⁰⁵ They were making demands and they were doing the talking with the other students backing them up."³⁰⁶ President Monroe's statements represented an accumulation of thoughts by Wilson College and the City Colleges of Chicago's most potent administrators, including Mayor Richard J. Daley.

After the latest round of classroom takeovers, AAHC members knew they stood at a crossroads, which possessed the proclivity to either liberate or further oppress their educational aspirations.³⁰⁷ In a moment of resolve, a new sense of terror ripened quickly, and the AAHC took full advantage to impose their willpower as a means to claim their educational destiny. The exposure of the systematic deception of key administrators and faculty extended a Black educational awakening as the AAHC dictated the pace of rebellion at Wilson College. The AAHC transformed Woodrow Wilson Junior College from a space dominated by Western

³⁰⁵ Authur Siddion, "Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 3.

education ideologies into the nerve center of education reform, Black consciousness, and Black Power.

The modernity of radical responses associated with of the Black Community College Campus Movement did not provide a readily accessible blueprint for Wilson College administrators to extinguish the mutinous tone set by the AAHC. As the week of final examinations arrived, the AAHC's temperament worsened toward the open contempt and political nepotism associated with Novar and Johnson. At a December 11, 1968, committee meeting on the curriculum, City College of Chicago Chancellor Shabat and Wilson President Monroe gave students an opportunity to address their concerns regarding the removal of Novar and Johnson. This meeting saw the courage of the AAHC reach to its peak as the threat of violence as a repertoire of contention became a reality.

During a joint meeting of the mid-level and basic Curriculum Committees on Wednesday, December 11, 1968, which was attended by several students, one of the students, Billy Brooks, presented a forty-minute speech concerned primarily with the failure of the Basic Education Program. Towards the end of the statement, he became emotional and in a brief exchange of dialogue slapped me on the side of my face.³⁰⁸

The media's account of this incident referred to Mr. Brooks as both an AAHC and Black Panther Party looking to push the Black Panther agenda by creating havoc on the Wilson College campus.³⁰⁹ Mr. Billy Brooks described the confrontation with President Monroe,

I walked into their little meeting and voiced my concern and how stupid (the Basic Education Program) it was and the president of the college was in the room, Charles Monroe, and when I disrupted him I offended the president of

³⁰⁸ **Quoted in** Charles Monroe to Administrators, Faculty, and Staff, *The Wilson College Folder*, December, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

³⁰⁹ Authur Siddion, "Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

the student council and she got angry with me and she said Billy you're always interrupting and I gave the president an opportunity to jump up and put his finger in my face and I asked the man very kindly to take his finger out my face and he didn't and the devil made me slap him. Yeah, he removed his fucking finger in a hurry you know but then I was not a member of the Black Panther Party at that point you know then that's when I became a member of the Black Panther Party. Police and the newspaper put me in the Black Panther Party, I was just a shit starter pretty much as I am today.³¹⁰

Mr. Brooks suddenly became a symbol of radical students that sought to adopt violent acts to fulfill their desired goals of educational reform and community control. Later charged, arrested, and expelled for striking President Monroe, Brooks' actions caused a rippling effect at Wilson.³¹¹ Some Woodrow Wilson College students despised Mr. Brooks decision to strike President Monroe in his face as a means as a tactical strategy to challenge the Wilson College power structure while a significant portion of students admired his unwavering tenacity and method of confronting President Monroe. Billy Brooks entered the Basic Education Program meeting as a radical student but left a champion for the cause of education reform, student activism and protest. In the largely untold story of the AAHC's dedication to secure education reform Mr. Brooks and his actions on December 11, 1968 stand as proof of the acceptance of aggressive tactics employed by a significant amount of militant Black college students during the Black Power Movement. Mr. Brooks utilization of physical violence allows a lens by which to

³¹⁰ Billy Brooks. Oral History: Billy Brooks, 1960s Chicago Black Panther. Unknown date. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N9S6aYK3gCo>.

³¹¹ President Monroe to All Wilson Faculty and Staff, *The Wilson College Folder*, December 12, 1968, Kennedy-King College Library.

evaluate the shift from Civil Rights to Black Power and the importance of Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement on the expansion of the Black Power Movement.³¹²

The Remaning of Woodrow Wilson Junior College

The renaming of Woodrow Wilson Junior College became a public topic of contention between the AAHC, the City Colleges of Chicago, and Mayor Richard J. Daley. The warfare surrounding the name change of Woodrow Wilson Junior College challenged the endurance of the AAHC. President Woodrow Wilson's reputation became the driving force in the AAHC seeking to rename the institution. President Wilson's status as a Southern racist led to the AAHC's demand for a name change that genuinely reflected a connection to the student population it serviced, the community bordering Wilson College, and the fundamental principles of Black Power. President Wilson's ideological views are firmly rooted in the tenants of the early twentieth-century Eugenics Movement. Also, President Wilson publicly praised the 1915 cinematic blockbuster *Birth of a Nation*, which revealed his support for the proliferation of leading scholars and research regarding the innate inferiority of Blacks. This film centered on the emancipation of Blacks from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade; their subsequent ascension to elected officials represented the downfall of the American government. In essence, *Birth of a Nation* became a clarion call for the rise of the second wave of expansion of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915. After a private screening in the White House, President Wilson asserted, "it's like history written with lightning. My only regret is that it is all so terribly true."³¹³ Clearly, President

³¹² Authur Siddion, "Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Cauldron Boils Over," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1968.

³¹³ Marc Benbow, "Birth of a Nation Quotation. Woodrow Wilson and "Like Writing History With Lightening.," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9, no. 4 (2010): 509.

Wilson's ideologies and legacy did not represent the aims of the AAHC nor the Black Power Movement; in fact, his legacy reigns as one of America's most violent historical periods for Blacks.

President Wilson's legacy embodies and encompasses several historical epochs that reinforced second-class citizenship for Blacks. For instance, President Wilson's legacy includes America's largest murder trial, known as The Houston Mutiny of 1917, where 156 Black soldiers from the 24th Infantry, the Buffalo Soldiers, were convicted and sentenced to death for murdering White soldiers and civilians. The Houston Mutiny remains the only murder trial in modern American history that sentenced men to death without an automatic appeal. President Wilson's administration did very little to address or pass legislation that addressed The American Lynching Movement known as one of America's most violent social movements.

The AAHC fought assiduously to remove the name of Woodrow Wilson as an expression of their commitment to Black Power. At the May 1968 Illinois Junior College Board meeting, AAHC members Mr. Houston Stevens and Mr. Jackson addressed the removal of the name Woodrow Wilson from the institution.³¹⁴ The AAHC assumed the position that the students, specifically the AAHC, would play the most significant role in renaming Wilson. The AAHC suggested Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as acceptable choices while City College's administration added the names Crispus Attucks and Booker T. Washington, which the AAHC rejected.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ D. Preston, "Illinois Junior College Board Meeting," *The Wilson Folder*, May 7, 1968. Kennedy-King College Library.

³¹⁵ Peter Negrondia, "Chicago City College Board Weighs New Campus Names," *Chicago Tribune*, June 8, 1969.

Restraints concerning the use of Malcolm X surfaced as Crane College on Chicago's Westside swore to use his name to symbolize their devotion to Black Power liberation in higher education.³¹⁶ The AAHC and a small group of Wilson students turned to their second choice, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This name met the AAHC's approval but attracted opposition from influential White City College administrators and powerful politicians who desired a name that recognized the role played by White liberals in the Civil Rights Movement. The AAHC continued to fight to use the name Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to rename Wilson College. Concerned Black faculty members, particularly Nathaniel Willis, James Moore, Eloys Goon, Ronald McBride, and Marvin Goodwin, helped the AAHC-organized members to interrupt Illinois Community College Board meetings and verbalize their wants concerning the institution's name change.³¹⁷

"Chicagoans may soon have to use to some new names like Malcolm X Community College or Kennedy-King Memorial College."³¹⁸ The board used savvy rhetoric and political clout to inject the name of Robert F. Kennedy. "This board is a legal instrument and it must make a decision like this democratically on the basis of what the people want." "We shouldn't act until we're sure what they want."³¹⁹ Ultimately, The AAHC and other students bowed to the political pressure of domineering authority of Mayor Daley and settled on the name Kennedy-King

³¹⁶ Stefan Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 110.

³¹⁷ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 9.

³¹⁸ Peter Negrondia, "Chicago City College Board Weighs New Campus Names," *Chicago Tribune*, June 8, 1969.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

College, which represented assassinated icons Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy.³²⁰

Mr. Bowie became the first Black president in the history of the City colleges as well as Kennedy-King College's first president.³²¹ Mr. Bowie's appointment as President of Kennedy-King College endures as an ironic concession to the AAHC's demands.³²² Considered a puppet of Chancellor Shabat, Mr. Bowie did not sincerely represent the overarching views of the AAHC, the Wilson student body, or a connection to Black consciousness. The permanent name change from WWJC to Kennedy-King College in July 1969 continuously reminds Chicagoans and the world that the AAHC's rigorous student activism and collective resistance to a racist educational curriculum changed the climate in higher education forever. Absent from the current recorded history of the BCM remains the high level of organization exercised by the AAHC, which began small but festered into a multitude of practical victories that left a lasting impression on Chicago and beyond.

It remains of high importance to recall that the nature and origin of the Black Community College Campus Movement started as a challenge to the paradigm of what constitutes a quality education for Black college students. The AAHC took its aims and directives from their militant forerunners, the Negro History Club, which provided a standard for education reform and played a vital role in shaping the Black Community College Campus Movement. The AAHC's vision to fashion a Statement of Purpose, a detailed document of

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid., 10.

³²² Ibid., 113.

educational protest that produced unmatched educational reform at Wilson College, remains a vivid reminder of activism on community college campuses in Chicago during the Black Power Era. With brilliant parliamentary shrewdness and aggressive organizing tactics, the Negro History Club and the AAHC led one of the higher education's most rebellious eras in Chicago. The growth of Chicago's Black Power Movement owes a sincere debt of gratitude to Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement. The efforts of these two organizations came directly from the fundamental principles of the Black Power Movement to control their local educational institutions, which led to the death of Woodrow Wilson Junior College and the birth of Kennedy-King College.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Black student activism and protest on community college campuses in Chicago in the late 1960s was rooted in a questioning of the City College of Chicago's ability to provide a quality education for Black students. An accurate narrative regarding the efforts of Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club does not appear in the traditional narrative regarding student activism and protest. The AAHC's efforts to secure education reform challenged Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley's authority over higher education in Chicago in 1968. They organized radically to rectify the lack of a Black presence in the City College of Chicago's administration, faculty, and curriculum. For example, they successfully demanded and implemented a Black Studies Program, hired the institution's first Black president, and influenced a permanent institutional name change. This notable list of accomplishments confirms the need to broaden the discussion on who appears in the current scholarship on social movements. Injecting the history of Woodrow Wilson Junior College's AAHC's accomplishments and challenges centralizes activism and protest on community college campuses by Black students as important to the dominant discourse of social movement history. As such, centering unsung student organizations as active participants and leaders in the Black Power Movement promotes the importance of including communities found on the fringes of contemporary scholarship. Adding unidentified and underappreciated individuals and groups to the mainstream narrative of social movements will provide one avenue to stimulate sound pathways for future research.

