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"WE HOPE FOR NOTHING; WE DEMAND EVERYTHING:" BLACK STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, 1965-1975

BY

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998

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THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

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(date)

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS BY

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ENTITLED "WE HOPE FOR NOTHING: WE DEMAND EVERYTHING:" BLACK STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, 1965-1975

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ABSTRACT

In the late 1960s, Black students at predominantly White and historically Black campuses across the nation reevaluated the education they received in institutions of higher education and demanded an education more "relevant" to their situation as Blacks in America. This dissertation is an attempt to understand the influence of such notions on one such predominantly White institution, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). It presents an historical reconstruction of the Black UIUC student movement's origin, development, and decline. Preconditions such as alienation and isolation on campus provided Black students with the foundation on which their frustrations with UIUC built. Off-campus events and on-campus experiences precipitated the formation of a Black student union as a way to allay their alienation and to act as a mediating body between themselves and the institution. The organization filled social and psychological needs for Black students and provided a forum in which they could plot a course for change. A catalytic event bolstered the Black student movement and transformed their efforts into an open and large-scale protest which, in turn, elicited responses and control efforts from the UIUC administration. Though short-lived, the Black UIUC student movement was able to leave a tangible and intangible legacy on campus.

As a case study of Black Power's influence on the UIUC campus, this dissertation contributes to the discussion regarding the influence Black students had on helping to shape the nature of education at predominantly White institutions. In particular, it allows for an understanding of how unique factors influenced the rise in and character of Black student discontent at a large, land-grant, residential, Midwestern institution. Though unique for several reasons, the discussions and demands that came out of the Black student movement at UIUC were not unlike the discussions and demands at other predominantly White institutions across the nation. This dissertation is an attempt to contribute to the dialogue on the rise, ideology, development, and outcome of Black student movements across the

nation in an effort to determine the full impact of Black student efforts and Black Power on American higher education.

This dissertation is dedicated to my ever-loving

parents, sister,

and loved ones who have passed.

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This project has not been an individual endeavor. I am greatly indebted to many people both on and off the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign campus. I am particularly indebted to the members of my dissertation committee, Professors James Anderson, Charles Payne, Ralph Page, and Lillian Hoddeson. Each offered a unique and valuable perspective in constructing and revising this dissertation. My advisor and mentor, Dr. James Anderson ("Doc"), played a special role in my intellectual development. He encouraged me to attend graduate school, became my advisor, and has quietly prodded me to become a better researcher and academician. I consider his advice, support, and wisdom invaluable and am eternally grateful.

I would like to thank publicly Vice Chancellor Clarence Shelley, without whose help this project would not have materialized as it did. His continuing contact with Black University of Illinois alumni and encouragement facilitated the entire process. I am only one of many students who has benefited from his presence at the University of Illinois.

I also recognize the people at the Office of Minority Student Affairs, especially Otis Williams, for allowing me the time to complete my dissertation, providing certain information included in this piece, and always showing an interest in the project. He and the other Deans and staff encouraged me in my educational pursuits since I arrived on campus in 1989.

The project would not have become a reality if it were not for my interviewees who showed an interest in the project, graciously opened their homes and memories, and rearranged their schedules to fit the life of a frenzied graduate student. I believe I am part of their legacy and consider this dissertation an attempt to "give back" to those who forced the University of Illinois to reckon with a diverse student population.

Friends including Annette and Elias Acevedo, Lisa Scruggs, Nafonwyck Williams, Charise Cheney, Melina Pappademos, Stephanie Sims, and Cate Wycoff calmed my nerves and patiently listened to my trials and tribulations (i.e. making mountains out of molehills).

I consider their friendships one of my dearest blessings. Raquel Farmer came to my rescue when I had doubts about whether I could complete the dissertation while maintaining some semblance of sanity. Through the hours spent writing and revising, she provided motivation, diversion, advice, and support. I look forward to a long relationship not only as colleagues but friends.

My parents, Willard and Donna Williamson, are the first and best educators I have ever known. They not only provided the foundation of knowledge but encouraged independent and critical thinking. Their love and support have guided my life. My sister, Julie Williamson, has become one of my closest confidants. She has been extraordinarily empathetic and has offered very careful, thoughtful, and helpful advice. No words can express how deeply I cherish our relationship.

Loved ones who have passed also guided this project. Each night I asked George Williamson, Jimmy Williamson, Nannie and Poppy Byrne, Jerry Byrne, and Auntie Marie Smith to provide the strength to put pen to paper. Each morning my mind and thoughts were renewed and this project a day closer to finality.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

AACP: Afro-American Cultural Program

AASC: Afro-American Studies Commission

AASP: Afro-American Studies Program

ATEP: Alternative Teacher Education Program

BSA: Black Students Association

CAP: Coalition of Afrikan People (formerly BSA)

COFO: Council of Federated Organizations

CORE: Congress of Racial Equality

EOG: Equal Opportunity Grant

FSCAALC: Faculty-Student Commission on Afro-American Life and Culture

GPA: Grade Point Average

ISR: Illinois Street Residence Hall

LAS: Liberal Arts and Sciences (College of)

LCFO: Lowndes County Freedom Organization

MFDP: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

SCLC: Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SEOP : Special Educational Opportunities Program (Project 500)

SNCC: Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

UIUC: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

African Americans throughout history have employed different tactics and established different goals in an effort to gain liberation. The late 1960s Black Power Movement was a continuation of such Black liberation attempts. Black youth, including college students, were participants in the community-wide history of struggle and continued to play pivotal roles in the Black Power era. At predominantly White and historically Black campuses across the nation, Black students reevaluated the education they received in institutions of higher education and demanded an education more "relevant" to their situation as Blacks in America. This dissertation is an attempt to understand the influence of such notions on one such predominantly White institution, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). The focus is the examination of: the development of the ideology of Blackness and the politics of Black Power on the UIUC campus from 1965 to 1975, the impact of Blackness and Black Power on Black student life and thought--both collectively and individually--and on the campus in general, the Black UIUC student political agenda that grew out of Black Power politics, and the extent to which Black Power left a legacy on campus.

This dissertation presents an historical reconstruction of the Black UIUC student movement's origin, development, and decline. The purpose is not to find some kind of "truth" but to chart and describe the path of the Black student movement at UIUC using the Black students themselves, as represented in the Black student publications from 1965 to 1975 and in oral interviews conducted from 1996 to 1998, as the primary sources for such an understanding. To accomplish this task, the Black UIUC student movement is couched in William Exum's developmental model of a Black student movement at a predominantly White institution in New York. As he states, "Social movements do not appear full-blown in a society or an organization. Rather, they develop over a period of time, though the emergence of a movement may appear sudden." The development of such a movement

follows a sequence. Preconditions such as alienation and a sense of inauthenticity provide the foundation on which frustrations with higher educational institutions build. With the influence of off-campus events and shared experiences on campus, individuals come together to form organizations and Black students unions as a way to allay their alienation and to act as a mediating body between themselves and the hostile institution. Next, members of the organization exchange ideas, develop an articulated ideology, and plot a course for change in the institution. Given a precipitating event, their efforts can become open and large-scale protest which, in turn, elicits responses and control efforts from the institution. The outcome of such protests vary. Some end in disarray and disintegrate. Others thrive and have a high rate of goal achievement.[1]

The framework for this dissertation is based roughly on Exum's stages of Black student movement development. Chapter two places the Black UIUC student movement in the broader context of the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the late 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, and locates Black UIUC students in a history of youth protest in Black liberation attempts. Chapter three examines in depth the creation of the Black Students Association (BSA) and its emerging role as the primary vehicle through which Black Power ideology and politics were defined and later implemented. National, regional (Chicagoland), and local (UIUC) influences on the character and nature of the UIUC movement are investigated. Chapter four concentrates on the period approximately six months after BSA's formation when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated and the university initiated an affirmative action recruitment program. Though BSA already existed, interviewees considered the "real" beginning of the Black student movement synonymous with the arrival of the significant number of Black Freshmen through the recruitment program. Chapter five charts the catalyst effect of a September 1968 Black student "riot" and mass arrest on the further development of ideology, goals, and tactics of Black activist students on campus and investigates how the collective experience of the arrest (as well as other factors) led to collective action in the form of demonstrations,

protests, a list of demands, and backlash against Black students by Illinois and UIUC constituents. Chapter six examines the success of two BSA demands in the form of the Afro-American Studies Program and the Afro-American Cultural Program. Their institutionalization is examined as part of the tangible legacy of Black Power at UIUC. Also, the recollections of interviewees on both the personal benefits of participating in the movement and its strengths and weaknesses offer a unique interpretation of movement successes and failures. Chapter seven charts the decline in the Black student movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Though it faded, the chapter seeks to demonstrate that the Black Power Era students left both tangible and intangible legacies that remain at UIUC in several forms.

Sources

In order to discuss fully the nature of Black Power on the UIUC campus, the resulting BSA demands, and the success or failure of those demands, a variety of sources were used. The methodology for this dissertation consisted of a systematic review of archival sources collected from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives including newspapers, yearbooks, correspondence, syllabi, academic course information, directories and other miscellaneous publications; reports from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Office of Academic Policy Analysis and the Undergraduate Office of Minority of Student Affairs; Clipped Article Files from the Afro-American Studies and Research Program and Professors at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and oral interviews conducted by the author with key leaders of the Black student movement at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign from 1965 to 1975. Other primary sources, secondary sources, and government documents available through the University of Illinois Library System also were utilized.[2]

Though newspapers and oral interviews are considered flawed sources of information by some historians, others consider them no less reliable than social statistics or census data. As Paul Thompson, an oral historian, states, "they all represent either from

individual or aggregated, the social perception of facts; and are all in addition subject to social pressures from the context in which they are obtained."[3] The newspapers, flyers, yearbooks, and correspondence were a valuable resource since they provided evidence of Black Power sentiment and allowed an analysis of how Black Power manifest itself through language, interpretation, and perspective. Other sources including Staff Directories, Student Directories, and Reports published by the University Office of Academic Policy Analysis were examined to verify, and sometimes correct, the information found in the student publications. Therefore, although the newspapers offered some "factual" information, other sources were examined as verification.

Oral history, defined by James Hoopes as "the collecting of any individual's spoken memories of his life, people he has known, and events he has witnessed or participated in," is a valuable research method and historical tool. Oral researchers recognize that memory is fallible but argue that written sources should be considered no more reliable than oral testimony. When available, written and oral evidence are most useful when used in tandem in that they can provide a check and balance regarding specific facts, interpretations, and testimonies. Also, interviews provide an insiders' perspective on momentous events and allow the researcher to focus on or discuss more thoroughly information that may have been treated only tangentially in written records. Further, interviews can open new areas of inquiry and "give back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place."[4]

Oral interviews were pivotal to this project for several reasons. First, the fact that most of the major players are living offered this researcher a valuable resource in that the dialogue filled gaps in the written record, supplemented fragmented information, corrected unclear information, and allowed the interviewees to collaborate with each other regarding accounts and interpretations of events. Second, the lack of archival sources necessitated the use of interviews. For instance, certain BSA publications were missing from the UIUC collection. Interviews not only allowed the former UIUC students to contribute verbally to

this project, but many interviewees also preserved a wealth of written documents not contained in the UIUC Archives. Third, interviews allowed this researcher to examine issues not discussed in the written record. For example, discussions of gender roles or gender equity were not included in BSA publications because they were not part of public discourse. However, discussions about gender did exist, in fact, Black Manhood and Black Womanhood Classes were sponsored on campus. Interviews provided previously excluded information on how Black UIUC students from 1965 to 1975 defined "Black man," "Black woman," and the respective roles of each gender in the Black liberation struggle.

The persons chosen for oral interviews were selected using three main sources. Reoccurring names in Black student publications or individuals discussing pivotal issues regarding Black students on campus from 1965 to 1975 were interviewed. However, the fact that many articles did not have by-lines made it difficult to identify certain pivotal figures. Therefore, this researcher relied on interviewees to offer names of individuals they remembered playing vital roles at UIUC. Most names were volunteered and unsolicited. Vice Chancellor Clarence Shelley and Dr. James D. Anderson were a third source of possible interviewees. Both were at UIUC during the period examined, Vice Chancellor Shelley as Dean of the Special Educational Opportunities Program, and Dr. Anderson as a graduate student. Their continued associations and friendships with former students involved in the Black UIUC student movement helped expand the interviewee list.