The central contributions of this project include a) engaging with and reflecting upon the voices of unexplored participants adding to the existing roster of actors absent from the customary narrative of student activism, b) providing an in-depth analysis of the transition from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement, c) furnishing a critical examination of the role that Chicago politics played in the control of the daily operations of the City Colleges of Chicago during the Black Power Era, and d) placing the efforts of the Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club to secure education reform in the broader national context of student activism and protest. The research from this dissertation project confirms the existing theoretical implications provided by Ibram X. Kendi's Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement theory, which states the critical mass of Black Power Movement research marginalizes the accomplishments of Black students during the Black Power Movement. This dissertation furthered Kendi's argument by conceptualizing a further marginalization of student rebellion on community college campuses by Black students. While addressing the current gaps in the Black Power scholarship this project provided a terminological category for examining the student activism and protest on community college campuses, The Black Community College Campus Movement. The importance of this term reaffirms then expands the use of this project's theoretical perspective as a salient means to complete future research. This research democratizes the standard narrative on social movements by centralizing unrecognized individuals, groups, and voices in research on social movements. In sum, researching and incorporating these marginalized narratives into the dominant discourse of student activism supplies a rich repository of knowledge and experiences that expand the lens by which to gather a greater understanding of social movement historiography.

Civil Rights to Black Power: The Nexus of the Transition of Cycles within Social Movements

By the mid-1950s Blacks, particularly, Black Southerners in America began to challenge the legal and systematic segregation of Jim Crow with non-violent, direct resistant action. Public spaces of amusement, education, and travel became arenas of confrontation as the tactics of boycotts and picketing caused an alteration of the traditional formal and informal relations between Blacks and Whites. The Civil Rights Movement it's non-violent theories and strategies led to a mass political and social movement that forced advocates of Jim Crow etiquette to relinquish some of its fundamental principles. This cycle of Black liberation produced unprecedented legal victories including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In theory, these legal triumphs provided unmatched access for Blacks to become equal participants in American society with their White counterparts but this legislation did not live up to a practical improvement in the daily lives of a critical mass of Blacks. By the mid-1960s groups of Black youths began to become more militant in their approach than those of the early and mid-1950s causing a shift in ideologies and tactics. Several events furthered a change in the social atmosphere in America from Civil Rights to Black Power. For example, the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project in 1964, the Watts Riots of 1965, James Meredith's March Against Fear in 1966, and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 sparked a new mindset for a significant amount of Blacks that injected a need for Black consciousness in education, control of institutions in the Black community, and the adoption of armed self-defense. The transition from Civil Rights to Black Power shifted the goals of the movement from the want to incorporate into existing White institutions to demanding control of Black institutions. Also, the

shift redefined the Black identity placing importance on exposing liberalism as an apparatus of oppression. Finally, Black Power restructured American's social atmosphere by forcing an acknowledgment of a cultural validation that "Black is Beautiful."

Higher Education in Chicago's Politics and The Black Community College Campus Movement: Social Movement Engagement with Urban Power Structures

For a comprehensive understanding of the Black Community College Campus Movement in Chicago of the late 1960s an examination of the intersectionality between student activism, the structure of the City Colleges of Chicago, and the power of Mayor Richard J. Daley remains necessary. As one of several service-providing entities, the City Colleges of Chicago represent an interchange between the political controls of Mayor Daley and higher education. Daley's authority maintained dominant control of higher education by his proficiency of ethnic politics, which manifested under the guise of political patronage. He alone appoints the Chancellor of the City Colleges of Chicago and its Board of Trustees. In essence, Mayor Daley controlled the daily operations of the City Colleges via loyal subordinates to Chicago's powerful Democratic Machine during the Black Power Era.

While Daley voiced his dedication to separating politics from education his response to the challenges of his authority in higher education reveals a hypocritical method of leadership that fomented his control. Daley seemingly conceded to the principle of Black control of community institutions by adhering to the calls for Black Studies programs, the hiring of two Black presidents, and the renaming of two of the seven city college institutions (Kennedy-King College and Malcolm X College.) Upon a critical investigation, Mayor Daley political savvy reinforced an apartheid type education system by labeling these two institutions the Black

colleges of the City Colleges of Chicago, which cast negative connotations regarding the educational abilities of the students' theses colleges served. Hence, Mayor Daley's response to the AAHC's efforts to amass education reform including his authority and political insight ensured and reinforced continued powerlessness of Black Chicagoans during the Black Power Movement.

The History of Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club: The Role of Grassroots Pedagogies in an Emerging Black Consciousness

Originally named the Negro History Club this student organization changed its name by 1968 to Afro-American History Club, which reflected a connection to a growing call for a heightened awareness of Black pride that emerged during the Black Power Movement. This militant student organization challenged the authority of the City Colleges of Chicago by creating an education reform movement, which I've coined the Black Community College Campus Movement. For example, the AAHC spearheaded a campaign that demanded a separate curriculum for Black students. Club members produced a Statements of Purpose that required Wilson College's English, Humanities, and Social Science Department to utilize the works of at least one Black author in their classroom instructions beginning in the fall semester of 1968. Consequently, AAHC members organized classroom takeovers and administrative building occupations, which led to the hiring of the Wilson College's first Black president and influenced a permanent institutional name change from Woodrow Wilson Junior College to Kennedy-King College. Due to this list of unprecedented accomplishments, the AAHC became leading agents in the push for the control of the institutions in the Black community. The story of Woodrow Wilson's Junior College's Afro-American History Club represents a means to plug

the gaps in the current scholarship of social movements including the contemporary scholarship on the History of Higher Education, Urban Studies and the Black Power Movement.

Recommendations

To address and amend Kendi's Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement theory, it remains imperative to find and incorporate new actors, paradigms, and opinions to the current research on social protest during the Black Power Movement. As an example of amending this problematic issue, adding the history of the Woodrow Wilson Junior College's Afro-American History Club to the dominant discourse on student activism and protest provides a pathway to advance and fortify the future scholarship of social movement historiography.

Epilogue

The historical narratives regarding student activism and protest told by a critical mass of contemporary Black Power historians remain unfinished as they consistently marginalize the militant student activity on community college campuses. The notion of the marginalization of Black accomplishments in the history of Chicago finds its origins in the documented narratives of its founding. March 4, 1837, represents the date commonly used as the day Chicago was founded. This date does not reflect the precise birth of Chicago nor its founder. The first permanent resident of Chicago, Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable, settled into and then named Chicago in the 1780s. Hence, from the outset of the written history of Chicago, the actual achievements of Blacks found themselves at the periphery of Chicago history. Similarly, the Black Community College Campus Movement's influence on the Black Power Movement resides at fringes of the dominant narrative on social movements. This fact aligns with a legacy and systematic pattern of diminishing the actual accomplishments of Blacks from the dominant historical discourse. Thus, the role of Black Community College students persists at the fringes of the scholarship of social movements, which remains similar to the falsehoods upheld regarding the origin and settling of Chicago.

The impact of the Black Power Movement in Chicago produced a rise in Black consciousness with waves of implications on multiple fronts. For example, Black communities developed independent educational institutions, grassroots organizations became more active in community development and the political process, and Wilson College's AAHC members continued their dedication to the reconfiguration of power in higher education. Mayor Daley's political agenda sought to disarm and quash the spirit of the Black Power Movement in subtle

and obvious ways, particularly regarding the Black Community College Campus Movement. He used clandestine organizations, including the Red Army, a group of Chicago police officers to infiltrate, surveil, and gather information on Black activist and revolutionary groups for the ultimate aim of dismantling the Black Power Movement. In many ways, for a significant amount of Black militant college students, the assassination of Black Panther Party Chairman Fred Hampton Sr. symbolized Daley's response to the demands and accomplishments of the Black Power Movement. Several AAHC club members and other Wilson College students traveled to the apartment where the assassination of Chairman Fred Hampton Sr.'s took place to view the murder scene, which further solidified their commitment to combating police brutality. Subsequently, the Black Panther Party membership increased as a by-product of the success of the Black Community College Campus Movement.³²³

The political landscape in Chicago changed drastically with the death of Mayor Richard J. Daley in 1976. A critical examination of the restructuring of Chicago's Democratic Party after Daley's death entails an understanding of the intersectionality between local and national politics. Daley's death (1) coincided with the national decline of the Black Power Movement, (2) left a vacuum in the local political structure causing uncertainty concerning the future of Chicago's Democratic Machine, and (3) led to a local Black political revolution, which provided a blueprint for future Black political movements in America. During the political era of Reaganomics, the power of Chicago's Democratic Machine transformed. The traditional political landscape of ethnic politics shifted away from Irish Catholic domination to a realization of how the power of

³²³ Bobby Rush (congressman), "The Black Community College Campus Movement," telephone interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, March 26, 2018.

the Black vote possessed the proclivity to activate a political revolution. A materialization of how impactful the Black vote became emerged when Congressman Harold Washington ran for mayor. Harold Washington's bid for mayor held national implications and represented the fundamental principles of social movement politics in a specific Black Power manner. The assumptions and experiences of the Black Power Movement, specifically the experiences of the AAHC, became critical to Washington's campaign as members of Woodrow Wilson Junior College's AAHC utilized their social capital to assist and bolster this political movement. As a result of his activism as a member of the Wilson College's AAHC, Professor Armstead Allen used his annual Black Power Conference at Olive-Harvey College as a platform to promote Harold Washington for mayor.³²⁴ In a similar manner to Professor Allen's support for Washington, several former Wilson College AAHC members played active roles in Washington's campaign, including Professors Leonard Wash and Eloys Goon. The rise of Harold Washington led to a change in the politics at Kennedy-King College.

Washington's win signaled a return to the aims of Black Power in higher education and produced militant Black leadership at Kennedy-King College. With his control over the City Colleges of Chicago, he appointed Kennedy-King College administrator, a former advocate and mentor of the AAHC, Dr. Harold Pates, to President in 1987. During Dr. Pates' tenure, he focused explicitly on the reemergence of the Black Power paradigm of community development through control of educational institutions.³²⁵ Dr. Pates became widely known for his ability and

³²⁴ Armstead Allen, "Harold Washington Mayoral Campaign," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, November 6, 2017.