Consciously selecting both male and female interviewees, this researcher individually interviewed--either in person or by phone--eighteen individuals who offered a unique perspective and understanding of Black student life and thought from 1965 to 1975. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was audiotaped. Open-ended questions meant to direct the interview were employed, the purpose of which was to understand attitudes and sentiments, not detailed "facts" such as names or dates. Of the eighteen interviewees, fifteen were students during the time investigated, one was the Dean of the

Special Educational Opportunities Program, one was the Director of the Afro-American Cultural Program, and one was an activist in the Champaign community. The student interviewees included four BSA Presidents, the President of the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, students who attended UIUC for undergraduate only, students who attended for graduate school only, students who attended for both undergraduate and graduate, various members of the BSA executive council and committees, and members of several Greek letter organizations. Though graduation from college was not a factor in selecting interviewees, all of the former students interviewed received at least bachelor's degree, and all but one received an additional degree including master's, law, and doctorate. The interviewees represented a range of careers including business, high school teacher, lobbyist, government employee, management consultant, lawyer, and judge.[5]

Since they were not chosen by random sample, the individuals selected for interviews do not represent a cross section of Black students attending UIUC. The range of opinions regarding tactics, means, and goals of the Black Power Movement and nature of Blackness are not represented, and in no way is it suggested that the interviewees were the only or most important persons who helped shape "Blackness" on the UIUC campus. However, each interviewee played a significant role in interpreting Blackness and Black Power for the UIUC community. They were selected because of their ability to fill gaps in the written record regarding the emergence and persistence of Black Power ideology on campus and to provide a fuller picture of student life and culture.[6] It is important to note that though the interviews were conducted individually (no group interviews were conducted), the interviewees corroborated each other's stories. For example, when asked to interpret significant events on campus, interviewees described similar catalysts. Also, their stories matched the written evidence of the time. Selective memory, or the selection and remembrance of certain memories rather than others, is inevitable; but the similarity both among interviewees and between interviewees and documentation written from 1965

to 1975 demonstrated that interviewees held common recollections of their impressions of the Black student movement at UIUC.[7] Unfortunately, the emotions evident in speech are not as evident when translated into text. Remembering their time at UIUC made all interviewees laugh and smile, but harsh realities were difficult (though honestly explained) to discuss and literally brought some to tears. A conscious attempt was made to represent these emotions by placing them in certain contexts in the text.

Significance of the Study

As a case study of Black Power's influence on the UIUC campus, this dissertation contributes to the discussion regarding the influence Black students had on helping to shape the nature of education at predominantly White institutions. In particular, it allows for an understanding of how unique factors influenced the rise in and character of Black student discontent at a large, land-grant, residential, Midwestern institution. Though unique for several reasons, the discussions and demands that came out of the Black student movement at UIUC were not unlike the discussions and demands at other predominantly White institutions across the nation. This dissertation is an attempt to contribute to the dialogue on the rise, ideology, development, and outcome of Black student movements across the nation in an effort to determine the full impact of Black student efforts and Black Power on American higher education.

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[1] William Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest: Black Student Activism in a White University* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 20-21; Exum's book was extremely instructive and is cited extensively throughout this work.

[2] A complete set the Black Students Association newspapers were not available in the UIUC Archives. Available issues of *Drums* included those published from November 1967 to November 1968; *The Black Rap* from February 1969 to February 1971; and *Yombo* from December 1971 to April 1974. The reason BSA members and newspaper staff changed the name of the newspaper from *Drums* to *The Black Rap* is unclear. The change from *The Black Rap* to *Yombo* reflects the Pan-African tone becoming ascendant in Black student ideology. The BSA yearbook, *Irepodun*, was published in 1972 and 1973. All available issues were gathered from the following source: Black Student Association Publications, 1967-, File number 41/66/826, UIUC Archives. Therefore, only the author (if provided), article title, and date of publication will be given for references to BSA publications.

[3] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 96.

[4] James Hoopes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 7; Barbara Allen and William Lynwood Montell, *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981), 15; Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 2.

[5] For a list of short biographies on each interviewee, see, Appendix A; Of all the people contacted for possible interviews, only one, retired Professor Joseph Smith, declined to be interviewed. All the other interviewees were enthusiastic about being interviewed, looked forward to reading the finished product, and graciously rearranged their schedules to fit the interview schedule.

[6] William H. Chafe's and William Exum's defense of the use of oral interviews in historical research and reconstruction influenced the author's perceptions of the use of oral interview, see, William H. Chafe, "A Note on Sources," *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 415-418, and Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 208-215.

[7] The understanding of selective memory is taken from, Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 19-22.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT

> [You] got to do it with the young people, that's the only way. The young people is better than the old people. The old people get all slavey-town on you. Like in the old days, if the white folks told you to do somethin' you did it! Now 'days you can jus' turn around if you don't want to. But the old people, they don't know times is changed.[1]
>
> -elderly Mississippi man speaking to Sally Belfrage, SNCC volunteer, during the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, 1964

In order to understand the Black student movement at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) during the later 1960s and early 1970s, it is necessary to understand the role of Black youth in the history of the Black freedom struggle. The efforts of Black students to change their respective institutions to fit their ideas of Black liberation were the end result of decades of resistance. Just as the Civil Rights Movement built on previous efforts, the Black Power Movement built on the Civil Rights Movement, and the Black student movement grew out of Black Power. Many of the students involved in protest were participants in and/or had experience with civil rights struggle or Black Power. Black students at predominantly White institutions across the nation employed the lessons they learned from older activists and previous struggles and fit them to their own purposes. In this chapter, and using the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as a base, Black student activism will be contextualized by discussing the varied roles of youth in the Civil Rights Movement, youth in the Black Power Movement, the Black Power Movement at predominantly White college campuses, and cross generational links between activists in each. Many Black youth/students (and Blacks in general) did not support or participate in any of the aforementioned movements and this chapter is not an attempt to characterize entire generations as "apathetic" or "activist." Its purpose it is to locate youth activists in a history of Black liberation efforts.

Youth in the Civil Rights Movement

A youth component has been ever-present within the struggle for African American liberation.[2] Throughout history, Black youth have acted as instruments against White domination and segregation. In the educational arena, African American parents petitioned school systems and districts to provide an equal education as early as the Colonial Period. Though rarely granted, African Americans continued to demand equal educational opportunity and slowly began making headway in the early 20th century. In the 1920s, Blacks returned from World War I with a renewed fervor for egalitarian education. During the post-war period, the number of students enrolled in Black colleges increased six-fold from 2,132 in 1917 to 13,580 in 1927. At institutions such as Fisk, Howard, Tuskegee, Hampton, and Wilberforce, African Americans demanded a liberal education instead of the vocational education offered and resolved to determine the path of African American education for themselves. Later, World War II veterans returned from the war armed with the GI Bill, a federal incentive enabling veterans to afford college. According to David Sansing, "To blacks in postwar Mississippi higher education was the avenue of upward mobility, the 'yellow brick road' to the American dream." The same can be said of African Americans in other states as well. African American veterans, in particular, attempted to take advantage of the possibility of increased access to higher education. Many Southern veterans were denied attendance at predominantly White institutions due to segregationist practices. Others were turned away because the historically Black institutions to which they applied could not accommodate such an influx of students. Frustrated that they had fought for their country in the name of democracy and freedom only to return to segregation, racism, and Jim Crow, African Americans veterans including Medgar Evers, who himself used the GI Bill to pay for his undergraduate education at Alcorn and later attempted to enroll at the University of Mississippi Law School in 1954, energized the emerging Civil Rights Movement.[3]

African Americans also fought for an equal educational opportunity for their children in the earlier levels of education. Black parents petitioned the government to provide equal access to education in 1954, with the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas,* case. The Supreme Court decision that a "separate but equal" education was unconstitutional and in fact had been unequal boosted African American morale and spurred many African American parents to test the ruling in their respective school districts. Three years after the *Brown* ruling, parents in Little Rock, Arkansas, enrolled their children in all-White Central High School. Melba Pattillo Beals, one of the students to integrate Central High School, recounted her family's dedication to equal educational opportunity. Her mother was one of the first African Americans to integrate the University of Arkansas. Though frightened, humiliated, and discouraged throughout her schooling, Mrs. Pattillo received her master's degree in 1954. Three years later her daughter would repeat the experience in the local high school. As a child, Beals was surrounded with examples of the importance of education and participating in her own uplift. Her father attended college and was one course from receiving his degree, her mother received her master's degree and became a teacher, and her grandmother read aloud to her excepts from the *Bible* and Shakespeare. When chosen to integrate Central High School, she not only followed in her mother's footsteps, but according to her grandmother, she fulfilled her destiny.[4]

Though their parents often initiated such attacks on White domination, Black youth were not mere bystanders or unwilling participants. They, too, initiated attacks against the system and actively advanced the cause of Black liberation individually and collectively. Individual African American students/youth challenged segregation by enrolling in Southern predominantly White institutions including James Meredith in Mississippi and Autherine Lucy, Vivian Malone, and James Hood in Alabama. Others such as the Greensboro Four, Stokely Carmichael, Cleveland Sellers, Sammy Younge, Diane Nash, Ruby Doris Smith, James Chaney and many, many others--all in their late teens or very early twenties--carved a niche for themselves in the struggle for liberation in the 1950s and

early 1960s. As a collective, Black students at various historically Black colleges and universities organized SNCC, an organization initiated to coordinate sit-in protests in various segregated service institutions. With the help of Ella Baker, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Executive Director, SNCC was founded in April, 1960. Instead of becoming a subsidiary of SCLC as many SCLC members wanted, Baker and the students believed a new organization was necessary. As SNCC worker, Cleveland Sellers, stated--speaking to an ideological split in the Civil Rights Movement: "Our parents had the [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People]. Its practice of pursuing 'test cases' through the courts, using laws and the *Constitution* to fight racial discrimination was suited to their temperaments. We needed something more. As far as we were concerned, the NAACP's approach was too slow, too courteous, too deferential and too ineffectual." With religious underpinnings, SNCC proposed a strategy of nonviolence in attaining desegregation: "We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action." SNCC efforts to eradicate segregation in public facilities slowly moved forward and achieved concessions from many institutions though some acquiesced sooner than others.[5]

Other facilities including bus and train terminals became the target of desegregation efforts in 1961. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) conducted the first Freedom Ride, then called a journey of reconciliation, in 1947, as a direct-action tactic to achieve civil rights goals. CORE later revived the Freedom Rides in 1961, by attempting to use segregated eating facilities in bus terminals across the South. Their purpose was to test a 1960 US Supreme Court decision that declared racial segregation of interstate bus terminals unconstitutional. Thirteen CORE members, including two African American students who were active in the sit-in movement, volunteered to be the first to test the ruling. On 4 May, the first freedom riders left Washington, DC, and continued to Anniston, Alabama, with little commotion. However, in Anniston, a mob of Whites attacked and bombed the bus

and severely beat the riders. After regrouping, the riders continued to Birmingham where a similar scene occurred. After hearing about the attacks, Diane Nash, a SNCC member and student at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, organized a group of students to travel to Birmingham to continue the Freedom Ride thus inaugurating SNCC's entrance into the Freedom Rides. By 22 September, after several buses attempted to travel through the South, after many Black and White freedom riders were beaten and arrested, after Robert Kennedy--then Attorney General--pleaded for a cooling-off period, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued a regulation prohibiting separate facilities for Blacks and Whites in bus and train terminals.[6]

In a less successful attempt to integrate public facilities, the Jackson, Mississippi, NAACP Youth Council initiated a boycott against downtown merchants discriminating against Black workers and customers in late 1962. They demanded "the use of courtesy titles, equality in hiring and promotion, and an end to Jim Crow practices." Eventually, the hiring of Black police and school crossing guards and the establishment of a biracial committee were added to the list of demands. Realizing that the boycott, because it involved picketing stores, would result in arrests, the NAACP Youth Council solicited the national organization for bond money. While the New York office refused support, the young demonstrators proceeded with their plan. Eventually, the national office did lend support but only after being spurred to action by the successes of the SCLC direct-action campaign in Birmingham, Alabama. Medgar Evers, Mississippi NAACP field secretary, estimated the boycott had been sixty to sixty-five percent effective, but, still Jackson's all White government refused to concede to the demonstrators' demands. Approximately seven months after the beginning of the campaign, the national NAACP office began to withdraw support and discouraged further demonstrations or pickets (the reason they did so is unclear) and the Jackson establishment had agreed only to a handful of Black promotions, the hiring of six Black policemen, and Black crossing guards for Black schools. "The major movement demands--desegregation of public facilities, formation of a

biracial committee, and an end to discrimination in hiring--were ignored. Jackson remained a Jim Crow city."[7] While less effective than other boycotts, the Jackson boycott reminded Whites that the system of White domination was under attack and demonstrated that young Blacks were as willing as their parents to engage in and initiate protest activity.