³²⁵ Harold Pates, "Wilson College," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, Chicago, IL, May 14, 2016.

dedication to meet the needs of the Kennedy-King College students and the Englewood community. Thus, a student-first, community well-being, and social justice approach guided Dr. Pates's managerial style.³²⁶ Also, a concentrated effort to centralize the relevance of Black Studies as vital to community advancement took place during Dr. Pates's presidency.³²⁷ Without question, Dr. Pates's longtime devotion to servicing Black community college students began early in his higher education career as an advisor with Wilson College's AAHC. In a practical sense, Dr. Pates's tenure at Kennedy-King College represented a rebirth of Black Power ideologies adopted by the AAHC that caused an educational reform in 1968. Harold Washington's regime epitomized a political and social movement that utilized the fundamental theories of Black Power, which inspired a significant amount of working and middle-class Blacks to become active participants in the political process. His time as mayor reversed the customary systematic ethnic politics that oppressed Blacks' political advancement, which caused panic amongst the Chicago political elite. To the chagrin of a significant portion of Chicago's Democratic Party, Mayor Washington won a second term. By his second term, Washington became a formidable political opponent with a sound political agenda that aimed to improve the daily lives for a critical mass of Blacks. For instance, he instituted no-bid minority contracts that allowed millions of dollars-worth of city contracts to flow to businesses in the Black community. The death of Mayor Harold Washington on November 25, 1987, marked a watershed moment in the history of Chicago politics. In fact, some individuals in Chicago's Black

³²⁶ Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams, *The Kennedy-King Experiment in Chicago 1969-2007. How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education* (Levinston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013), 154–155.

³²⁷ Harold Pates, "Wilson College," interview by Fredrick Douglass Dixon, Chicago, IL, May 14, 2016.

community believe Harold Washington's death was an assassination and a plot by Irish Catholic politicians and many others to reclaim political power.³²⁸ His death signified the implosion of a Black political revolution and the inability to sustain the momentum from that revolution. Mayor Harold Washington's demise led to the rise of Mayor Richard M. Daley, the son of the political icon Mayor Richard J. Daley, in 1989.

Mayor Richard M. Daley's tenure centralized the reclaiming of Chicago's impoverished communities as a cornerstone to promote a large-scale gentrification initiative. This project demolished the Chicago Housing Authority's projects, which eradicated a critical Black voting block from the political process. At this time, Mayor Daley used his authority to remove Dr. Pates as Kennedy-King College President. Mr. Wellington Wilson became Kennedy-King's President in 1999, and Mr. Clyde El Amin became President in 2003. The regimes of both Daley's appointees, Wilson and El Amin, lacked the community component that provided a high degree of success for Dr. Pates. President El Amin's tenure ushered in the cancelation of Kennedy-King College's nursing program. The nursing program stood as a practical means of using formal education as pathways to upward social mobility, particularly for Black women, for decades. During El Amin's time as president, the City Colleges of Chicago faced accreditation problems, which eventually led to the adoption of the City Colleges of Chicago's Re-Invention Program. The purpose of the Re-Invention Program was to address the need to "drive greater degree attainment, job placement, and career advancement."³²⁹ This program assumed the

³²⁸ Dcbamba. "Steve Cokley. The White Finance of Black Leadership," YouTube Video, 2:27:13, June 9, 2014, <https://youtu.be/1QLdOx4qytk>.

³²⁹ City Colleges of Chicago, "Reinvention," CCC.edu, accessed May, 2018, <http://www.ccc.edu/menu/pages/reinvention.aspx>.

academic and social needs of the students at Kennedy-King College led to a decline in student achievement for the entire City Colleges of Chicago system. Also, under El Amin's Kennedy-King College, the Black Studies department and courses disappeared. As if taken from his father's blueprint, Mayor Daley II, via Presidents Wilson and El Amin, removed Black Studies from higher education at Kennedy-King College and Chicago's Englewood community.

Kennedy-King College moved to a new facility in the fall of 2007 under interim President John Dozier, a political appointee of Chancellor Wayne Watson. The state of the art facility became a model for community colleges in America. At this time, the student enrollment increased and quickly transformed Kennedy-King from a predominantly Black student serving institution into a Hispanic serving institution. Along with a new campus came a growth of militant Black students, who created student organizations that adhered to Black Power ideologies of community control. As an adjunct instructor in Kennedy-King College's Social Science Department from 2004–2013, I worked with multiple student organizations as an academic advisor. Some of the student organizations publicly challenged the motives and tactics of Chancellor Dr. Wayne Watson. The emergence of the Black Panther and Moorish American student organizations indicated a reappearance of militant student organizations at Kennedy-King College.

Consequently, the Black Panther student organization President Jokari Miller became Kennedy-King College's student body President in 2010. Miller and his successor Theodore Fabrick openly criticized the patronage hiring process and lack of equity in funding distribution controlled by Chancellor Watson. Hence, due in part to the continued public student criticism, Chancellor Watson received a vote of no confidence from the Kennedy-King College faculty before his retirement. The parallels between the movement activity of 1968 and the concerns

of militant students by 2010 became apparent as Black Power student activism and protest again surfaced on the Kennedy-King College campus.

Due to the surge in student activism, I sought multiple pathways to engage the militant students' attention on the Kennedy-King College campus. Comparable to Professor William Gnat's Negro History course in 1965, Sociology 209: The Black Man in the United States, the course became a class that ignited the development of a plan to reintroduce the Black Studies program at Kennedy-King College in 2011. It remains essential to mention that Sociology 209 originated directly from the demands from the student activism and protest of the AAHC in 1968. This fact connects the militant student activity of 1968 with the need for a Black perspective in Kennedy-King College's formal curriculum approximately thirty-five years later. In concert with legendary Civil Rights Attorney Professor Lewis Myers Jr. and Vice-President Katonja Webb, we secured the approval to recreate a sixty-three-credit program, Associate Degree in African American Studies. Beginning in the fall semester of 2011, students enrolled in formal education courses that used Black authors, discussed Black concerns, and researched and wrote on salient topics concerning the experiences of Blacks in Chicago, America, and beyond. The student reaction to this new program became apparent as several sections of the Introduction to African American Studies closed due to reaching enrollment capacity. Black power in the formal curriculum returned to Kennedy-King College but not without the complexities of City College of Chicago bureaucracy. After securing the approval of this Associates Degree, the Kennedy-King College administration offered only the Introduction to African American Studies and one Hip-Hop course from the approved course list. The lack of

mandatory courses offered for the Associate Degree in African American Studies strangled the ability of students to secure the degree.

I dedicated a significant portion of my efforts to the practical aims of connecting the African American Studies program to the needs of the social underclass, specifically Kennedy-King College students, and the Englewood community. A devotion to making the new campus accessible and more responsive to the broader community led the African American Studies program to become a public resource. For example, with the guidance of Attorney and Kennedy-King College Criminal Justice program coordinator Professor Lewis Myers Jr., we created several focus groups. These groups sought to address the impediments of students to matriculate toward the ultimate goal of graduation. The initial focus group, the Ladies of Destiny, made up of students from courses taught by Prof. Myers and this writer, volunteered and gathered to meet on Saturday mornings at a local social service agency, Teamwork Englewood, located one block away from the Kennedy-King College Campus. With an informal discussion-driven curriculum, students explored issues that impacted their educational and personal lives with a group of facilitators that represented professional and grassroots organizations. For example, Kennedy-King College Professor Dr. Celeste McGill, Teamwork Englewood President Doris Jones, Ceasefire Violent Interrupter Ameena Mathews, Nation of Islam International Captain A'ishah Muhammad, and Eloise Dotson met with Kennedy-King College students for ten weeks to promote the concept of sisterhood.³³⁰ At the conclusion of the program, Professor Myers, the facilitators, and I evaluated the curriculum and then ran this

³³⁰ Fredrick Douglass Dixon, "Ladies of Destiny Graduation," https://mediaspace.illinois.edu/media/t/1_fgf2j7f1.

program for six consecutive semesters. In unusually explicit ways, this program symbolized the principles of Black Power returning to higher education in the Englewood community. For instance, (1) this program remained an independently funded venture void of the control of White philanthropy, (2) it included a diverse group of facilitators and participants seeking to connect to and assert a Black consciousness regarding their roles in the advancement of the Black community, (3) it provided avenues for academic and social success outside of the formal educational arena, and (4) this program empowered participants to become future facilitators. Ultimately, The Ladies of Destiny became a student organization that worked as volunteers with local women's shelters to increase access to support services for at-risk families. This experience exemplified how the philosophies of the Black Power Movement regarding community development possessed the capability to create agents of social change in 2011 as it did in 1968. The list of non-profit agencies and grassroots organizations that worked in concert with Kennedy-King's African American Studies Department grew, and so did the scope and direction of the issues undertaken.

From 2011–2013, the Kennedy-King College African American Studies Department co-sponsored and hosted multiple teen outreach programs with Ceasefire Chicago, initiated D.U.I. Pilot programs, expungement seminars, and felony reentry programs. Also, the African American Studies Department restored the annual Black History Month celebration from Dr. Pates' tenure, which quickly became a noted event in the Englewood community. This event highlighted the work of community members, including former AAHC members. The formal curriculum of the African American Studies Department benefited directly from its dedication to community development. The social capital incurred from community outreach brought

about a recognition of devotion to community development by local, national, and international leaders. As an example of the impact of the African American Studies Department on the Englewood community I invited the Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan to lecture in the Sociology 209, The Black Man in the United States course and he accepted. His presence provided an international spotlight on the accomplishments of the African American Studies Department.³³¹ While the students in Sociology 209 publicly praised Minister Farrakhan's words of wisdom, City Colleges of Chicago's Chancellor Cheryl Hyman, Kennedy-King College President Dr. Joyce Ester, and Social Science Department Chair Dan Simpson rejected the paradigms of academic freedom and condemned Minister Farrakhan's presence on the campus. These administrators represented a contingency of Kennedy-King College faculty and staff who, as political appointees, found it necessary to uphold the status quo. An atmosphere of student discontent parallel to that of 1968 surfaced by 2013 as the philosophies of Black Power again became a staple in the formal curriculum, student activism, and community development at Kennedy King College.

Outside of the Kennedy-King College campus, Mayor Richard J. Daley's successor Mayor Rahm Emanuel moved forward to complete the national gentrification movement. This movement centered Kennedy-King College as an anchor institution in the redevelopment and transformation of the Englewood community. Long-term urban planning situated Kennedy-King College as an avenue for upward mobility in higher education for a non-Black student population. Possessing a new state of the art community college campus became attractive to

³³¹ Ashahed Muhammad, "Farrakhan to Students: 'A New Reality Exist in America.'" *The Final Call Newspaper*, November 16, 2012.

students who never considered enrolling at Kennedy-King College. Due to its proximity to public transportation and highways, Kennedy-King College became a vital institution to Chicago's gentrification plans. In fact, because of Chicago's mass transit system, public transportation makes Kennedy-King College assessable to the O'Hare and Midway airports, providing international access to the campus. In an equivalent manner to the Black Power Era, the political savvy of Mayor Rahm Emanuel to center focus on the purposes of community colleges in the gentrification movement promises to further isolate and separate Black students from the academic rewards enjoyed by their White counterparts. Kennedy-King College will not remain a predominantly Black serving institution of higher education in the next ten years. In fact, the Black student population at Kennedy-King College will remain in strict competition with Hispanic and White student populations for resources, represents a microcosm of the gentrification plans for the Englewood community and the City of Chicago.

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Appendix A

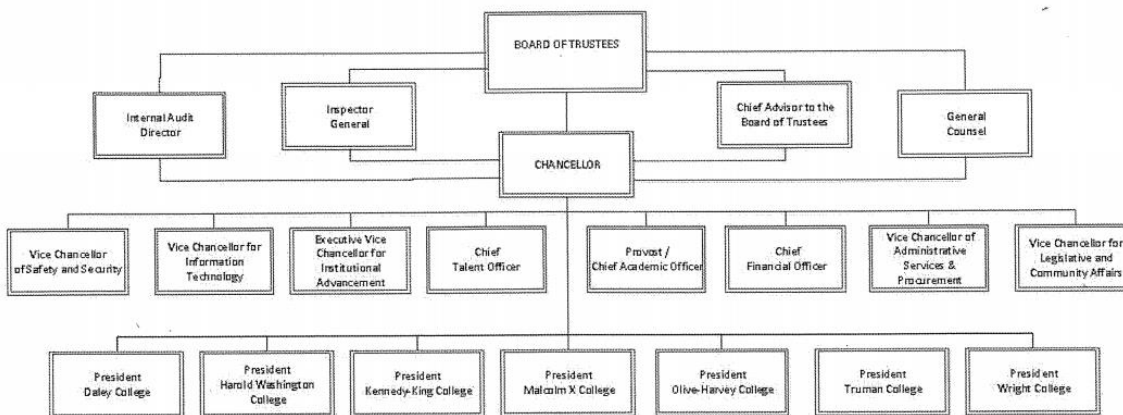
Primary Sources

Appendix A 1

CITY COLLEGES OF CHICAGO Community College District No. 508



District-wide Organizational Chart



CHICAGO NEGRO URGES KING TO RETURN SOUTH

Chicago Tribune Friday, July 22, 1966

Section 1-5

A Negro leader said yesterday that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership conference, and his staff "should go back to the south where they are needed."

Ernest E. Rather, president of the Chicago Committee of One Hundred, said Dr. King and his organization are not needed in Chicago. He said Chicago is the leading city in the United States in many areas and particularly in race relations.

Rather operates a public relations agency bearing his name. The committee is a 25-year-old organization of business and professional men, more than half of them Negro, devoted to interracial understanding. It has consistently criticized King's activities in Chicago.

Hints Link to Violence

Rather said activities of King's group are not beneficial to Chicago.

"Many of their so-called non-violent actions could lead to violent eruptions in our communities. There are some persons who feel that the S. C. L. C. is responsible for violence locally on the west side," he said.

"Agitation by the S. C. L. C. and allied groups in our city's neighborhoods could cause a race riot—and there is no need for one. Race riots do not do anyone any good."

Seek Constructive Program

Rather said Dr. King and his associates have been invited to come up with a constructive program to help solve problems of the Negro population, but have failed to do so.

Rather said Dr. King is attempting to convince Chicagoans that their city is "sick" and he is the "doctor" needed to cure it. His services were not sought and he is attempting to diagnose the "patient" without bothering to get the facts.

Appendix A 3

Page Two

WILSON COLLEGE PRESS EDITORIAL PAGE

M. T. BOWIE, President
 DEBORAH THOMPSON, Editor
 Published by the Students of Wilson City College
 BENJAMIN HENDERSON, Assistant Editor
 CARLTON KING, Business Manager
 MRS. W. SENNER, Faculty Advisor

Kennedy-King Not One Man's Fault; It's A Family Affair

The new name of Wilson Campus, Chicago City College, is Kennedy-King. The Press supports President Bowie's decision to stick with the name until a student vote is taken at the onset of the next semester. Although the school will be referred to as Kennedy-King by officials outside of the school, the Campus will remain Wilson College to all Wilsonites.

Just about everyone will have to admit that he or she knew of the President's decision to recommend the Kennedy-King name to the Chicago City College Board. Whether or not you were one of the chosen few to be personally informed of the recommendation or not, word somehow got back to you.

The point is, however, that you did nothing to fight against the name. Therefore you sanctioned the decision. For to do nothing is to decide. You simply cannot be back and wish to be personally informed about something which has already happened to you. You must inquire about these things important to you and either protest them vehemently if you disagree, or exemplify your partial or wholehearted support. If you are genuinely concerned about an issue you will do just that.

Not that the Press is over-enthusiastically enthused with the name, "Kennedy-King," but the method in which it was brought about was not as fair as other methods which have brought about changes here at Wilson — necessary revolutionary action.

Take a look at past relevant ac-

tion here at Wilson. Not only have the changes not been initiated by the masses but students have not changes been suggested by the masses. And the situation will continue to be the same unless the masses take on the initiative and aggressive attitudes that so few have.

Meanwhile ask yourself this question: "What's in a name, a temporary name at that?" Students are the masses and the masses within the school and the masses within the school are committed for what names are declared, the purpose of the school is defined by the STUDENTS' ACTIONS.

The name of Woodrow Wilson, a man who advocated that Negroes should be separate but equal, did not hinder the revolutionary progress of the Chicago college for his name sake. Certainly the name of a Black man whose ideas and ideas were of total equality helped others and the name of a white man who was one of the more outspoken liberals of his race for civil rights will not hinder revolutionary progress.

Let us clear our minds of all insignificant matters and concern ourselves with, open-mindedly selecting a name from the list of suggested names which the B.S.A. will make available to us which we will use for the next few years. Further and probably more important things to be decided. Let us retain the valuable lesson we should have learned from the entire experience — that to do nothing is to decide.

Revolutionary Understanding

The revolutionary thought of Wilson's student body has given us (the total college) changes in curriculum, pay raises for Black students, the dismissal or resignation of racist instructors and administrators, and the power to control those racist in our midst. The method in which it was brought about was not as fair as other methods which have brought about changes here at Wilson — necessary revolutionary action.

Over the summer the President made a vital move to save the accreditation of our institution. He increased the office space of his personnel and made the offices conducive to the execution of necessary business affairs by buying new desks, rugs, and air-conditioners. He had the halls and classrooms painted, falling fire lights fixed and walls plastered in an attempt to make the atmosphere more conducive to a college education. The improvement of the campus through the Chicago City College budget, but Wilson's became necessary because of the pressure exerted by the North Central Accreditation Association. Right away our President, the year we selected, becomes "scape-goat." The kind of President who would sell us out to make himself look good by having a bigger office with rugs, air-conditioning, and paint. But

THE WILSON COLLEGE PRESS

September 8, 1969

very few people had enough courage to ask how these changes — as badly as they were needed — were financed, and consequently our President became a "scape-goat" and a work-shop nigger just to name a few of the insults along at Bowie by students, faculty members and even his own administrators when he wasn't looking.

The position we are in now is still one of being revolutionized for even though we have a Black President, the ultimate control of our institution still rests in the control of the enemy — an enemy we can't even see.

To understand that our President is in a position of compromise as far as dealing with issues that are brought about by forces outside the school, and that those forces are now in the process of playing Black people against each other becomes crucial to our survival as a community of people. Although I can offer no solution to our present situation, other than instant revolution, I would hope we recognize our position and grow in communicative spirit and love for Black people until we are ready to visit our inevitable enemy. I would strongly protest against us thinking that we have evolved to a level of such competence that we can state we're free. For those white forces that still control Black people all over the world still feel that we are maturing, maybe faster than before, to their highest level of incompetence.

Veteran's Corner

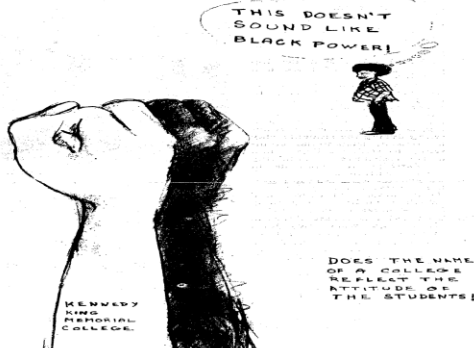
The number of ex-servicemen who have been using their Educational Benefits at our College has been on the increase steadily the past few semesters. We had 250 veterans last semester and there is every reason to believe that the enrollment for the fall semester will be 300. This hardly compares with the over 1,000 veterans who were studying under the "GI Bill" some 15 to 20 years ago. But by the same token the present group are determined and sincere to continue their education as was the old World War Two men. Many of our ex-servicemen are married, work full-time jobs and manage to take 2 or 3 courses as well.

(Continued on Page 4)

Wilson or Bust

It's a glorious day, all of the soul brothers and soul sisters are here for one thing, their thing. The teachers are ready 'cause they know what's going down, souls are here to learn; they hip and ready for the book. They don't dig dog ABC's.

Souls ain't like they used to be, no "go" or "do" for they got to get striking dem pills and hawking "Black Power." Souls know that they got to get together.



BSA - Its Birth and Goals

The needs of the Black Students and the Black Community are of a revolutionary nature. The only solution to those problems was put into process by the Afro-American Club. Their work was the foundation and life-giving force for the B.S.A., Black Student Association. This force gave us the push needed to start revolutionary action.

Black students and the Community needs are heard by the (B.S.A.) which echoes and reflects their voice in a revolutionary manner.

The Black Student Association formed, and it has organized itself without regard to traditionally accepted structure. The change was because traditional structures have not solved the problems or heard the demands of Black people. We

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Students Support The BSA!!

ALAN F. WESTIN, FREEDOM NOW

THE FIRST MIDWESTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
BLACK STUDENT ALLIANCE

November 23rd thru November 25th, 1967
Christ Methodist Church, 6401 S. Sangamon, Chicago, Illinois

SYNOPSIS:

At the Second National Black Power Conference held at Newark, New Jersey in the summer of 1967, it was decided that the students of the country would meet in three cities to make decisions relevant to our situation, those locations being Los Angeles, Chicago, and Baltimore, during the Thanksgiving break. During the Christmas vacation, at a location to be announced, a national student conference will be held to implement the decisions made at the regional conferences this weekend.

The objectives of the Midwestern Regional Conference of the Black Student Alliance, in accord with the objectives of the other regional conferences, are as follows:

1. To establish a national Black communications system;
2. To create awareness and provoke activity in midwestern states;
3. To establish operational unity between Black students and inner-city groups;
4. To define and present new, meaningful alternatives as to how to cast off the oppression as imposed on Black and oppressed people;
5. To establish a strong bond between Black students and the Black Community, in order to keep the wealth of youthful Black knowledge within the community.

PERSONNEL: (invited speakers and coordinators)

Crane City College: Stan Willis & Robert Clay	
Wilson City College: James Harvey & James Crooks	
Loop City College: Ernestine Jackson, Clifton Haywood, Don Randall	
University of Illinois: Shadrick Sanders & Camille Landry	
Central Y.M.C.A. Community College: Michael Orr	
Roosevelt University: James Moore	
Loyola University: Earl Jones, Bob Starks	
University of Pittsburg: Linda Hughes	
Dick Gregory ✓	Elliott Evans
Charles Hamilton -	Russ Meek -
Lawrence Landry -	Dr. Hollis Lynch -
Lerone Bennett -	Margaret Burroughs ✓
Ruwi Heri	Don Lee ✓
Odis Hyde ✓	Jewel Ladimore ✓
Nahaz Rogers ✓	Richard Abrams *
Bob Carter	Conrad Kent Rivers *
Roscoe Mitchell *	Anthony Braxton *
Muhammad Ali	Bob Lucas ✓
Robert Brown ✓	Rev. J. Porter ✓
Ald. Sammy Rayner ✓	Lou Hause

WILSON CAMPUS
Chicago City College

AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY CLUB

PREAMBLE

In order that we may make known our purpose in the Total Black Revolution in America, we the members of the Afro-American History Club present this Document.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

We the members of the Afro-American History Club are sincerely dedicated to the eradication of the crippling effects of four hundred years of dehumanization, degradation, exploitation, indoctrination, and castration of blackness. Our phase of this eradication campaign is the rehabilitation of Black Students.