In several instances, Black youth also were able to draw their parents and other adults into the movement. Older Southern Blacks often were wary of SNCC workers and their tactics and goals. However, as their children got involved in the Movement, many chose to follow. For example, Lula Belle Johnson's entrance into the movement followed and was directly linked to her daughter, June's, involvement. In the early 1960s when June began her Movement activities, Mrs. Johnson rarely granted her permission to attend SNCC meetings. Her daughter's activities were a source of friction between the two, and Mrs. Johnson remained skeptical of the movement. In 1963, June was able to persuade her mother, with prodding from trusted SNCC workers, to allow her to travel round-trip from Mississippi to South Carolina. The trip remained uneventful until the return-trip when the bus stopped in Winona, Mississippi, and the group was arrested. All members of the group were beaten severely. Guards beat June with nightsticks and a leather strap and she eventually lost consciousness. Her daughter's experience with the Movement spurred Mrs. Johnson to action. Soon after June's arrest and beating, Mrs. Johnson quit her job, opened her home to the Movement, enlisted other women to join, and found housing for out-of-town civil rights visitors. In this way, the involvement and experiences of Black youth served as recruiting tools for their parents.[8]

Toward the mid-1960s, SNCC became one of the organizations through which Black youth would make the most noticeable and wide impact on liberation efforts. Soon after the organization's inception, members tackled the issue of whether the organization should remain committed to direct-action or branch out into voter registration (many SNCC workers became attracted to voter registration because a few SNCC workers, including Robert Moses, already traveled to the Deep South to initiate such projects). Some SNCC

members fought to keep the organization entrenched in nonviolent confrontation for the purpose of integrating public facilities and making a moral statement; others believed direct-action tactics only attained short-term solutions and preferred the long-term possibilities of building a political base for Blacks in the South. However, after just a few months, members recognized both could be used to organize and to "awaken the black man's political consciousness and ultimately to make him a political force to be reckoned with."[9] Direct-action tactics and voter registration were considered equally important, but voter registration began to take precedence as White establishments desegregated their facilities.

With increasing numbers of people participating in the movement, civil rights organizations recognized the need to coordinate their activities. One attempt to do so was the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). Formed in 1962, COFO served as an umbrella organization in Mississippi consisting of the NAACP, CORE, SNCC, and SCLC. Through COFO, the civil rights organizations sought to "have coordinated efforts . . . to avoid duplication, confusion, and a general lack of direction." (While the national NAACP office remained committed to legal means it was forced to action by its local chapters and eventually endorsed their involvement in COFO.) The basic goals of the new organization included developing local leadership and increasing voter registration in Mississippi, especially rural Mississippi. Aaron Henry, an NAACP chapter President, acted as President and SNCC provided most of the personnel.[10]

During the summer of 1963, and analogous to the new focus of SNCC, COFO organizers found a Reconstruction era law that allowed unregistered citizens to vote if they provided an affidavit asserting they were qualified. Using this law as a base, COFO, primarily staffed and run by SNCC, attempted to get large numbers of Black Mississippi residents to vote in the gubernatorial primary scheduled for August. Encouraged by the participation in the primary, COFO launched Freedom Vote for the Fall elections with their own candidates. Those Blacks registered to vote were encouraged to do so in the regular election but to write in the Freedom candidates; those who were not registered were

encouraged to vote in COFO's mock election. COFO organized a statewide campaign, used newspapers and television to advertise, and sponsored rallies across the state though the White Mississippi establishment harassed them at every turn. No Freedom candidates won the election, but Freedom Vote proved a success. According to Charles Payne, approximately 80,000 ballots were cast.[11] Also, media attention served to magnify the struggle of Black Mississippians to participate in the democratic process--though mass media attention may have been due to the fact that several White students from Yale and Stanford University were involved in Freedom Vote efforts.

By 1964, thoroughly disgusted with the federal government's unwillingness to intercede and the Mississippi Democratic Party's persistence in denying Black participation, SNCC stopped trying to force its way and the way of Black Southerners into the White Democratic Party that supposedly represented all Mississippi Democrats. Instead of attempting to penetrate the Party, SNCC encouraged Blacks to form their own political parties. This shift in policy and ideology characterized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, both of which became the models for a different kind of political participation.

Encouraged by the Freedom Vote in the spring, SNCC, with the help of local NAACP chapter leaders E. W. Steptoe and Aaron Henry, launched a major assault on Mississippi voting rights during the summer of 1964, to prepare for the National Democratic Convention in August. Instead of attempting to force the White Democrats who were elected while SNCC was working on the Freedom Vote to accept them, SNCC and local Mississippi residents inaugurated their own party and chose their own delegates to represent them under the banner of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) on 26 April 1964. "Since Negroes are excluded, not only from voting but from participating in any phase of the party machinery, [the candidates] hope the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City will refuse to seat the regular Democrats and will extend recognition to the Freedom Democrats instead."[12]

The hopes of the MFDP rested in the fact that they believed they best embodied the true nature of the Democratic Party, not the White segregationists purporting to represent them. By attending the Democratic Convention, MFDP and SNCC revealed their belief in the American system. While forming their own party to represent their interests, MFDP was still an effort to force the Democratic door open for Black Mississippians. But, the defeat of the challenge increased distrust of the federal government, "well-meaning" White liberals, and Democrats. Stokely Carmichael, a prominent and influential SNCC member and former Howard University student, went so far as to believe the defeat indicated the need for racial power. However, the summer of 1964 was not a total loss. SNCC's move beyond desegregation, beyond voting rights, and into broader issues of empowerment and community autonomy allowed for the development of more successful programs initiated during the time of the MFDP challenge including freedom schools, adult literacy programs and classes, food banks, and medical clinics. Also, it lead to a new level of federal involvement.[13]

While some SNCC workers tried to stop the inauguration of the Mississippi Democrats in Congress in 1965, others arrived in Lowndes County, Alabama. After attempting to register voters with the Democratic Party but encountering intense White repression, SNCC, as it had done in Mississippi, questioned its loyalty to the Democrats. They reevaluated their position and their options and proceeded with the mission of creating an autonomous political party.

> Our plan for Lowndes was simple. We intended to register as many blacks as we could, all of them if possible, and take over the county. An obscure Alabama law that made it relatively simple to start a new party gave us the edge we needed. We believed that a complete victory was possible. After achieving success in Lowndes, we intended to widen our base by branching out and doing the same thing in surrounding counties. We were convinced that we had found The Lever we had been searching for.[14]

Stokely Carmichael spearheaded the efforts. He, his all Black staff, and the Lowndes County residents did not attempt to integrate the ticket; instead, all candidates were Black. The new Party, the Lowndes Country Freedom Organization (LCFO), chose a Black panther as its symbol to illustrate the organization's focus and became known as the Black Panther Party. John Hulett, the 1966 LCFO Chairman, explained, "The black panther is an animal that when it is pressured it moves back until it is cornered, then it comes out fighting for life or death. We felt we had been pushed back long enough and that it was time for Negroes to come out and take over." The Lowndes County residents who organized LCFO were self-reliant, militant, and armed Black farmers. This not only facilitated SNCC's entrance in the community and its organizing efforts but forced SNCC workers to reevaluate their positions on armed self-defense versus nonviolence. Alabama SNCC workers refused, counter to SNCC headquarters demands, to tell the farmers to lay down their weapons in the name of advancing civil rights. According to Carmichael, nonviolence for SNCC had been simply a tactic. The farmers had a right to defend themselves, their property, and their civil and human rights. All candidates were defeated in the November 1965 election, but the LCFO grew and remained a political force in Alabama after SNCC left. SNCC succeeded in empowering locals to fight their own struggles. As Mr. Hulett explained, "After forming our own political group, today we feel real strong. . . . As a group of people, we must think for ourselves and act on our own accord. And this we have done."[15]

After decades of attempting to force their way into the existing social order only to meet intense White resistance and repression, many African Americans, including youth, became disillusioned with integration to the point of disdain. Instead of being the "answer" to Black America's problems, some African Americans redefined integration as "the name given to the Black man's slave philosophy of self-hate," "a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy," and a philosophy that ignored questions of power and worked to usurp the Black community of the skills and energies of its most productive members.

Further undermining faith in the goals and tactics of the Civil Rights Movement were the murders of Black youth such as the students in Orangeburg, South Carolina, Sammy Younge, James Chaney, the four girls killed in a church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, and many unnamed others. Disillusionment with the federal government's dedication to improving the conditions of African Americans, suspicions regarding the extent to which White liberals could be considered true allies, and the large discrepancy between expected results and actual achievements resulted in a shift in ideas on the proper tactics and means to gain Black liberation. African American youth grew frustrated with the slow pace of change and began to demand more power, real power, Black Power.[16]

Youth in the Black Power Movement

Many African American students/youth began to look to alternate strategies and goals in advancing Black liberation efforts. In particular, SNCC workers began to examine the fruits of community organizing. Blacks were not being elected to state legislatures, but local Black residents experienced a sense of autonomy, pride, and determination. SNCC indeed empowered some indigenous Black Southerners to lead themselves. But, instead of continuing with community organizing, other issues such as the interlocking problems of poverty, powerlessness, and cultural subordination pushed to the fore. As the Civil Rights Movement moved North, SNCC began to examine Black problems in the Northern cities. This new focus embodied Stokely Carmichael's election as SNCC Chairman in May 1966. His election signaled a repudiation of the tradition of Christian nonviolence symbolized by previous chairmen and refocused the organization toward issues confronting Blacks in Northern urban areas where racism and discrimination were much more intangible and covert than in Mississippi or Alabama.[17]

While SNCC had been leaning toward an African American exclusive or African American focused ideology for some time, Carmichael inaugurated the "Black Power Era" 16 June 1966. Earlier in the month, James Meredith, the first African American to enroll at Ole Miss, began a March Against Fear to prove an African American could walk from

Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, without being harmed. On the second day of his March, he was shot. Civil rights groups including SNCC vowed to continue his journey, then labeled the Meredith March. On the way through Greenwood, Mississippi, Carmichael and others were arrested. Frustrated and infuriated, Carmichael addressed a rally of six hundred people, "This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested--and I ain't going to jail no more! The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin' us is to take over. We been saying freedom for six years and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start saying now is 'Black Power!'" No longer would Blacks bargain from "a position of weakness. We cannot be expected any longer to march and have our heads broken in order to say to whites: Come on, you're nice guys. For you are not nice guys. We have found you out." Carmichael considered Black Power a logical outgrowth of the Southern Civil Rights struggle and a reasonable response to the conditions facing African Americans. Using it as a base, SNCC's could help provide African Americans with the strength and voice necessary to be heard.[18]

Attempting to more fully define Black Power, Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, a political scientist, authored *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.* They described Black Power as "pride rather than shame in blackness, and an attitude of brotherly, communal responsibility among all black people for one another." They further defined it as a call for African Americans to recognize and be proud of their heritage, build a sense of community, define their own goals, and control their own organizations. To successfully accomplish the above tasks, and therefore attain Black Power, Blacks were called to unite: "Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society." Under the banner of Blackness, they would be able to address their grievances and demand their share of the American pie.[19]

While critiqued as being too vague or ill-defined, "Black Power" became a highly effective slogan. Blacks were able to use the slogan as they deemed necessary and fit, "it satisfies associative meanings, the very ambiguity that permits them, like Rorschach ink blots, to suggest to each person just what he wants to see in them." Regardless of how it was defined, Black Power usually included political, economic, cultural, and psychological components. Black political power meant Black police officers patrolling Black communities, Black tax assessors, Black mayors, and Black legislators. Black economic power meant equality of results in the standard of living of African Americans with that of Whites and the development of community institutions. Black cultural power meant cultural autonomy. Black psychological power meant self-determination and self-definition. Along with Carmichael, young ideologues such as H. Rap Brown, Imamu Amiri Baraka, and Ron Karenga further helped define the nature of Black Power and disseminate it to the African American community at large.[20]

One group of young Black men and women (borrowing their name from the armed Black farmers in Lowndes County, Alabama) was the Oakland, California, based Black Panther Party, officially organized in October 1966. The limited victories of the Civil Rights Movement, riots in Los Angeles, and police brutality sewed the seeds for the emergence of the Black Panthers. Like the SNCC of the middle 1960s, they gravitated toward more confrontational tactics and rhetoric. When discussing integration, the Black Panthers cited that it focused on individual gains not community gains. These individual gains were primarily for middle-class Blacks (of which the Panthers said the Movement represented), "Civil rights protest has not materially benefited the masses of Negroes; it has helped those who were already just a little ahead."[21] Frustrated by this middle-class focus, the founding members of the Panthers endeavored to make theirs a movement for and by the lower-class. Panthers focused on economically based social stratification but recognized the importance of race in determining social status and advocated Black Power.