In order to accomplish our mission we will:

I. Instill within the hearts and minds of Black Students, a keen sense of Black awareness and Black pride by:

- A. Propagating the beauty of being black.
- B. Relating Afro-American Culture to its rich heritage which has its roots in the Ill Lea Ni A DuDu (Land of the Black People).
- C. Identifying with and relating ourselves to our black brothers and sisters all over the world.

II. Enlighten the students of Wilson about the glorious History of the Black People by:

- A. Providing a forum for discussion of Black People's History in our meetings. These discussions will be headed by members of the club and guest speakers who will give lectures on certain phases of Black People's History and accomplishments of outstanding black and women whom we may all admire.
- B. Bringing about the correction of any and all curriculum that implies that the contributions of black people towards the development of the world are insignificant.

III. Motivate Wilson's (and all other) Black Students to overcome the shackles of a second-rate primary and secondary education by:

- A. Diligent examination of subject matter.
- B. Encouraging study beyond classroom material to facilitate evaluation of the curriculum.
- C. Giving recognition and inspiration to aspiring Black Students in all fields of the academics.
- D. Addressing ourselves to the problem of eliminating the tendency on the part of too many of Wilson's Black Students towards passiveness in academic study and classroom discussion. This will have the effect of redressing the present approach to classroom instruction, thus improving the caliber of instructions and raising the level of scholastic achievements.
- E. To mutually assist each other in overcoming academic difficulties. Seminars headed by exceptional students in the respective field, have been formed to actualize this particular goal. These seminars will provide an excellent opportunity for the participants to improve their knowledge of the subject and to stimulate thought.

IV. Develop the Afro-American History Club into a strong and Viable organization which will unite the black students of Wilson into a potent force to provide some of the impetus for achieving unity in the black community.

A. With the unity and the knowledge we gain in the classrooms, we may move upon the forces of colonialism in the economic, political, and social structures of our communities.

Let there be no doubt about the sincerity of our cause. We are deeply committed to the successful execution of our mission and we will not allow any force to deter us.

Ours is, perhaps the most important phase of the total Black Revolution that is taking place in America. As, it is here, in the classroom, that we must prepare ourselves for the struggle that lies ahead. That struggle is the struggle for complete liberation and re-elevation of black people to the level of greatness attained by our forebearers, the fathers of civilization.

Appendix A 6

March 13, 1968

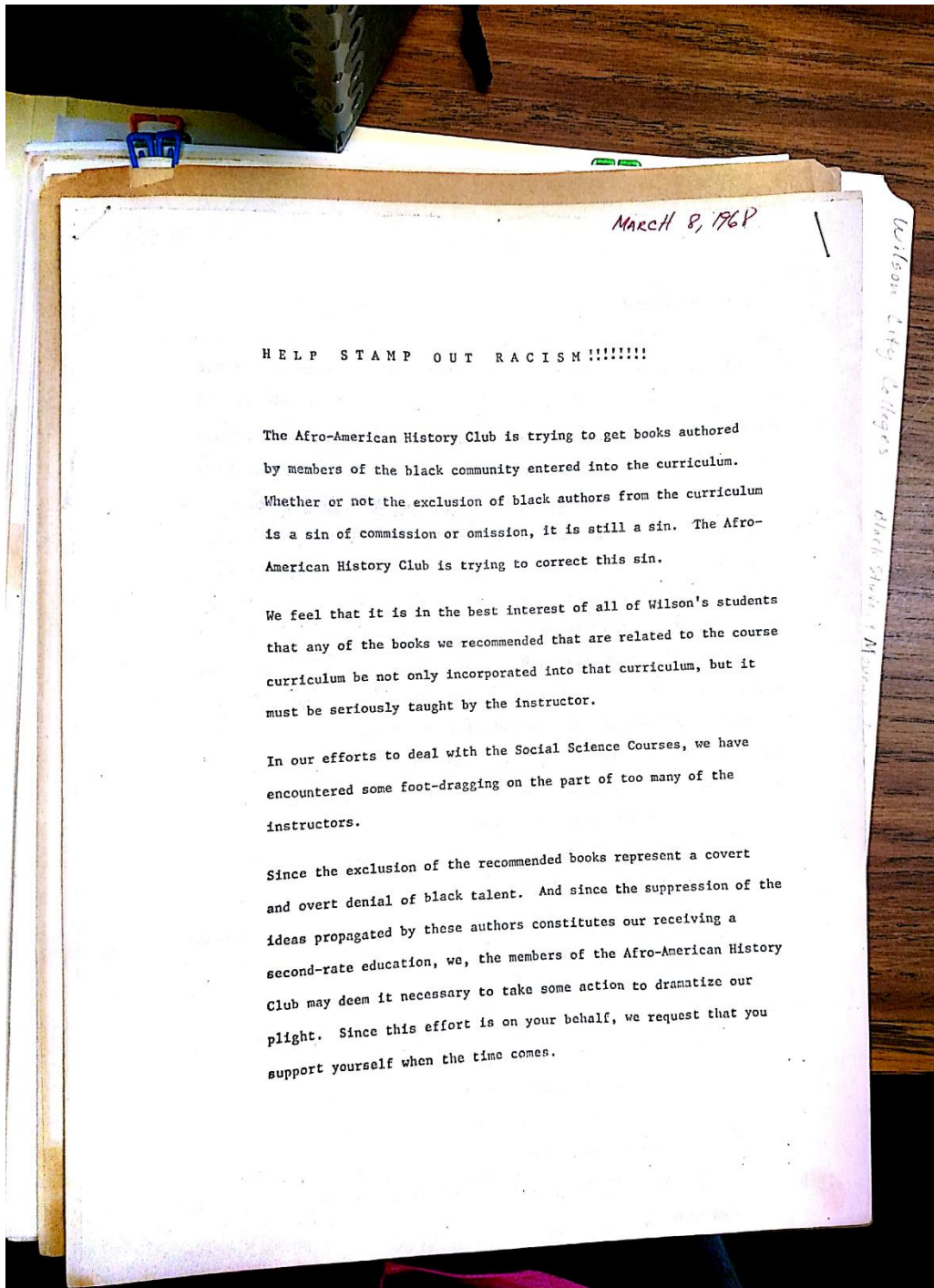
TO: THE STUDENTS OF WILSON CAMPUS
FROM: THE AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY CLUB
SUBJECT: TEACH-IN'S OF MARCH 7th AND 8th

The Afro-American History Club of Wilson City College had attempted to get books authored by members of the black community entered into the curriculum.

Our initial effort was to get a minimum of one (1) book by black author in every course in the Social Science Department. After weeks of discussion and no visible action, we staged a "Teach-In" to dramatize our plight. The attached letter is the result of long negotiation and our confrontation with the Social Science Department.

Thanks for your support.

Appendix A 7



Appendix A 8

March 11, 1968

TO: MEMBERS OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY CLUB AND
HERBERT C. KALK, DEAN OF FACULTY AND INSTRUCTION

FROM: SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT

RE: CURRICULUM REVISION IN PROGRESS

Members of the Wilson Social Sciences Department met on Saturday March 9, 1968 after a general faculty meeting dealing with student participation in curriculum revision. The Social Sciences Department met specifically to draft a departmental response to the Afro-American History Club's requests to include suggested material in the Social Science curriculum. It was decided that a written response was necessary to indicate the actions which instructors in various courses have taken in considering the Club's requests, particularly with respect to the general courses. The curriculum additions listed below have been decided upon.

The department has not finished evaluating the suggestions of the Club, or the suggestions of various faculty members, for additions either to the general or elective courses. Evaluation of suggested books which are not listed below is still in progress. Evaluation of other materials which were not suggested will continue during the semester and final course outlines will be indicated as each course committee or instructor finishes all of the necessary reviews of new materials.

The following inclusions in course reading lists have been made to date:

Social Science 101

1. The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Alex, Haley, will be retained on the list of required readings. (It is presently on the 101 list)
2. Facing Mount Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, will be added to the list of required readings for Fall Semester, 1968.
3. The department is considering substitution of the Epilogue from Nathan Wright, Black Power and Urban Unrest, in place of readings presently required, for Fall, 1968.
4. A general Bibliography for 101 including the variety of titles suggested by the Club along with others suggested by the 101

Committee will be appended to the 101 outline for use in supplementary readings. (Such a bibliography has been used in 101 this term and will be revised accordingly.)

Social Science 102

1. Black Power: Politics of Liberation, Carmichael and Hamilton, will be added to the list of required readings for Fall, 1968.
2. The 102 Committee is considering other materials suggested by the Club and/or faculty members in an attempt to meet the need the Club has articulated.

With respect to elective courses, the following decisions have been made by the following instructors:

Sociology 201 (Mr. Gordon, Mrs. Haley)

Dark Ghetto, Kenneth Clark, will be included in the course readings for Fall, 1968

Anthropology 202 (Mr. Kappel)

Facing Mount Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, has been included in the course readings for this semester. It will be replaced by The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria, Victor C. Uchendu, for Fall 1968 since Facing Mount Kenya will be included in the 101 course.

History 141 (Mrs. Kaseman)

The African Slave Trade, Basil Davidson, has been included in the course readings for this semester.

History 147 (Miss Geist)

Facing Mount Kenya is included in the course readings for this semester, The African Slave Trade in the suggested readings.

Muntu (Janheinz Jahn) will replace Facing Mount Kenya when the latter is required in 101 next semester.

As a matter of departmental policy, each of the elective courses on the suggested list will offer at least one book from the suggested list and/or materials showing the black point of view.

The department feels that the misunderstanding between the faculty and the Club has been the result of failure to communicate the steps that have been taken and will continue to be taken in considering the Club's proposals. Members of the department have expressed willingness to talk to Club members about specific books under consideration for their courses and to make additions to their courses after a thorough review. We hope this letter will indicate to the Club that this process has been occurring and will continue; we hope that it will remove some of the doubts that Club members have felt in the absence of written statements.

William C. Kosinar
Chairman, Social Sciences
Department

WILSON CAMPUS
CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE

March 11, 1968

TO: The Students of Wilson Campus
Chicago City College

FROM: Herbert C. Kalk, Dean of Faculty & Instruction

SUBJECT: Student Demonstrations and Faculty Action

On Thursday and Friday of last week there occurred at Wilson several instances of classroom disruption on the part of some members of the student body.