Though only in existence for a short time, the Panther ideology of Black self-help and focus on the lower-class helped enrich and expand the definition of Black Power.

Like the Oakland Black Panthers, SNCC used Black Power as means of appealing to oppressed Blacks and a declaration of worth and self-acceptance. According to Carmichael (who for a short time joined the Oakland Black Panther Party), included in the definition of Black Power was the concept of Black consciousness, "pride in black history, culture, institutions, as other ethnic groups have developed cultural awareness and pride." While many of these ends were embraced by more moderate segments of the Civil Rights Movement, the more militant means and tactics advocated by SNCC alarmed many civil rights organizations and stood in stark contrast to SNCC's earlier existence. Early SNCC endeavored to work within the existing social order to end racial discrimination and encourage Black political participation; the SNCC of the middle 1960s began to focus on economic and cultural parity. This shift in ideology and increasing distrust in the American political process was revealed in a Carmichael statement regarding the 1968 Presidential election. Carmichael maintained confidence in the possibilities of the electoral process in local elections but doubted the relevance of choosing between Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey in the Presidential election; neither man would act in the best interest of African Americans. When asked for whom he voted in the election, he replied, "I didn't vote, I stayed home and cleaned my guns."[22]

This concept of "Black Power" and racial unity alarmed many Whites. While Carmichael initially attempted to dissuade White concerns with Black Power rhetoric and maintain confidence in interracial coalitions he and SNCC emphasized race *over* class concerns: "They oppress us because we are black and we are going to use that blackness to get out of the trick bag they put us in." With race as the rallying cry Blacks were encouraged to unify with oppressed people of color across the globe instead of poor Whites in America. According to Carmichael and SNCC, Black American experiences with the

powers that be resembled most those of peoples in Africa and Latin America, "that of the colonized toward the colonizer."[23]

The debate over White participation in the civil rights struggle in general and SNCC in particular came to a head at the December 1966, SNCC staff meeting. With Black Power as the underlying premise for SNCC projects and programs, could Whites participate, and if so, to what degree? Carmichael argued against total exclusion and in favor of White SNCC members going into White communities where the problem of racism existed. However, the final vote supported total exclusion by a narrow margin. Explaining their position, SNCC stated, "The reason that whites must be excluded is not that one is anti-white, but because the effects that one is trying to achieve cannot succeed because whites have an intimidating effect." If Whites were sincere in their efforts to advance the cause of Black liberation, they should "go where that problem (racism) is most manifest. The problem is not in the black community. The white people should go into white communities where the whites have created power for the express purpose of denying blacks human dignity and self-determination." The organization did not deny that Whites played a significant role in the Civil Rights Movement or SNCC, especially in Mississippi Freedom Summer Projects, but "that role is now over, and it should be."[24]

Black Power became one of the proverbial thorns in the side of the older civil rights organizations, and the NAACP and SCLC felt compelled to address it. Though he later retracted his statement, Roy Wilkins, national NAACP President, referred to Black Power as: "the reverse of Mississippi, a reverse Hitler, and a reverse Ku Klux Klan." Wilkins believed "Black Power" was divisive and distracting to the fight for Black rights. In a more restrained tone, soon after the Meredith March where Carmichael rallied Blacks around the slogan, Dr. Martin Luther King stated, "the term 'black power' is unfortunate because it tends to give the impression of black nationalism." Additionally, the idea of Black Power was a direct challenge to SCLC and King's leadership, philosophy of nonviolent direct-action, and goal of integration. King pleaded with SNCC leaders (and

young CORE leaders; CORE took up the call for Black Power after the Meredith March) to drop the slogan. Convinced that Whites would interpret "Black Power" as Black separatism and violence, King suggested the use of "black consciousness" or "black equality." King had no qualms with the Black Power call to embrace one's heritage, it was the implied repudiation of Whites that unnerved him. In a July 1966, rally in Chicago, Illinois, King attempted to demonstrate that pride in Blackness was not necessarily inconsistent with the goal of integration. He acknowledged that freedom was not voluntarily granted but cautioned against the use of violence and the alienation of Whites, "In seeking the profound changes full integration will involve, Negroes will need the continued support of the white majority."[25]

Despite King's attempts, SNCC and CORE members refused to be swayed for a variety of possible reasons. First, the association of Black Power with Black nationalism was not seen as a problem for SNCC workers and other African Americans exploring different tactics and means toward Black liberation. Uniting Blacks, creating a nation within a nation, would promote autonomy and institution building. Second, they were not concerned with how Whites interpreted Black Power. What was important was that Blacks understood and practiced the concept. Third, Black Power adherents explained that it was not they who associated Black Power with aggressive violence. They only advocated self-defense. The Black community was tired of turning the other cheek and Black Power alerted Whites that Blacks would accept no more. Fourth, SNCC, pointing to instances in which the "white majority" to which King alluded failed to support and even impeded Black progress, no longer saw Whites as a possible ally in their fight. Instead, they "closed ranks," focused on unifying Black people, and re-examined the goal of integration.[26]

The April 1968 assassination of Dr. King seemed to validate the call for "Black Power" and "closing ranks." Warning what King's murder would mean for the struggle for Black rights, Carmichael, at a news conference soon after King's death, announced, "I

think white America made its biggest mistake because she killed the one man of our race that this country's older generations, the militants and the revolutionaries and the masses of black people would still listen to." Carmichael suggested that the mediating force between increasingly frustrated African Americans and the White power structure died with King. Which way would the struggle turn now? As a young Black man yelled in the streets after hearing of King's death, "Now that Dr. King's dead, we ain't got no way but Stokely's!"[27]

Black Power at Predominantly White Institutions

Black youth activists found comrades-in-arms and sought to create an organized protest movement at institutions of higher education across the nation. As stated previously, Black students attending Black institutions in the South began their activism in the early part of the 1960s. However, according to William Exum and Marvin Peterson, et. al., they directed their efforts at societal ills in general until the later part of the decade. Though their protests often were directed outside their institutions as were Southern Black student efforts in the early 1960s, Black students joined interracial student or community groups to protest racism and segregation. However, with the onset of Black Power, the urban uprisings in Northern cities such as Detroit and Watts, and the increasing enrollment of Black students at White institutions which allowed them to carry en masse "their generation's understandings and convictions from the streets to the classrooms," the Black student lens turned inward toward their respective institutions and Black student activism grew. For instance, as late as 1964, Blacks constituted less than three percent of all college students and were concentrated heavily in historically Black institutions. Between 1964 and 1970, Black college enrollment doubled with the greatest proportion of this increase occurring in White institutions. During the 1968-1969 academic year, Black students were involved in 57 percent of all campus protests at predominantly White institutions. In the first half of 1969, Black students were involved in 51 percent of all campus protests though they were less than six percent of the total college population. Despite their small numbers and the fact that many campuses had only a small number of active Black students, many

began demonstrating against "racist" school policies and sought to make Black Power "real" on their respective campuses.[28]

Interpreting the message to fit their situation as college students, Black students fought institutionalized racism on campus with Black Power and carved a niche for themselves in the Black liberation struggle. Many saw their role as the mouthpiece for Blacks who lacked the skills necessary to articulate their grievances effectively. As H. Rap Brown suggested, "One thing which the Black college student can do, at this time, is to begin to legitimatize the brother's actions--begin to articulate his position, because the college student has the skills that the [average Black American] doesn't have." Likewise, Harry Edwards, suggests the shift from an emphasis on confrontations in segregated areas of American life to the college campus was due to the fact that: young Blacks believed they would provide the leadership for the masses, they realized the educational system in America "was far from being the shining ideal that white apologists made it out to be," they believed themselves the vanguard elite described by Carmichael and Brown, and they were not yet ready to engage "in the types of activities which had either augmented or replaced non-violent action in local Black communities as legitimate means of achieving liberation."[29]

The first step in a concerted effort to implement Black Power on campus was the formation of Black student unions. Some were called The Black Students Association, others The African American Students Society, still others United Afro-American Students, but all were "geared to provide Black students with a solid, legitimate power base from which they can bring about needed changes in the colleges and universities involved." In his work on Black students attending White institutions, Harry Edwards, found that Black student unions, regardless of the university setting, shared certain traits and goals. He found that they were exclusively Black in membership, monolithic in appearance, highly self-conscious, and motivated by sociopolitical concerns. Furthermore, he found that most were formed for the explicit purpose of creating solidarity and unity, expressing Black

culture, and forcing significant change in the university or college. At White institutions, Black student alienation coupled with growing race consciousness influenced the rise of the unions.[30]

The unions were critical for Black student activism for several reasons: they met social, psychological, and academic needs; they provided a forum where cultural, psychological, and collective social identity could be explored; they fostered the development of student values and ideological beliefs; they helped develop a sense of collective competence; they enabled collective action and behavior on the part of Black students; and they provided a training ground for the development of political organization, participation, and leadership. Through the Black student unions, Black students made demands consistent with their conceptions of Black Power. Demands were similar from university to university. At Western institutions such as San Francisco State College, to Midwestern universities such as UIUC, to Eastern institutions such as New York University's University College the demands often included the recruitment and retention of more Black students and faculty, different admissions standards, and increased financial aid. Two of the most heeded demands were those of Black Studies and the establishment of separate facilities for Black students.[31]

In the fall of 1966, the Black Student Union at San Francisco State College demanded the development of a Department of Black Studies; in 1969, it became a reality with Nathan Hare as its first Director. Just as the emerging definition of Blackness grew beyond pigment--one had to be Black on the "inside" as well as the "outside"--the emerging Black Studies Departments/Programs had to have Blackness at their core. As Hare stated, "If all a black-studies program needs is a professor with a black skin to prattle about Negro subject matter, then our Negro schools would never have failed so painfully as they have." The demand for Black Studies based on the Black experience spread to other predominantly White college campuses across the nation in the later 1960s. Wary of student protests, succumbing to political pressure, and mindful of community backlash, several college

administrations hastily began creating Black Studies Programs. By 1971, there were over 500 Black Studies Programs at predominantly White institutions.[32]

Black students worked to infuse Black Studies with Black Power. Black education and Black politics were to be "inextricably joined towards the liberation of Black people." Black Studies assumed "no neutrality, [was] proudly, openly pro-Black and recognized predominantly white universities as part of the American political structure." Education was no longer an instrument with which to socialize young adults into the dominant culture; it now had an openly political purpose and was an instrument through which oppressed peoples could learn how to change society. On the path to psychological liberation, the purpose of Black Studies was threefold: corrective, to counter distortions, misperceptions, and fallacies surrounding Black people; descriptive, to accurately depict the past and present events which constitute the Black experience; and prescriptive, to educate African American students who would eventually uplift the race. Black Studies provided the means through which students could expand on the emerging ideas of Black identity, Black culture, and Black aesthetics.[33]

In an effort to investigate the sources of Black oppression and then teach the proper tactics to overcome it, courses on the Black experience were created in several disciplines. Courses with a similar focus developed at predominantly White institutions from the West to the East Coast. In 1968, courses at San Jose State College included "Black Experience in the United States," "Afro-American Art," and "Black Diaspora." At UIUC in 1970, courses included "Police-Black Interaction" and "Ritual, Race and Revolution." At Federal City College in Washington, DC, in 1968, courses included "Contemporary Problems and Prospects in the Pan-African World" and "World's Great Men of Color." Most courses were conceived and predicated on the notion that education must serve the people and provide the skills necessary to overcome Black America's problems. If knowledge was power, the university classrooms were the battlefield. Offering the courses made it possible for "the Blacks currently in the nation's colleges and universities to take whatever

their education's currently have to offer and put it at the disposal of the Black communities."[34]

Black students also demanded separate facilities on campus. One student at San Francisco State College explained the need for separate housing and dining facilities by declaring, "It is not only desirable that we have separate living and eating facilities, it is imperative if we are to survive in this society. We must have the chance to appreciate our own kind and our own culture." Many Black students across the country echoed his statement and demanded separate residence halls, separate classrooms, and separate cafeterias. Most institutions refused to comply since separate services and benefits based on race violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but many did support the development of Black cultural centers. The centers were separate facilities for Black students and often Black non-student residents of the surrounding university community that would act as the locus for the creation and exaltation of Black culture and the Black aesthetic, provide relief from the pressures of university life, and encourage the development of a mutually supportive peer group. At the cultural centers, Black students would "develop and maintain an identity strong enough to counteract the culturally debilitating forces present in white institutions."[35]

Although the demand for separate residence halls was not met by college administrations, many institutions had no choice but to recognize separate residence hall governments. At UIUC in early 1969, Blacks living in Illinois Street Residence Hall (ISR) moved to create their own residence hall government. Michael Wilson, one of the students nominated to the Black ISR government, published an article in the school newspaper explaining the reason for the racial split. He stated that the existing ISR government was racist and that in order for Black students to make the government more relevant to their needs they had to secede from it. Elaborating on the split he stated, "more specifically, black students at ISR have been assessed fees which are then used to perpetuate white cultural activities, only. Secondly, they feel that the judicial mechanism of their dormitory

is biased."[36] This governmental split was the catalyst in the formation of the Black student governments that soon would be initiated in each residence hall on the UIUC campus. Black students may not have been able to have their own residence hall, but they would have a separate residence hall government.

The push for separate facilities angered some administrators and students and confused others. Black students supported their demands by pointing to the fact that activities and organizations such as fraternities, sororities, extra-curricular activities, and social situations at predominantly White institutions were segregated already. Black and White students may have attended classes together or lived in the same residence hall, but interaction between the two groups was rare to minimal. According to Harry Edwards, some students further bolstered their position by drawing the clear distinction between segregation and separation. Under a segregated system, the dominant group defined the limits and boundaries of interactions with a subordinate group. Separatism, on the other hand, was the ability of a subordinate group to define their own relationships, behavior, and activities. Black separatism was neither "a manifestation of Black 'racism,' a cult of Black superiority, nor the evidence of Black people's intentions to 'do the same thing to whites that whites have done to Blacks for almost four hundred years,'" but a declaration of psychological and social sovereignty and self-determination. Though not a goal, separation could be used as a means of bringing about freedom and justice for Blacks in America.[37]

Then, asked some critics, why do Black students attend predominantly White institutions? Why pursue a degree at an institution that is de facto racist and segregated? Harry Edwards suggests four reasons for Black student attendance at predominantly White institutions. He proposes that some Black students attended predominantly White institutions because those institutions had the best equipment and facilities available in the educational arena. Historically Black institutions were hampered by lack of money, space, and educational equipment. Why attend a lesser institution? Second, the authorities

controlling predominantly White institutions were not likely to close their doors in order to dissuade the political activities of Black students. Many predominantly White institutions conducted "vital" research which could not be interrupted by closing the university. Third, Black students could be "Blacker" at predominantly White institutions than historically Black institutions. Administrators at historically Black institutions were controlled by "conservative or racist white government officials or boards of trustees," and hence acted as overseers to insure that "nothing distinguishably 'Black' occurs and that the school continues to produce 'responsible' and 'respectable' negroes. At the negro school, then, there is usually a deliberate effort made to guard against the possibility that anything in the educational process will be relevant to Black people." At predominantly White institutions, on the other hand, most administrators were unaware of what was relevant to Blacks. "Under these circumstances, the Black student is much freer to engage in distinguishably Black activities on the predominantly white campus than at the negro school." Fourth, Black students recognized that Blacks will be surrounded by Whites as long as they live in America. Attending an historically Black institution only provided a false sense of security and an artificial environment. Attending a predominantly White institution allowed Black students to function in a more realistic life situation and better prepared them to cope and attempt to solve Black America's ills. Edwards' assertions may explain why certain Black students remained on predominantly White campuses, but other (and more tangible) possible reasons exist. For example, the prestige of UIUC, its close proximity to Chicago (home for most Black UIUC students), and the availability of financial aid packages kept many Black UIUC students enrolled.[38]

Cross Generational Links

1960s Black youth activists benefited from the generation of African American activists reaching adulthood in the late 1940s. During their time, the 1940s generation was characterized as "sharply at odds with their elders" by older activists. The same can be said of some of the 1960s activists' attitudes toward the 1940s generation. Both generations, in

their youth, sought to distance themselves from their mothers and fathers and "more aggressively" attack social and racial injustice, but both built on resources, institutions, and tactics of previous generations. Charles Payne chronicles in detail how SNCC activists in Mississippi were successful in their endeavors primarily because of contacts like Amzie Moore, C. C. Bryant, E. W. Steptoe, and others who worked for social change before some of the SNCC workers were out of diapers. Recognizing the older generations' efforts and influence, Charlie Cobb and MacArthur Cotton, both SNCC workers, suggested the older generations' "familiarity with a period when Blacks aggressively resisted white supremacy may have been part of what spurred some of the older people on" and, in turn, spurred on the younger activists.[39]

Robert Moses's contacts with such activists allowed SNCC to get a foothold and prosper in Mississippi. Encouraged by Ella Baker, SCLC Executive Director and instrumental figure in the founding of SNCC, Moses traveled to rural Mississippi during the summer of 1961, to initiate a voter registration drive. Baker introduced Moses to Amzie Moore, Vice-President of Mississippi's NAACP branches, the previous summer. Out of their relationship sprang the beginnings of SNCC's presence and success in Mississippi. Moore fit the mold of the 1940s generation of activists with a history of agitating for social change. He registered to vote in 1936 (but was not allowed to vote in Mississippi primaries), was drafted into the armed forces where he increasingly became disgusted with segregation as so many other Black World War II veterans did, joined the NAACP in the early 1940s, and helped found the Regional Council of Negro Leadership (1951), an organization that stressed economic and political power. From personal experience, Moore was able to offer Moses--and SNCC--advice, insight, and encouragement. Recognizing Moore's pivotal role in initiating the SNCC foothold in Mississippi, Lawrence Guyot, SNCC member, stated, "we needed a person to provide contact on a local basis, to provide an entree for us into the counties and that person was Amzie Moore."[40]

When Moses returned to begin a registration campaign in Moore's hometown of Cleveland, he realized initiating such a campaign would be extremely difficult because of the lack of a meeting place, equipment, and money. After consulting with Moore and at the invitation of C. C. Bryant, Moses began registration work in Pike County, Mississippi. With the help of Moore, Bryant (a registered voter since 1948, and NAACP branch President), and E. W. Steptoe of Amite County, Mississippi (also an NAACP branch President and registered voter) Moses began the slow and steady work of voter registration. With the help of Steptoe and Webb Owens, another Pike County NAACP member, Moses was able to secure room, board, and transportation expenses for soon-arriving SNCC workers. Commenting on the valuable networks provided SNCC by older activists, often local NAACP leaders, Moses stated, "we could show up [anywhere] unannounced with no money or no anything and there were people there ready to take care of us." Thus, NAACPs at the local level were indispensable to SNCC in getting established in Mississippi. Without the help of Moore, Bryant, Steptoe, and Owens, the efforts of Moses and SNCC perhaps would have fallen on deaf ears. Older activists not only provided SNCC with pre-existing networks but molded and educated the younger generation for leadership roles.[41]

A more personal conduit of cultural transmission was the African American family. Stories of family resistance to White domination were passed from generation to generation. The 1940s generation not only told the children of the 1960s about their struggle for African American rights but demonstrated by example. Fannie Lou Hamer, an instrumental figure in Mississippi, one-time SNCC member, and Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegate, saw her mother confront a White man who slapped her youngest child. Also, Mrs. Hamer heard stories such as that of Mr. Joe Pullman, a Black man cheated out of money owed him by a White plantation owner. Pullman killed the White man and 13 others who formed a lynch mob when the White man attempted to retrieve his money.[42] Such stories of resistance enabled her to see herself as a possible

agent of change. Others resisted, she could, too. Not that Mrs. Hamer followed in the same vein of resistance as Mr. Pullman, but the stories enabled her to recognize that her will to resist was not hers alone. Many Black Mississippi residents--both her elders and contemporaries--confronted White domination head-on.

Ella Baker, like Hamer, was influenced by immediate family members and her extended family--the Black community of rural Virginia and North Carolina. Hers was a family with "explicit traditions of defiance and race pride." Her grandmother, who had been a slave, recounted the story of how she resisted marrying the man her mistress chose for her, a light-skinned man, vowing to marry the man she loved, a dark-skinned man. Years later Baker's grandmother instilled this same sense of resistance and personal autonomy in her children and grandchildren. Baker then passed this history of resistance to her "children" in SNCC. Through her example and heeding her advice, SNCC became an organization without an authoritarian or rigidly hierarchical structure of leadership, branched out from focusing on integrating lunch counters and other public facilities to issues of political power, and sought to develop indigenous leaders instead of attempting to speak for the people.[43] Baker's familial resistance to White domination influenced the development and direction of SNCC, and in turn the 1960s generation of activists.

Lesser known but nonetheless important figures in the Black struggle for rights also learned to resist first-hand from their parents. As a child, Ms. Murtis Powell, a elderly Holmes County, Mississippi, resident, was influenced by the fact that her father "spoke his mind" and refused to be intimidated. When she became an adult, the spirit of resistance and strength imbued by her father translated into her participation in the Meredith March and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. When Mississippi Blacks pushed for enforcement of the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas,* school desegregation decision, Ms. Powell was one of the first parents to enroll her children in the previously all-White school. While she and other Black parents were threatened physically and financially, Ms. Powell refused to be swayed.[44]

Laura McGhee, born in the early part of the century and living in Mississippi, was another mother inculcating her children with a sense of autonomy and pride in Blackness. She was raised by a father who "stood up for himself and would go after a white man as quick as he would a black one" and began her active involvement in civil rights after her brother was shot by marauding Whites in 1955. Subsequently, she attempted to register in 1962, encouraged her neighbors to do the same, housed civil rights workers, openly confronted police officers during protests, and transmitted her sense of resistance to her sons. One-by-one, and sometimes in pairs, her three sons single-handedly integrated White movie theaters in Greenwood, Mississippi, in 1964. The boys acted not because they were members of any civil rights organization. They grew up in a house-hold where their mother not only told them stories of resistance but demonstrated by example. Just as Laura McGhee attributed her attitudes to her father's sense of pride, her sons attributed their resolve to the example of their mother.[45]

Though Black Power activists often drew a clear distinction between themselves and older activists, neither their movement nor the Black student movement would have been possible without the successes, failures, and ideology of the Civil Rights Movement. SNCC members such as Stokely Carmichael, Cleveland Sellers, Willie Ricks, H. Rap Brown, James Forman, and the Atlanta contingent learned tactics and organizational skills from the older activists, employed them in the Civil Rights Movement, and then modified them to fit the burgeoning Black Power Movement. In turn, they either passed their knowledge to those who eventually would advocate Black Power or became the Black Power advocates themselves. Often students or former students themselves, they traveled to college campuses across the nation explaining the role of Black Power in the college context.