Because a college cannot continue to function under conditions of disruption, the faculty members of Wilson through its Faculty Council voted to hold a special meeting last Saturday, March 9, to probe the causes leading up to the disturbances and to determine what measures can be taken to solve the problems that engendered them.

As nearly as could be determined by faculty and administrators who had experience and knowledge of the situation, the immediate cause of the disturbances was the breakdown of a series of discussions between some faculty members and representatives of the Afro-American Club, which is seeking revisions in the curriculum to include more materials dealing with the black movement in America and in the world. Involved in the breakdown of discussions was a failure in communications between the two groups as evidenced by the fact that the Afro-American students felt that no progress was being made whereas several of the faculty members involved felt that definite changes in curricula had already been decided upon.

The faculty is in general agreement about the need for changing and updating the curriculum and about the importance of obtaining continuing student expression and involvement in making these changes, and to this end passed the following resolutions:

1. That each department concerned set up channels of communication to facilitate interaction between student groups and the departments and that the Dean of Faculty and Instruction act as liaison between the students and faculty.
2. That the Faculty Council establish a Student Grievance Committee made up of representatives of the faculty, the administration, and the student body to hear and attempt to resolve any grievances brought to it by any member of the student body.

The precise carrying out of these resolutions and the names of the contact person in each department will be announced as early this week as the details can be worked out.

HCK:mb

Appendix A 10

WILSON CAMPUS
CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE

March 11, 1968

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Chicago City College

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HCK:mh

WILSON HOSTS GANG LEADERS, OBTAINS TRUCE
Chicago Tribune (1963-Current file); Jul 22, 1966; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune
pg. 12

WILSON HOSTS GANG LEADERS, OBTAINS TRUCE

Police Supt. O. W. Wilson held an unprecedented meeting with two south side street gang representatives in his office yesterday which ended when both gangs agreed to an armistice because "there is little percentage in fighting any longer."

Wilson warned leaders of the Blackstone Rangers and the Disciples that "the path you are now on will lead only to prison, injury or death."

He offered to help settle disputes between the rival gangs which have been feuding for years.

Credits Police Officials

During a press conference later, Wilson credited Cmdr. William Griffin of the Grand Crossing district and Sgt. Neal Wilson of the youth division for bringing the gang leaders together.

He said the gang chieftains asked for additional recreational facilities. In return, they said they would clean up their Woodlawn neighborhood and aid police in law enforcement.

Wilson said he promised to help the youths get the recreational facilities they needed and also to try to get the necessary equipment so that they could clean up vacant lots and abandoned buildings.

Weren't in Riots

Griffin said that neither gang was involved in the west side riots of a week ago. He said that the two south side gangs were in their usual haunts and were not seen in the west side area at any time during the riots.

According to Griffin, both

gangs had been approached by a Negro at the beginning of the riots and offered \$20 a person if they would throw Molotov cocktails. The man was described as being dressed "oddly," wearing a gold earring in his left ear, and riding in a large white car with twin red lights on the sides.

Man Called "Tattoo"

Griffin said that both gangs turned down the offer, and agreed to notify police if the man they called "Tattoo" is seen in their neighborhood again.

Griffin also reported that since the two gangs agreed to

a temporary truce 10 days ago there has been a noticeable drop in the area's crime rate. He said the crime rate should take a substantial drop if the gangs continue with their agreement.

STRIKE

We, the student employees of Wilson College have walked off our jobs because of grievences against the Wilson Work-Study Office and it's staff. Our Grievences are:

1. Low Wages (\$1.40-\$1.65 per hour)
2. The insensitivity of the Work-Study office staff to the needs of the black students working on Work-Study

We will not go back to work until the following demands are met:

1. A minimum wage of \$2.25 per hour.
2. No clerk shall designate any responsibility that doesnt coincide with the student's regular work.
3. No action is to be taken against striking students.
4. The Work-Study Office shall confine themselves to their assigned duties.

WORK-STUDY STRIKE COMMITTEE DEMANDS*

1. A minimum wage of \$2.25 per hour
 - a. Retroactive paid to revert to Spring Semester-1968
 - b. Strike Members to be paid for the period of the strike
2. Five per cent (5%) raise in salary per semester effective August 1, 1968.
3. Time and a half for overtime.
4. Basic minimum rate of pay for holidays.
5.
 - a. There should be the same minimum pay for each job classification.
 - b. There should be no discrimination of pay according to sex.
6. Summer full-time students should be allowed to work a maximum of forty (40) hours if they choose.
7. Students should be allowed to make-up lost time during the pay period.
8. There must be two weeks notice before dismissal from Work-Study.
9. All Work-Study jobs should be defined.
10. The Work-Study Office officials should confine themselves to their assigned duties.
11. No action is to be taken against the strikers.

The following Wilson College Work-Study Employee Organizations support this strike:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Afro-American Club | 5. Local Students Aides |
| 2. Audio-Visual Aides | 6. New Images Staff |
| 3. Day Camp Workers | 7. Office Aides |
| 4. Library Aides | |

*These demands are not final and are subject to change or revision by the Strike Committee.

ENCLOSURE " 11
WILSON CAMPUS
CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE

Sept. 25, 1968

FROM: HERBERT C. KALK, Dean of Faculty and Instruction
TO: Chairmen and Faculty Members of English, Social Science and
Humanities Departments
SUBJECT: Use of Books by Black Authors

According to our agreement of last spring with the Afro-American History Club, each department involved was to indicate the books by Black authors that are being used in the courses agreed upon as being appropriate.

So that we can have complete and up-to-date information on the books being used, all faculty members teaching these courses are requested to fill in the attached forms and submit them to their department chairmen, who will in turn submit them to this office.

It is imperative that these forms be completed by Monday, September 30 so that we can make a complete compilation by Tuesday, October 1.

Enclosure # 3

October 21, 1968

The Student Problems Committee has received a complaint from the Afro-American Club concerning a violation of the agreement between the Social Science Department and the Club with respect to the inclusion of works by black authors.

The representatives of the Club indicate that the agreement has not been complied with--or at least they have no information about black materials being used--in the class or classes listed below:

We would appreciate your submitting as soon as possible the titles of texts by black authors that you are using, or intend to use. If you have no plans to use such titles, please notify us of this fact as well.

Please return the attached sheets to the Student Problems Committee via Mr. Hayashida's mailbox by Tuesday, October 22, so that the Committee can consider your information and hopefully resolve the problem at its meeting on Wednesday, October 23.

Larry Nash, Student,
Chairman, Student Problems Committee

The Committee:
Mr. Ewen Akin, Faculty
Mr. Thomas Collins, Faculty
Mr. Herbert C. Kalk, Administration
Mrs. Hattie Wash, Student
Mr. Billy Brooks, Student

WILSON CAMPUS
CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE
7047 S. Stewart Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60621

November 20, 1968

TO: All Faculty Members
FROM: Herbert C. Kalk, Dean of Faculty & Instruction
SUBJECT: "Tell It Like It Was, Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson."

In an article in the Chicago Sun-Times, November 19, 1968, Mrs. Noel Johnson and Dr. Leon Novar are quoted as saying that they did not violate the agreement between the Afro-American History Club and the Social Science Department that was made on March 11, 1968, and that "because of 'administrative incompetence' at Wilson, they did not receive copies of the agreement until two weeks ago."

The above statement does not represent the facts. The following is a chronological history of the events.

On September 25, 1968, representatives of the Afro-American History Club came to the office of the Dean of Faculty and Instruction with the complaint that several faculty members were not using books by Black authors as the agreement stipulated. Compliance with the agreement had been assumed by this office. However, the Afro-American students claimed that members of their organization could verify the fact of non-compliance.

The simplest expedient for gathering information about the books being used was to ask the faculty members in the three departments covered by agreements to fill out a simple form listing the courses involved

in the agreements and the books by Black authors being used in these courses. On the same day that the student representatives presented their complaint, a letter and accompanying form (Enclosure 1, beginning, "According to the agreement with the Afro-American History Club...") was sent to each faculty member of the departments involved.

This first request brought in responses from about 50% of the faculty members. The light response to the request was apparently a result of the objections of certain faculty members to filling out such a form. (In fact, word came to this office that a complaint was filed with Chancellor Shabat that Wilson faculty members were being forced to sign a contract about the books they were using.) It is reported that this form was the topic of heated discussion within the Social Science Department as well as outside it. (In fact, one member of the Social Science Department brought the matter to the attention of the Grievance Committee of the Union, after which the Grievance Chairman and the Union Chapter Chairman accompanied the instructor to this office to discuss the matter. The discussion ended with the instructor submitting a copy of the course outline.)

One wonders how Dr. Novar or Mrs. Johnson missed hearing or participating in these discussions.

One wonders how Dr. Novar or Mrs. Johnson could read "According to the agreement with the Afro-American History Club..." and not inquire "What agreement?"

Yet Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson are quoted in the Chicago Tribune, November 19, 1968, as saying that they were "unaware of the agreement until well into the semester."

On October 2, 1968, a second request (Enclosure 2, beginning "Although several lists of books by black authors...") was sent to all those faculty members who had not responded to the first request. This request elicited a few more responses.

In the meantime, the Afro-American students were coming in every few days to check on the responses, which were accessible to them in a folder in this office.

They were getting impatient with the lack of compliance with the agreement and felt that the problem had reached such serious dimensions that they brought the matter to the Student Problems Committee. On October 21, the Committee listened to the complaints of the Afro-American representatives and concluded that their complaint had substance. The Committee, therefore, drafted a letter, which was sent on the same day, to those faculty members who had not submitted their book lists. (Enclosure #3, beginning, "The Student Problems Committee has received a complaint...")

On October 22, 1968, Dr. Novar did submit the form, indicating that in Social Science 102 he was using the syllabus and reading list that had been adopted by the Social Science 102 committee. However, for History 112, he replied, "I have made no agreement..." (Enclosure #4)

Dr. Novar's reply was as puzzling as it was unsatisfactory; so this office tried a different approach. Avoiding any reference to

books by Black authors, a simple request was sent to Dr. Novar on October 23, the complete text of which follows (Enclosure #5):

May I have a list of textbooks used in History 112C by Friday, October 25?

Dr. Novar's reply is contained at the bottom of this request:

Why? Have any of my students complained? Do you want this information for yourself or so that it may be forwarded to someone else? If the latter, please refer them directly to me.

On October 24, 1968, this office, trying not to lose its cool, sent the following letter (Enclosure #6) to Dr. Novar:

In my capacity as Dean of Faculty and Instruction, I wish to have a list of textbooks used in History 112C by Friday, October 25.

It is within my province to determine what use I shall make of the list.

Upon receipt of this letter, Dr. Novar came to this office in a jocular mood, waving the letter and saying, "Say, we're getting mighty formal," and then adding that he "had it coming," referring, of course, to the formality of the final note. Dr. Novar then sat down, submitted his outline and bibliography for History 112, and then a conversation of 15 or 20 minutes ensued. Inasmuch as only one textbook, Garraty, The American Nation, was used for the entire course, Dr. Novar was asked whether it wouldn't be possible to add one paperback by a Black author to the course. Whereupon Dr. Novar replied that the Garraty text cost \$11.00 and that he was not going to put his

students to additional expense. He was urged to let the students decide which was the most important consideration: additional expense, or having a book with a Black point of view.