This continuity is clear in the career of Stokely Carmichael. As a student at Howard University, Carmichael participated in civil rights protests in the Washington, DC, area. He then joined SNCC and traveled to the Deep South to aid direct-action efforts. Like his

cohorts, Carmichael practiced non-violence and direct-action tactics in attacking White domination and was arrested several times including once as a Freedom Rider. As SNCC moved away from ideas of direct-action to attaining political power, Carmichael involved himself in voter registration efforts. He and other SNCC workers later became disillusioned with civil rights tactics and goals and pondered different methods for attaining Black liberation including third-party politics. Again disillusioned with methods and results, Carmichael turned toward Black Power and became one of the preeminent ideologues of the Black Power Movement. His ideas regarding ideology, tactics, and goals spread across the country through his co-authored book, articles, and public speaking. Carmichael and his notion of Black Power received a large audience with Black students attending both historically Black and predominantly White universities. The man who became a primary spokesperson for Black Power, like many others, was himself a footsoldier in the earlier Civil Rights Movement. Learning from the weaknesses and improving on the strengths of the movement, Carmichael used the lessons to provide the basis for Black Power and an alternate strategy for Black liberation.

An African American history of resistance allowed for the development and successes of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and the later Black Power Movement and Black student movement. In recognizing the importance of this legacy of resistance, Adam Fairclough, makes an important point in that he urges historians not to place "too much stress upon continuity [that they] smooth out history's peaks and valleys, producing a bland, featureless landscape." The 1960s constituted one of the peaks in resistance and agitation to which Fairclough alludes. It was the first time large masses of Blacks directly confronted and effectively disrupted the normal functioning of groups and institutions thought responsible for Black oppression. Yes, Black activists of the 1960s acted as a link in a well-established line of Black agitation stretching back into history, and yes, they reaped the benefits of preexisting social networks and resources built by African Americans

long before the 1960s. However, the 1960s proved an historical "peak" in that the decade evidenced a mass-based and self-sustained movement.[46]

Black youth were an important facet of this historical peak and served an important purpose in the struggle for Black liberation. In the early Civil Rights Movement, they were battering rams against educational segregation, initiated attacks on they system of White domination themselves, and even forced their parents and other adults to involve themselves in the struggle. In the early 1960s, Black youth in SNCC and CORE brought an energy and commitment that in turn strengthened and sustained the Civil Rights Movement in the Deep South. In the later part of the decade, Black youth took the reins and determined the mood and direction of the Black struggle. Young ideologues such as Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Julius Lester, and members of the Black Panther Party helped define, spread, and popularize the ideology of Black Power. It is in this context that Black student activism at predominantly White institutions should be examined. Black student activism did not spontaneously appear but was part of a progression in Black attempts at liberation. Black students built on the tradition of Black resistance and demanded their respective institutions provide the means for which they could best continue the cause of Black freedom.

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[1] Sally Belfrage, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Viking Press, 1968), 75.

[2] David Halberstam chronicles the involvement of eight such youth from Nashville, Tennessee, in his most recent book. He follows the activist careers of Diane Nash, James Bevel, Rodney Powell, John Lewis, Curtis Murphy, Gloria Johnson, Marion Barry, and Bernard Lafayette through their involvement in James Lawson's workshops on non-violence, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and voter registration, SNCC membership, and life-ling civil rights pursuits (David Halberstam, *The Children* (New York: Random House, 1998).

[3] Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975), 17; David Sansing, *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi* (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 140; Charles M. Payne, "Chapter Two: Testing the Limits," *I've Got the Light Of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

[4] Melba Pattillo Beals, *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock's Central High* (New York: Pocket Books, 1994).

[5] Cleveland, Sellers, *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1973), 19; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 23.

[6] Ibid., 33.

[7] John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle of Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 157, citing John Salter, *Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Schism* (Hicksville, New York: Exposition, 1979), 57, 157-168.

[8] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 225-229.

[9] Carson, *In Struggle*, 41-42; Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization* (New York: Carlson Publishing, 1989), 9; Ibid., citing Peggy Day and James Bevel interviews, 11.

[10] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 129.

[11] Ibid., 291, 297.

[12] Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Student Voice, 1960-1965: Periodical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee* (Westport, Connecticut: Meckler, 1990), 158.

[13] Carson, *In Struggle*, 128; Belfrage, *Freedom Summer*, 89-97.

[14] Sellers, *The River of No Return*, 151.

[15] Carson, *In Struggle*, 166, citing Frank Miles, "Lowndes County Freedom Organization Leaders Talk about Their Party," *The Movement* (June, 1966): 3; Ibid., 164; John Hulett, "Creating the Black Panther Movement," in *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: From the Alabama Protests to the Death of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Citadel Press, 1994), 400.

[16] Albert B. Cleage, Jr., *Black Christian Nationalism: New Directions for the Black Church* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1972), xvii; Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Random House, 1971), 23; Many African Americans actively supported the idea of self-defense before the onset of Black Power. Two examples include Robert Williams, a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter Chairman in Monroe, North Carolina, and the Louisiana Deacons For Defense and Justice (Carson, *In Struggle*, and Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972* [Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995]).

[17] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 315, 376.

[18] Sellers, *The River of No Return*, 166; Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, 18; Carson, *In Struggle*, 215-216; Carmichael was not the only ideologue of the Black Power Movement. His explanation of its value is instructive insofar as he was involved in and then became Chairman of SNCC.

[19] Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), viii, 44.

[20] Beth Nelson Ausbrooks, *Muslims, Militants, Moderates: A Comparative Analysis on Concepts of Black Power* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1972), 173, citing Robert E. Lane, *Political Thinking and Consciousness* (Chicago: Markham, 1969), 316; For a more thorough discussion of the political, economic, cultural, and psychological aims of Black Power see Ausbrooks, *Muslims, Militants, Moderates*, 223-225; Though assassinated before the slogan caught the nation's attention, Malcolm X heavily influenced the development of Black Power. Some of Black Power's most ardent supporters, including Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Imamu Amiri Baraka, Ron Karenga, and countless members of the Oakland Black Panther Party, contributed parts of their ideology to Malcolm X. For a discussion of Malcolm X's ideas on Black unity and the call for a Black revolution based on Black culture see especially, "Message to the Grassroots," "The Ballot or the Bullet," and "The Black Revolution," speeches included in George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements* (New York: Grove Press, 1965); Various Black Power adherents, including Carmichael, Baraka, and the Black Panther Party, did infuse Black Power ideology with an indictment of economic class oppression at different times in their histories, however, this co-emphasis on race and class will not be thoroughly discussed in this dissertation. For a discussion of their respective interpretations of Black Power that include an economic class indictment see, Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks*, V. P. Franklin, "Gwendolyn Brooks and Amiri Baraka: The Creation of a Black Literary Aesthetic," in *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African American Intellectual Tradition* (New York: Oxford Press, 1995), and G. Louis Heath, ed., *Off the Pigs! The History and Literature of the Black Panther Party* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1976).

[21] Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks,* 11.

[22] Stokely Carmichael, "Excerpts of an Undated Recorded Interview Given by Stokely Carmichael to Mario Menendez, Editor of Mexican Magazine *Sucesos,* During Carmichael's Stay in Havana," in *Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws; Testimony of Stokely Carmichael,* US Senate (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1970), 4; William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 257, quoting, *Carolina Peacemaker,* 14 December 1968.

[23] Stokely Carmichael, "We Have to Get Black Power," in Aptheker, *A Documentary History,* 430; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "The Basis of Black Power, Excerpts from a Working Paper Published in the *New York Times* 5 August 1966," in *Black Power: SNCC Speaks for Itself. A Collection of Interviews and Statements* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Radical Education Project, 1967), 4.

[24] Payne, *I've Got the Light,* 384; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "The Basis of Black Power," 1.

[25] Dittmer, *Local People,* 397, citing *Life,* 22 July 1966, 7; Ibid., citing *New York Times,* 21 June 1966; Ibid., 396; David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986), 485, 492.

[26] This discussion of SNCC and CORE attitudes is taken from, Carson, *In Struggle,* The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, *Black Power,* and Sellers, *The River of No Return;* While Black Power adherents explained they only advocated self-defense, some did advocate violence though usually only a threat of violence. For instance, H. Rap Brown, SNCC Chairman after Carmichael, stated: "If America don't come around, we going to burn it down, brother" (Carson, *In Struggle,* 255).

[27] Sellers, *The River of No Return,* 234, 231.

[28] William VanDeburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 67; William H. Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest,* 1, 7-8, citing studies by the American Council on Education and the Urban Research Corporation, Algo D. Henderson and Jean G. Henderson, *Higher Education in America* (San Francisco: Joosey-Bass, 1974), and P. A. Janssen, "Higher Education and the Black American," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (30 May 1972): 1-2; Marvin Peterson, Robert Blackburn, Zelda Gamson, Carlos Arce, Roselle Davenport, and James Mingle, *Black Students on White Campuses: The Impact of Increased Black Enrollments* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1978); Black students have, of course, participated in campus demonstrations for various causes throughout history, however, 1960 evidenced the beginning of concerted and coordinated action on the part of Black students to address specific societal grievances. For a discussion of Black college protest before 1960, see Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus.* For an account of 1960s Black student protest at one Black institution see, Lawrence B. de Graaf, "Howard: The Evolution of a Black Student Revolt," in *Protest;* For a thorough discussion of Black student attitudes, see Patricia Gurin and Edgar Epps, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement: A Study of Students in Historically Black Colleges* (New York: Wiley, 1975).

[29] Brown, *Die! Nigger! Die!* (New York: The Dial Press, 1969), 57; Edwards, *Black Students,* 62-63; It is important to note that I do not wish to represent all Black students as activists or Black Power advocates. Black students held varied conceptions about the correct path to Black liberation and not all prescribed to Black Power or clung to civil rights ideas. Harry Edwards describes several categories of Black student activists ranging from the conforming Negro to the revolutionary in his book, *Black Students;* For examples of speeches given to college students see "Berkeley Speech," "At Morgan State," and "A New World to Build; A Speech at A & T University, Greensboro, North Carolina," in Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks.*

[30] Edwards, *Black Students,* 61; Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest,* 42.

[31] Ibid., 43.

[32] Maulana (Ron) Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: Kawaida Publications, 1982), 21; Nathan Hare, "The Case for Separatism: 'Black Perspective,'" in *Black Power and Student Rebellion,* eds. James McEvoy and Abraham Miller (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1969), 234; William E. Sims, *Black Studies: Pitfalls and Potential* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1978), 11.

[33] Vincent Harding, "Introduction," in Lerone Bennett, *The Challenge of Blackness; Black Paper Number 1* (Atlanta: Institute of the Black World, April 1970), iv; Rhoda L. Goldstein, June T. Albert, and Thomas F. Slaughter, Jr., "The Status of Black Studies Programs at American Colleges and Universities" (paper prepared for presentation at the 67th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, 29 August 1972): 3, quoted in Alan King Colon, *A Critical Review of Black Studies Programs* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1980), 47; Colon, *A Critical Review*, 8; The purposes of Black Studies will be discussed further in a later section of the paper.

[34] For a discussion of Black Studies Programs at San Jose State College and Federal City College, see, Harry Edwards, *Black Students*, 206-227; for a discussion of courses offered at the University of Illinois, see, "The Black World: Perspectives," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Archives; Edwards, *Black Students*, 205; For a discussion of the early intellectual and political issues involved in Black Studies, see, Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster, and Donald H. Ogilvie, eds. *Black Studies in the University* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1969).

[35] Edwards, *Black Students*, 98; VanDeburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 72, citing "Black is Beautiful--and Belligerent," *Time*, 24 January 1969, 43; Ibid., 69.

[36] Michael Wilson, "ISR," *The Daily Illini*, 29 April 1969, Clipped Article File located in the Afro-American Studies and Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (All *Daily Illini* articles were gathered from this source, therefore, only the author [if provided], article title, and date of publication will be given for further references to this source).

[37] Edwards, *Black Students*, 65-67; The Black students desire for separation undoubtedly was influenced by Malcolm X's ideas on the subject. For an example of Malcolm X's discussion of the subject, see, "The Ballot or the Bullet," in George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements* (New York: Grove Press, 1965); Reasons for demanding separate facilities were more similar than different. For examples of demands for separate facilities at different campuses, see, Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, Richard P. McCormick, *The Black Student Movement at Rutgers* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), and later sections of this dissertation.

[38] Edwards, *Black Students*, 72-73; Black UIUC student persistence will be discussed further in a later section of the dissertation.

[39] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 21-22, quoting Daniel Cohn, *Where I Was Born and Raised* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1948), 226; Ibid., 178.

[40] Ibid., 29-31, 62.

[41] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 113-115, 128, 63; According to John Dittmer the lack of commitment on the part of Cleveland, Mississippi, Blacks contributed to Moore's urging Moses' departure for Pike County (Dittmer, *Local People*, 103).

[42] Kay Mills, *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 13, quoting Fannie Lou Hamer, "To Praise Our Bridges," in *Mississippi Writers: Reflections of Childhood and Youth*, volume 2, ed., Dorothy Abbott (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 323-324.

[43] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 79, 80-102.

[44] Rural Organizing and Cultural Center, *Minds Stayed on Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle in the Rural South, An Oral History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 112.

[45] Payne, *I've Got the Light*, 216, 208-214.

[46] Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, xiii; Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), xi.

CHAPTER 3

WHO IS BLACK: THE BLACK STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

Be proud . . . not ashamed.
Be real . . . not phony.
Be Black.
There is strength in that alone.
-- *Drums,* November 1967.

As Black students at predominantly White institutions began examining their predicament in the early to middle 1960s, many decided the formation of a Black student union would not only allay their frustration and alienation on campus but create a power base through which they could force change at their respective institutions. Black UIUC students participated in this proliferation of Black student unions and initiated the Black Students Association (BSA) October 1967. This chapter will discuss the early development of the BSA from recognizing a need for such an organization, its formation, nationwide and Chicagoland influences on emerging campus definitions of Blackness and Black Power that manifest themselves in the organization, and the influence of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King on its tactics and goals.

Recognizing a Need

When recounting their initial impressions of UIUC in the early 1960s, many interviewees were struck by the sheer number of White students as compared to Black students. By 1967, only 223 Black undergraduate students were enrolled, comprising approximately one percent of the undergraduate student population.[1] Though, as one interviewee indicated, some of the Black UIUC students had attended high school with White students or were in academic tracks with White students, they had lived in all Black communities, especially those from Chicago. They had experience interacting with White students but never had *lived* with Whites as was expected at UIUC. Many were overwhelmed. As James Eggleston noted, "When I got there, it was the biggest shock." Similarly, fellow student, Rodney Hammond stated, "It was a phenomenally White

campus, more than I had anticipated." Describing how the low number of Black students amidst White students affected daily interaction, Dan Dixon explained, "My first semester I saw one Black person on campus Monday, Wednesday, and Friday between my 2:00 class and my 3:00 class. That was the only Black person I ever saw. . . . When I found a Black milieu, I ran for it."

Not only were Black students "drowned in a sea of Whiteness," as Delores Parmer (Woodtor) explained, but Black students of the early 1960s were isolated from each other. In their study of four separate predominantly White campuses, Charles Willie and Joan Levy found that the presence of a small number of Black students did not necessarily translate into the existence of a tightly knit Black student community.[2] Similarly, at UIUC, the small number of Black students did not foster whole group cohesiveness. Instead, many interviewees noted the existence of different cliques of Black students. Within clique loyalty existed, but an overarching Black student cohesiveness was lacking. Friendships often crossed group boundaries, and the boundaries often were fluid. However, many still felt disconnected and longed for some kind of unity. As Christine Cheatom (Holtz) stated,

> I don't want you to have the impression that in 1964 to 1967 that the undergraduate Black students were a real cohesive community. It felt different than that. I don't know what word to use. There were so few of us and we lived so far apart. . . . I'm trying to explain . . . it felt kind of fractured.

Their low numbers meant daily contact with other Black students was sparse; often they were the only Black student in the class or the only Black person on the residence hall floor. Many Black students joined organizations including fraternities and sororities to alleviate the isolation. However, many lived a very insular experience.

Overcoming their initial shock, Black students did adjust to campus life and involve themselves in the university. Some joined academic associations, social organizations, or student athletics. Others found an outlet for their civil rights concerns. Several followed in the footsteps of Black students of the 1940s and 1950s who formed cross-race coalitions in an effort to desegregate eating establishments, movie theaters, barber shops, and campus residence halls. In the early to middle 1960s, African Americans and Whites worked

together in organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Black and White students in the NAACP and SNCC helped draft a resolution to condemn the bombing of a Black church that killed four young Black girls in Birmingham, Alabama, went to Mississippi to register Blacks voters in upcoming elections and to teach in freedom schools, participated in study-ins, sit-ins, and marches in Champaign, and called for a boycott of UIUC athletics charging the Athletic Association with discriminatory practices. Also, they invited speakers such as SNCC members, James Bevel and MacArthur Cotton, civil rights activist, Dick Gregory, and the first Black man to attend Ole Miss, James Meredith, to speak about civil rights concerns and how they as students could get involved with the Movement. Most student protest was aimed outward at discrimination in Urbana-Champaign or in the South, not UIUC. It was not until the middle to late 1960s that Black UIUC students began shifting focus to the University.[3]

As a reflection of the national sentiment on Black liberation in the early 1960s, many Black students felt as Edna Long (Long-Green) did about "getting along" on campus, "My whole focus was blending in. I didn't want to stand out." She engaged in social activities with both Black and White friends and related well with her White residence hall floormates. She described the interaction between Black and White students as natural not hostile, "We were so different from our roommates, the curiosity was a natural curiosity as opposed to a racial curiosity. Most of them had not known a Black person in a social situation. Most of us had not known any Whites either so there was a natural curiosity." Both James Eggleston and Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) recounted hostile first contact with their White roommates. Initially encountering prejudice, both confronted their roommates and later got along with them or adapted to the situation. As James Eggleston stated, "There was no animosity between Black and White students. You could go around and not be bothered."

This is not to say that Black students on campus in the early to middle 1960s were attempting to forfeit their Blackness in order to fit in or that racial tension on campus was non-existent. For instance, certain interviewees discussed the fact of being "Black" as a given. They were proud to be African American but at this point in time had not transformed ethnic pride into a politics of ethnic identity. However, their attempts at integration and blending in sometimes were met with hostility. According to Christine Cheatom (Holtz), Black students were subjected to a form of benign neglect on the part of the university, "they were probably oblivious and couldn't care less." Interviewees resented the university for bringing them to a completely alien environment and then leaving them to fend for themselves. Reflecting on student interaction, Paul Brady described the Black students as invisible to Whites. Though they attended classes together, lived in the same residence halls, and ate in the same dinning rooms, Black and White students functioned in separate worlds on campus, "I never met, was introduced, or spoke to any of my White classmates all four years. Never." This alienation prompted Brady to co-found and become the first President of the campus chapter of CORE, an organization used to advance the rights of Black students and Black Champaign residents. A few years later, Blackness would be transformed from a state of being into an aesthetic, cultural, and political movement and the racial hostility--from both the university and White students--confronted.

Though political participation remained sporadic on campus, Black UIUC students brought with them a background in civil rights concerns. In fact, many interviewees recounted their history of involvement with civil rights protest on and off campus. Boyd Jarrell explained that he almost missed his high school graduation because he was protesting the use of Willis Wagons in Chicago. He and others accused the Superintendent of Schools of using the mobile classrooms (nicknamed Willis Wagons for the superintendent of Schools, Benjamin Willis) as a way to maintain segregation in Chicago schools.[4] Yolanda Smith (Williams), a transfer student from the University of Illinois at

Chicago (UIC), remembered being involved in protest while at UIC. "Did I take my experience with that kind of organizing kids to buck the system to [UIUC]? I guess I must have." David Addison was a member of SNCC and participated in voter registration efforts and sit-ins in the South. Terry Cullers had a background of activism in his family that influenced him to pursue civil rights concerns. His parents' involvement in SCLC and Operation Breadbasket (later Operation PUSH), inspired him to become involved. Many other interviewees also indicated they were involved with Black attempts at liberation prior to coming to UIUC including participation in Dr. Martin Luther King's open housing drive in Chicago, Illinois, a flirting affiliation with the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party, watching the bus boycotts, Little Rock Nine, and Freedom Riders on television, joining sit-ins and marches in Chicago, and modeling their beliefs after parental attitudes and actions. Students brought their civil rights experience to campus, but often focused on more immediate concerns--graduating from the university.

Many interviewees explained how the demanding nature of academics tempered their involvement in protest activities. They had to "face the Chief"--they had to contend with intense academic competition and a high drop-out rate. Black students portrayed the Chief, symbolic of the university itself, as a malicious force attempting to "kill their aspirations," as James Eggleston stated. In their minds, it became Black students versus the Chief. They explained the academic failure of their peers, "The Chief got him. He won't be coming back," and warned, "Watch out, or the Chief will scalp you." This academic pressure unnerved many Black students. As Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) described it, the academic environment was "very hostile and cold. It wasn't nurturing at all. They didn't want us to succeed." Many interviewees indicated that the hostile racial climate in the classroom negatively impacted their academic success. Also, many expressed the distress of being at or near the top of their graduating high school class but finding themselves unable to compete at UIUC. Some stated the Chicago public schools did not adequately prepare them for college academics. James Eggleston explained, "It was the

first time that everybody really dealt with failure. . . . There were no support programs in place because they probably didn't understand that we were in an environment that we weren't used to." Black students focused their energies on "making the grades" and defeating the Chief.

Compounded with the threat of academic failure were the attitudes of many parents. While many parents supported their involvement in civil rights concerns on campus, many others dissuaded their children from protest activity. Sandra Norris (Phillips) explained certain parental attitudes, "Our parents had been the get along type. They made it into middle-class America. When they sent us away to school we had a sense that we were supposed to act right, do right, get good grades, and graduate." Other interviewees recounted how their parents warned them not to go away to school and "cause trouble." Parents wanted their children to take advantage of the opportunity to attend a prestigious school and leave the protest to others. Understandably, many Black students chose to focus on academic success as a primary concern. However, in the later part of the decade many students increasingly viewed the struggle for social justice as consistent with their overall aspirations for success and a better life. The seemingly latent attitudes, skills, beliefs, and actions regarding Black liberation surfaced and formed the basis for the emerging Black Students Association.[5]

The Formation of the Black Students Association

As stated in the previous chapter, the formation of Black student unions at predominantly White institutions often was a first step in a concerted effort to implement Black Power on campus. Black UIUC students began discussing the need for a Black student organization to work for Black student concerns. In January, Rodney Hammond posed the formation of,

> a sort of ad-hoc committee of Negro students. It's not a civil rights group, not a social group either, but a sort of superordinate organization which would represent all Negroes on campus, sort of like a funnel to represent all the variant opinions of Negroes on campus, and a vehicle to which the white power structure can address itself.[6]

Other Black students shared his ideas. As individuals and groups began discussing the possibilities, they realized a common thread. As Hammond explained in 1997, "It seemed that as we were raising these issues, we found out . . . that a lot of others were thinking the same way but acting independently." In an effort to create a forum for discussion, a political pressure group, and an agitating body, Black students formed the Black Students Association (BSA) in October 1967. The organization adopted the motto: "We hope for nothing; we demand everything," linked itself to the emerging Black Power Movement, and declared itself the organization through which Black students would force the university to recognize and act on Black issues.