Dr. Novar explained that in History 112, one textbook is used throughout the course, but the students are given a bibliography from which they are to choose one book for a report. Included in the list are books by Black authors.

This information was conveyed in a letter (Enclosure #7) to the Student Problems Committee on October 24, together with the course outline and bibliography. It was the final correspondence concerning Dr. Novar's use of books by Black authors.

The contention of Mrs. Johnson that she was unaware of the agreement is not borne out by the facts. Mrs. Johnson received four notices, including the one from the Student Problems Committee, and did not respond to any of them. She also received a handwritten note asking her to come in to see the Dean of Faculty and Instruction, to which she did not respond. She also failed to reply to a telephone message asking her to call this office.

As he was arriving at the college one morning--about the time that the third notice had gone out--the Dean of Faculty and Instruction encountered Mrs. Johnson as she was leaving the building and asked her when he could expect her book list to be submitted. Mrs. Johnson asked if a particular teacher had signed--her tone implying that he had not--and walked off saying, "I'm not signing either."

- 6 -

During the week of November 4, Mrs. Johnson did distribute to her classes a bibliography containing books by Black authors and told her classes that she would be making assignments from it. This information came to this office from an Afro-American student in Mrs. Johnson's classes. No list was sent to this office.

All other members of the Social Science Department teaching the appropriate courses--including some teachers who were newly hired this fall--submitted their forms as requested.

Herbert C. Kalk
Herbert C. Kalk
Dean of Faculty and Instruction

HCK:mh

TO MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT!

Today, several members of the Afro-American Club at Wilson invaded my Social Science 102 lecture and disrupted the class making it impossible to carry on the class work. Since this was the last class meeting before the mid-term exam I had planned to discuss the exam and review the material to be covered. I was not permitted by the disruptive interlopers to do this. Consequently, my students will be less well prepared for the exam than those in the other Soc. Sci. 102 classes. Furthermore, the invaders of the class told me that they would not permit me to give the mid-term exam but that this would be done by a "friendly and sympathetic instructor" in the Social Science Department who would also grade the examination and give them a grade for the course if necessary.

I do not know if any member of the department has so far lost sight of his professional and ethical standards and responsibilities as to lend himself to such a despicable role. I sincerely hope not. But if there is anyone who is thinking of doing such a thing, be advised that I would, in such a case, bring charges against the faculty member committing such an act and seek to have him dismissed by the Board for conduct grossly in violation of professional and ethical standards and unfit for a member of a learned profession. I have the assurance of the Chancellor that he would act immediately to dismiss any faculty member who so violated all canons of professional and ethical conduct.

Leon Novar
11/11/68

WILSON CAMPUS
CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE

November 18, 1968

TO: Wilson Faculty

FROM: Wilson Faculty Council

The following conclusions have emerged from the Faculty Council meetings of the past few days with Mrs. Johnson and Dr. Novar, other faculty members, and with the leadership of the Afro-American History Club.

Concerning the faculty:

1. Faculty should live up to the spirit as well as to the detailed requirements of any agreement made between faculty and students.
2. Because the success of Wilson depends on the faculty working with students as well as teaching them, faculty who feel that they cannot do this should have available to them the opportunity of transfer to a branch better suited to their philosophy of teaching.
3. Faculty should recognize that students have the right to demand greater participation in the details of their education just as faculty have the right to demand greater participation in the administration of their schools. To this end we urge immediate implementation of joint student, faculty, administration committees.

Concerning the students:

1. Students should continue to use the channels of the newly-formed Student Problems Committee, the Faculty Council, departments, and individual faculty members, or any new channels, in effecting desired changes, rather than resort to disruptive actions, which could lead to the closing down of Wilson.
2. Students should recognize that minorities among them have the right to be heard and considered, and that student decisions should be made in the best interests of all.

The Faculty Council, after hearing all of the points of view available to it, feels that Mrs. Johnson and Dr. Novar--although planning to satisfy the letter of the agreement made last March--have not satisfied the spirit of the agreement and have apparently contributed to the students' conviction that they cannot satisfy the spirit of the agreement. Whatever the provable or unprovable facts may be, the Faculty Council feels that Mrs. Johnson and Dr. Novar cannot successfully meet their classes at Wilson.

The Council recommends that these two faculty members be permitted to transfer to other Campuses without loss of seniority.

E. Akin, President

M. Meredith, Secretary

The new student organization, Moorish American student Study Group Association awaits approval from S.G.A

The purpose of the organization is to address the stigmas and derogatory names of Negro, black, colored etc. and the newly accepted ones of Afro-American and African-American.

Advisor of the M.A.S.S.G, Professor Dixon said, “The Moorish American Student Study Group Association’s endeavor is to

rescue black psyches in crisis and bestow the light of understanding, under the searchlight of truth.”

This is important because our people have a lot of questions that deserve answers about the true equalities of our people’s natural rights just by being born.

The M.A.S.S.G. believes that people of African descent should have a right to a nationality just like every one else in the American Government.

The New SGA

By Candace Allen

“Never again,” this is the motto posted on the wall of the offices of the Student Government Association. Elections were held last spring semester inducting Jokari Miller as President, Theodore Fabriek as Vice-President, Qeshawnda Haynes as Secretary, and Alisha Thomas as Treasurer in their winning posts. This set of fresh faced newly elected officials have a lot planned for Kennedy King College.

As our elected officials, they are responsible for overseeing all KKC clubs and organizations. SGA operates as a liaison between faculty, the administration, and students.

“We are here to help improve the educational experience at KKC,” Qeshawnda

Haynes said with pride.

“The Student Government also plans events that entertain or provide the student body with education and knowledge that isn’t necessarily covered by the school’s curriculum,” Theodore added. With Student Forums, the Open Mic Event, Fundraising Carnival, Movie Showing Event, and AIDS Awareness Day, SGA definitely plans to entertain and educate KKC students.

This year, this team of leaders promises more activities and services including free printing (in the SGA office) and more access to game room, fitness, and pool area. Along with said adjustments and additions, SGA plans on increasing the number of Senators in office. Instead of regularly having fifteen

Senators, Student Government plans on adding a few more, but not stating how many, just adding that more work is needed to be accomplished in changing KKC for the better.

Alisha Thomas declared, “Some don’t understand why, but I have a love for public service.” With this group’s love for service, speaking for any and all KKC students is the easy part.

“I’m not your typical [SGA] President. I’m a revolutionary who believes in student’s rights and any violation of those rights will be approached head on with a fight.” Jokari Miller stated. Among confidence and statements like these, KKC is heading in the right direction.



From left to right; Qweshawnda Haynes, Alisha Thomas, Vice-President Theodore Fabriek, President Jokari Miller

Surviving the recession

By Dorcy Castillo

The recession continues to be an increasing problem in the United States. Hundreds of families live with the fear of losing their jobs or homes.

Up to 4.4 million jobs have been lost, and personal bankruptcy increased by 31 percent between 2007 and 2008, and still expected to rise another 35 percent in 2009.

As she devises a plan for survival of the financial crisis Suze Orman says “There’s only one person that’s going to save you right now, and that’s yourself.” Orman encourages being positive and to live on half, stashing your cash; things that are easily done, yet have a major impact on your savings.

The recession affects every American. Felicia, receptionist at WYCC, here

at Kennedy King, who once worked in corporate America, now faces a lower income by 40%. Felicia says her family has always tried to live within their means. However, she says they “try to keep our bills and purchases to a minimum.”

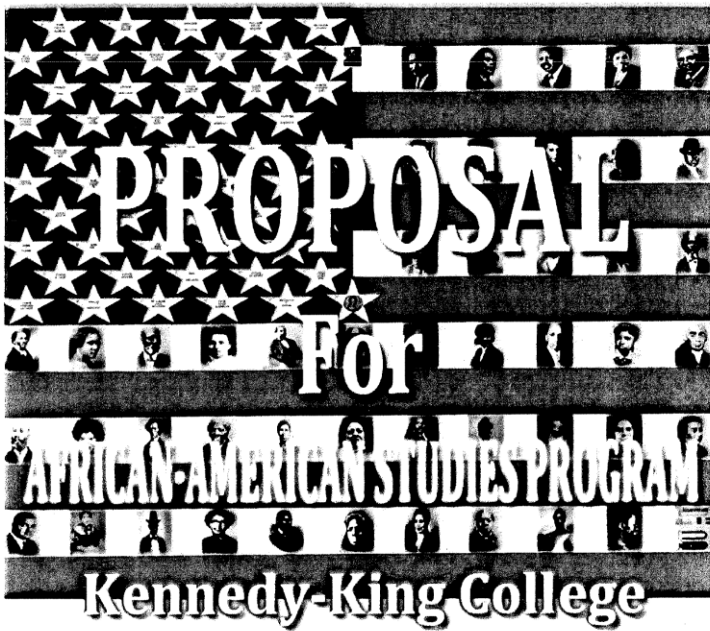
There are others who it does not affect directly. LaDwenna Washington, an office manager for WYCC is one of them. Washington witnesses the effects it has on her family and friends. Also, because of her fear Ms. Washington confesses that she is “shopping less, renting movies instead of going to the theater, and staying home to cook, not eating out as much.”

The recession continues to affect everyone’s health, happiness and peace of mind.

DRAFT

September 15, 2011

**Professor Daniel Simpson &
Professor Fredrick D. Dixon**



Presentation to
Katonja K. Webb
Interim Vice President

Introduction

The proposed African-American Studies Program at Kennedy-King College will be an interdisciplinary program that would provide students an opportunity to explore the collective history, experiences, contributions and status of African-Americans in the United States and abroad. There has been a rapid growth in the development of such African-American studies as a coherent and innovative discipline, one that transforms and invigorates all other disciplines. This program would focus on the political, social, economic, and religious discourses that have shaped the collective history, experiences contributions and status of African-Americans in the United States and abroad, beginning with their African roots and the Diaspora.

Rationale

There are several reasons for this new program. This program would provide a mechanism for integrating new research and literature on Africa-Americans and race relations into Kennedy-King College curriculum. It would enable all students to explore new theories, frameworks and methods that are being used to understand African-Americans and race relations. By continuing to expose all our students to this new and developing field of African-American studies and encouraging them to develop a more informed understanding of racial issues in their own lives, their educational opportunities at Kennedy King will be enhanced.

Additionally, a major in African-American studies would provide a source of professional development for all students in areas such as health care, education and business. Better prepared for a diverse workplace, they will also have a better understanding of the diverse population that many of them will serve.

Furthermore, the program would benefit African-American students, in particular, because the program could be a mechanism for heightening their academic skills and self-esteem by providing them with a deeper understanding of their group's contributions to building, maintaining and enhancing the American culture. Enhancing their personal sense of pride and belonging will thus strengthen their educational experience at Kennedy King College. The program would provide a positive experience at Kennedy King College that could lead to an increase in the graduate rate, and increased likelihood to attend baccalaureate and graduate schools and increased access to opportunity structures of the broader society.

Special topic courses relevant to African-American studies may be included in the program when approved by the Program Director and the Vice President.

In terms of the curriculum, the six goals of the African-American Studies Program are:

1. To encourage *all students* to investigate the African-American experiences in the United States and abroad.
2. To encourage the adoption of African-American specific titles and focus for the *Special Topics* courses
3. To encourage the development of new courses, which would have as a focal point, African-American issues.
4. To provide a foundation for a major in African-American Studies.
5. To encourage the recruitment and retention of African-American students and faculty members, and,
6. To demonstrate to students and faculty a campus-wide commitment to diversity by means of seminars, conferences, and lectures.

Impact on Enrollment and Revenues

The implementation of an African-American study Program will improve the college's ability to vie for a more diverse pool of competitive students. (See attached listing) It is expected that the program will appeal to all students in a wide range of fields such as dental hygiene, criminal justice and social science and services, all of which have a need to understand the implications of the diversity of African-Americans. The program may also appeal to all students interested in public service, whether in the nonprofit, government or private sectors. The program will also attract African-Americans students who are interested in pursuing baccalaureate to graduate studies at Kennedy-King and other colleges to graduate.

Faculty members from various departments offer courses appropriate to African-American Studies scholarship.

For Kennedy-King students of all disciplines, the program is a source of professional development that complements other areas of study principally those anticipating serving African-American communities and population. A program in

African-American studies will be enriching as well as useful, especially for those entering baccalaureate and professional schools, where the material will have equipped students with a valuable and necessary perspective. For the African-American student population in particular, and others interested in African-American culture, the program offers a sense of pride, belonging, and of personal history that concretely legitimizes and African-American presence on campus and throughout the Chicago metropolitan area.

The African-American studies curriculum requires 62 credit hours. Students are required to take the *Introduction to African-American Studies* course. The remaining 15 credit hours are open to the student's choice and can be drawn from courses offered by a range of academic departments. At least one course must be taken from each of the listed thematic areas (African Context, African-American Focus and Race in American). If possible, *Introduction to African-American Studies* should be taken prior to or in conjunction with other approved African-American Studies courses. For additional information please contact Social Science Department Chair or coordinator of African-American Studies Program (Professor Lewis Myers).

Associate of Arts (AA) 0210

African-American Studies Concentration

62 Credit hours

General Education Requirements

***38 Credit hours**

Communications	9
Mathematics	4
Humanities & Fine Arts	9
Social & Behavioral Sciences	9
Physical & Life Sciences	7-8

Human Diversity Requirement**

Concentration Requirements

8-17 Credit hours

You may choose courses from among the following:

African-American Studies 101	Introduction to African-American Studies	3
History 114	The African-American in American History	3
History 115	African-American History Since 1865	3
History 211	Problems In History	3
History 248	African History/Modern Peiroti	3
Humanities 220	The African Image	3
Literature 121	Contemporary African-American Literature	3
Social Science 221	Black Economics	3
Political Science 211	Analysis of White Racism	3
Psychology 209	Black Psychology	3
Sociology 209	The Black Man in the US	3
Sociology 241	Institutional Racism	3

Elective Requirements

4-17 Credit hours

Total Credit hours

62 Credit hours

Satisfaction of Program Requirements:

1. * To satisfy your **General Education Requirements** and ascertain transferability of courses to baccalaureate study, you may choose from courses approved by the Illinois Articulation Initiative (IAI).
2. ** To satisfy your IAI **Human Diversity Requirement**, you must take at least one course that explores human diversity within the United States or from a non-western perspective. This course may satisfy a general education, concentration, or an elective requirement.

Toil and Trouble Stirred as Wilson Student Power Cauldron Boils Over

BY ARTHUR SIDDON
A college president is struck in the eye by a student, two faculty members face involuntary transfer from the school, and Negro students make threats and demands forcing the administration to face the prospect of closing its doors to prevent violence.

The situation at the Wilson campus of Chicago City college, 7047 Stewart av., where the Militant Black Panther party has taken a significant role, is tense and critical, according to students, faculty, and the administration.

But what is happening there is not much different than the situations at schools throughout the country from San Francisco State college to Columbia university and the Crane campus of Chicago City college, 2250 Van Buren st.

Issue Is Student Power
The basic issue is student power, and, in the case with Negro students, black power.

Students, usually with the support of some faculty members, demand changes and a greater voice in running the school. The demands pit the students in a battle for power with the administration and the faculty. "The basic idea is to assume control of the institution so that you can dictate curriculum, faculty assignments, and student discipline," said Charles Monroe, Wilson president. "It is a nihilist movement designed to destroy the present establishment."

The black student movement at Wilson [is] 6 per cent of whose students are Negro] first became apparent in February, 1967, with the formation of the Afro-American club. The organization was an outgrowth of a campus approved group

dean, and Monroe talked to the group for two months before finding out that what they really wanted was more books by black authors in required reading lists for some courses.

"The request was in line with our policy of upgrading our teaching methods, and the idea was submitted to the faculty for its consideration," Monroe said.

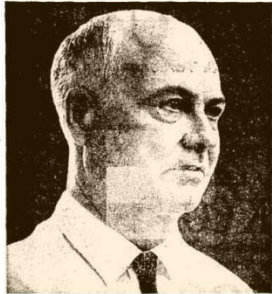
Group Holds 'Sit-ins'
Some teachers made adjustments on their own, but the faculty as a whole did not take action. On March 2, 1968, the Afro-American club took over three classrooms in the social sciences department and held "sit-ins" or "teach-ins." Monroe refused to call police.

"Many teachers were unhappy with me," he said. "They thought I should have called the police and cleared the disruptive students out, but I chose not to do so. In fact, I sat in on some of the classes myself."

The next day, a Friday, the sit-ins continued. On Saturday, an all-day faculty meeting was held in which the social sciences department agreed to most of the demands.

Agreement Is Signed
On March 11 an agreement was signed by William C. Kosmar, social sciences department chairman, and the Afro-American club "establishing and pledging compliance with certain departmental policies of requiring assignment of books by black authors." Similar agreements later were made by the humanities and English departments.

The agreements called for each department to work out with students a list of from five to seven books for each course. Most of those chosen were on



Charles Monroe, Wilson campus president

Wilson over the college's federally financed work-study program.

Seek Higher Wage
On Aug. 6 the students took over the college's admissions, registrar, and counseling offices and refused to get out unless students in the program were paid more money for their part-time work.

Monroe called police but sent them away when the students agreed to negotiate. When it was over, students were increased from \$1.40 to \$1.65 an hour and from \$2 to \$2.50 an hour.

When school opened in September, the students turned their attention back to the reading list. They asked Denn Kalk if all teachers had com-

pleted, the black power revolutionary theorist. Students, dissatisfied with replies from the two teachers, invaded their classrooms Nov. 11 and disrupted their classes. On Nov. 13 the student club submitted typed resignations for the two to the administration and requested the two to sign them.

Council Urges Transfer

The 10-member faculty council met and concluded Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson had planned "to satisfy the letter of the agreement" but that they had not "satisfied the spirit of the agreement." The council recommended the two be allowed to transfer to another campus. The faculty later voted 36 to 32 to uphold the council, and Chancellor Oscar E. Shabat upheld the faculty.

The Cook County College Teachers union has supported Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson as have a small group of students, both white and black. The college board has postponed the matter three times and has yet to act.

Asks Black Administrator

The matter of Dr. Novar and Mrs. Johnson was still unresolved, peace appeared to have returned to the Wilson campus until last week when Monroe found himself with two new problems.

The Afro-American club demanded that a black man be appointed to an administrative post. Monroe solved that by naming Maceo T. Bowie, an English professor, to the post of dean of instruction—a move that had been contemplated anyhow. Tho, at first, Monroe understood the students also wanted Kalk to resign, he said

he later learned they wanted him promoted to vice president. The other problem involved the school's basic curriculum, a remedial class schedule for underachievers for which no credit is given. Students demanded changes and credit for the courses.

Raiks Against Program

A student-faculty meeting was held last Wednesday to discuss the matter. Billy Brooks, 25, of 1320 S. Kedzie av., a student and education minister for the local Black Panther party, delivered a 40-minute "tirade" against the program.

"Pauline Howard, one of our students who has done quite a bit of research on the program, and who also is opposed to the program, finally told Brooks to sit down because he didn't know what he was talking about," said Monroe.

"Brooks got so mad, he did stop," he said. "As he was leaving the room with his half dozen followers, he walked past me and hit me in the eye with his open hand for apparently no reason except that I was there and I was a white man."

Signs Warrant for Arrest

Monroe signed a warrant for Brooks' arrest, charging him with aggravated assault. Monroe later learned Brooks also was sought for an attack on one of his teachers, Robert Neville, and on a white girl at Chicago State college.

The next day the Wilson troubles stirred. "It was a real test and confrontation," admitted Shabat. "We came close to closing the school, and that's a thing I never want to see happen."

last group that has grown steadily in power and influence on the Wilson campus in the last three months, demanded that Monroe drop charges against Brooks. Monroe refused.

Meets with Panthers

In an attempt to solve the crisis, Monroe met with the Panthers, the Afro-American club, and student government

leaders for several hours last Thursday. "It became evident the Afro-American club was no longer the spokesman for the students," said Monroe. "The Panthers had taken over. They were making the demands, and they were doing the talking with the other students backing them up."

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Appendix A 23

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AT WILSON CAMPUS

- 1967: Informal efforts by Afro-American History Club to persuade social science department to include books by black authors in departmental reading lists.
- Feb. 1968: Social science department members did not attend a meeting with Afro-American Club or submit course outlines to departmental chairman.
- March 7-8, 1968: Afro-American students conduct "teach-ins" in several classes to demonstrate their concern at what they consider the apparent unwillingness of faculty in some departments to utilize work of black authors.
- March 9, 1968: Special faculty meeting directs each department to communicate with student groups and designates Dean of Faculty and Instruction to act as liaison between students and faculty.
- March 11, 1968: Agreement signed between the chairman of the social science department, on behalf of the department, and the Afro-American History Club, establishing and pledging compliance with certain departmental policies of requiring assignment of books by black authors (copy enclosed). Similar agreements are reached with humanities and English departments.
- Sep.25-Oct.23,1968: Course outlines and reading assignments collected to ascertain compliance with pledges of humanities, English, and social science departments to use materials by black authors.
- Nov. 11, 1968: Afro-American Club members demonstrate in classes of Mrs. Noel Johnson and Dr. Leon Novar, explaining the action as an effort to bring about compliance by the two instructors.
- Nov. 13, 1968: Afro-American Club demands immediate resignation of Mrs. Noel Johnson and Dr. Leon Novar.
- Nov. 14-15, 1968: Faculty Council hears testimony from Mrs. Noel Johnson, Dr. Leon Novar and other teachers, Afro-American Club spokesmen, the President of the Cook County College Teachers Union, and others.
- Nov. 15, 1968: Faculty Council recommends to the faculty that both teachers be allowed to transfer. Faculty votes to accept recommendation of Faculty Council (copy enclosed).

11/18/68