Rodney Hammond was appointed Chairman until an official election could be held. Other temporary BSA officers also included Christine Cheatom (Holtz), Vice Chairman; Delores Parmer (Woodtor), Secretary; and Clifton Maclin, Treasurer. BSA elected permanent officers in early December 1967. The official executive council included: Dan Dixon, President; (Vincent) Terry Cullers, Vice President; Delores Parmer (Woodtor), Secretary; Leslie Corley, Treasurer; and Joseph Louis Jordan, Sergeant-at-Arms. Professor of Engineering, Robert A. Eubanks, served as faculty advisor. BSA also inaugurated seven committees: Executive, Newspaper, Public Relations, Black Liaison, Cultural and Special Events, Discrimination, and Direct Action. The organization declared itself "open to all students who are interested in the promotion of Knowledge of the Black American's Cultural Heritage." All Black UIUC students could become members of BSA by virtue of their ethnicity. Since BSA had no membership list, dues, or initiation, and the fact that many Black students had a passing affiliation with the organization, it is difficult to determine how many students considered themselves BSA members or allies. However, many interviewees estimated a very small number of active participants. According to tentative list, BSA had seventeen members including the executive council as of 1 November 1967.[7]

The initiation of BSA and the election of officers was a difficult process in which the conflict between Black Greek members and independents surfaced. Historically, Black Greek organizations were the most powerful Black organizations at UIUC. Some fraternities and sororities had existed on campus for decades. The organizations had long histories, were well entrenched in the student and university community, and served social and supportive purposes (instead of political) for Black students attending UIUC as a predominantly White institution. By the early to middle 1960s, Dan Dixon estimated that between 60 to 90 percent of the Black student population participated in Greekdom. Though an exact number of participants is difficult to determine, other interviewees also remembered a high percentage of Black Greeks. Participating in Greekdom did not preclude Greek/non-Greek relationships--Greeks and non-Greeks dated, roomed together, and formed life-long friendships. Neither was Greek life inherently counter to civil rights activities, however, the organizations themselves did not serve as political mobilization groups and individual Greeks interested in civil rights concerns looked elsewhere.

The campus CORE chapter often received such interested Greek and non-Greek individuals. Formed in the middle 1960s, CORE acted as the primary agitating body for Black students on campus and attracted members who were interested in developing new tactics and solutions to Black America's problems. Paul Brady, Rodney Hammond, Terry Cullers, and James Eggleston all were members of the organization. However, participation in CORE was limited. In a subtle connection to Greek participation, Paul Brady explained the small numbers as a reflection of complacency, middle-class attitudes, and a focus on campus social life. Other interviewees, like Dan Dixon, directly attributed the small numbers to Greek participation, "CORE had started, but it was dying a slow death on campus. Nobody was going because most of the folks were Greeks." The Greek attitude toward the formation of BSA often was hostile. Some viewed it as an attempt to usurp power from Black Greek organizations while others viewed it as an attempt by Black students rejected by Black Greek organizations to create their own group. As Mr. Dixon

remembered, "Some said, 'Leave them alone. They failed at everything else. That will be their Greek group, CORE, SNCC, whatever.'"

Adding to the hostility between Black Greeks and BSA non-Greek organizers was the discussion regarding leadership and direction of the organization. Many Black Greeks doubted the ability of the independents to run an organization. Dan Dixon, a member of a Greek-letter organization, remembered, "They didn't know how to run meetings. All of us were trained. If Black Greek life does nothing else, it teaches you to run meetings." Agreeing, Delores Parmer (Woodtor), a non-Greek, explained that Greeks maintained an advantage over independents in that they knew how to conduct organizational business. Also, Black Greeks like Dan Dixon often were offended by the perceived attitude of BSA organizers, "It was like, 'You can come, but we know Black thought. You ain't Black. You need to come to the meetings and find out how to be Black.'" Conversely, Black independents worried that Black Greeks would taint the purpose of the organization. At the electoral meeting, Black Greeks arrived en masse to gain control of the emerging organization. Dan Dixon, a member of Kappa Alpha Psi, was elected President. All other Greek candidates lost. Though they outnumbered Greeks on the executive council, the Black independents worried their worst fears were realized and cautioned,

> The results of the Black Students Association elections will hopefully not reflect the future of the BSA as an organization whose aim is to work on behalf of BLACK interests. . . . What people want to know is: where was this mass participation by the Greeks before--in CORE and/or the provisional BSA? Those few Greeks who did participate in the provisional BSA participated as individual black students and not as members of a socially oriented organization. The Black Students Association does not need a division among its members, however it must be acknowledged that one does exist between Greeks and non-Greeks. With more Greek participation in BSA, these differences will hopefully be ironed out.[8]

While attempting to reconcile their differences, BSA also had to grapple with Black student apathy. Again, many Black students chose to focus their efforts on academics or Greek life. Some were wary of the new organization. As Sandra Norris (Phillips) noted, "Many of the students . . . came from a middle-class, get along, wait-and-see existence. Others were very much afraid of getting involved in that kind of movement." In a 1967

interview, Paul Brady recounted how difficult it was to recruit members and get Black students interested in concerted protest because they misunderstood Black Power.[9] Rodney Hammond, in a similar interview, attributed the apathy to a lack of solidarity. Still other Black students, like Sandra Norris (Phillips) and Edna Long (Long-Green), credited their growing Black consciousness to the BSA formation. However, during the 1967-1968 academic year, BSA did not develop a large following and attendance at meetings remained limited.

A further challenge to the emerging organization was the tension between Black students and the Black community surrounding the campus. Several interviewees remembered that Black UIUC students of the 1940s and early 1950s were not permitted to live on campus and had to live with Black Champaign residents on the North side of town. They noted that, historically, the relationship between the "town" and "gown" was necessary, supportive, and positive. However, as students moved into the residence halls, they removed themselves from the Black Champaign community. They still visited the community for services such as hair cuts and food but did not live there. They became occasional visitors who returned to campus after getting what they needed from the Black community. According to interviewees, some students who came from Chicago in the early 1960s characterized Black Champaign residents and students from downstate Illinois as "country," meaning they were slow and uneducated, and "bought into the hype that we were better than them." Adding to the increasing strain between Black students and Black Champaign residents were male competition for women--both campus and community men were interested in the campus women--, elitist attitudes, and campus parties closed to non-Greeks which meant that non-Greek students and community residents could not attend.[10]

In an effort to reunite "town" and "gown," BSA endeavored to include community concerns in their agenda. Terry Cullers remembered, "We didn't want to just be concerned with problems of the students although it was set up to make that the primary thing. We knew we had to deal with the issues of the Black community in general. We tried to make

those connections. We had some success and some failure." In the first edition of their first newspaper, *Drums,* and to alleviate tension between Black students and Black Champaign residents, BSA recognized the importance of open parties and worked toward opening campus recreational facilities for Black residents. As Terry Townsend stated, "We did have a tendency to work together toward political ends but not all the time." Issues in which Mr. Townsend remembered a marriage between campus and community were apartheid in South Africa, housing discrimination, and unfair employment practices, but the tension remained.

At first, BSA's primary goal was to integrate the campus by increasing the number of Black students. Not only did BSA view increasing the number of Black students a right as tax-paying citizens at a public institution but as psychologically satisfying as well. The low number of Black students deeply affected emotional well-being and friendships. "Being there, it was so lonely. When people flunked out, it was devastating. Every year you had to make new friends. If you made three friends, two of them would leave." CORE began efforts to recruit Black students from Chicago for the 1967-1968 academic year. BSA took up the effort for the 1968-1969 academic year "due to lack of initiative of the University" and the fact that "the black students here would be able to relate much better to other blacks, thus making our efforts more successful."[11] BSA representatives visited eleven predominantly Black Chicago high schools during winter break. They spoke about BSA and UIUC, encouraged those interested to apply, and distributed applications. The BSA recruitment process indicated an active merging of academic and social justice concerns in ways different from previous students. As Rodney Hammond stated, "We were all going through a set of stages from sort of being focused, as students traditionally were at the University of Illinois, on ordinary concerns and self interest to who we were as Black people." Recruiters informed students that traditional models of individual achievement--where civil rights concerns were subjugated to self-interest and advancement--were no longer "traditional" at UIUC. Black students could have both academic success

and be involved with social justice concerns on campus and in the larger Black community.[12]

BSA developed both organizationally and ideologically in this early stage. Though still small, BSA members held semi-regular meetings to discuss organizational business and published a campus newspaper, *Drums.* Also, BSA began to broaden its focus by examining issues beyond campus integration. They contemplated demanding more Black professors, a Black students center, and equal rights and good wages for auxiliary staff. The organization worked to further develop a form of Black Power ideology and a strategy for implementing that ideology as well. The primary purpose the organization served in its first few months was as an organized forum for students to discuss issues relevant to the Black community and as a reminder to individual Black students that they were not alone in their frustration and isolation on campus. As issues and ideology crystallized, BSA began to, as Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) stated, "push the envelope for the university."

Influences on BSA's Emerging Ideology

Black UIUC students were not isolated in their ideas or their proposed objectives and strategies. Discussions of "Black Power" and "Black consciousness" were occurring nationally, and they valued and acknowledged the ideological influence of a variety of national sources including Julius Lester, author and one-time SNCC member. Lester defined Black Power as: "Black people control[ing] their own lives, destinies, and communities. They would no longer allow white people to call them ugly. . . . Black Power meant accepting yourself as you were. Black people are beautiful, because, as Stokely [Carmichael] says, "God wouldn't make anything ugly."' As stated previously, students also looked to Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, nationally known speakers and authors of *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America,* who defined Black Power as "pride rather than shame, in blackness, and an attitude of brotherly, communal responsibility among all black people for one another." Carmichael and Hamilton further defined it as a call for African Americans to recognize and be proud of

their heritage, build a sense of community, define their own goals, and control their own organizations. To successfully accomplish the above tasks, and therefore attain Black Power, Blacks were called to unite.[13]

With the emergence of Black Power came a redefinition of the terms "Negro" and "Black." Previously used as a descriptive racial label, Negro was redefined as a pejorative and used to describe those who had not embraced Black Power concepts and principles. A "Negro" was a person who clung to antiquated ideas of race relations including assimilation and integration and practiced self-hatred. In order to be redeemed, the Negro had to endure a resocialization process. Through a set of psychological stages, the Negro was transformed into a "Black" man or woman. At the end of the process and the Negro part of the self discarded, the Black person fully appreciated and participated in Blackness. This process meant that Blackness was no longer a matter of color. Blackness was, above all else, a question of consciousness.

Several psychologists and sociologists devised models of the "Negro-to-Black conversion experience." One of the most popular, the Cross Model, included five stages. In stage one, the pre-encounter phase, the person was a Negro, meaning s/he was programmed to value Whiteness, remained dependent on White leadership, behaved in a way that degraded Blackness, and ascribed to the assimilation-integration model of race relations. Stage two, the encounter, brought the Negro in contact with an experience that forced a reevaluation of his/her worldview. The encounter could be a single dramatic event or a set of cumulative events that chipped away at the person's Negro identity. In this stage, intense feelings of guilt, anger, and anxiety appeared and acted as energizing forces in the search for Blackness. "A 'Negro' is dying and a 'Black American' is being resurrected." In the immersion-emersion stage, the individual completely immersed him/herself in Blackness and was guided by anger and anxiety. Characterizations of the individual at the beginning of the stage included a developing sense of pride, deification of Blackness, dehumanization of Whiteness, and an intense desire to prove one's Blackness

to others. In the emersion half of the stage, the individual regained control of emotions. The previous glorification of Blackness and damning of Whiteness were tempered by intellect. Guilt and anxiety were replaced with pride. It was in this stage that the term "Negro" was eliminated as a self-referent. Stage four, internalization, was characterized by a feeling of inner security, a receptivity to discussions or plans of action, and an expansion of the person's conception of Blackness. In the last stage, internalization-commitment, the new understanding of Blackness was put into practice in everyday life.[14] The entire process varied in length per individual and could occur at different periods in a person's life. Also, individuals could become fixated at a particular stage and stunt their "growth." However and whenever it occurred, the process was necessary in resurrecting one's essential humanness.

Some interviewees indicated they went through a Negro-to-Black conversion experience at UIUC, however they described their experiences in more general terms than that the Cross Model. They discussed their previously "unconscious" state and encounters that contributed to a growing awareness of Black identity and consciousness, but they did not address or perhaps even experience the anger and anxiety described in the immersion stage. Though they may not have traveled through each stage, at the end of the process they became "Black." For instance, Edna Long (Long-Green) stated, "I don't know if I was Black when I came in 1965." A variety of incidents, including the BSA formation, jolted her out of her "Negroness" and into a search for Black identity. By the time she graduated, Long initiated Black-centered activities and organizations such as a dance troupe and classes and helped host a cultural showcase of artistic talent including poetry readings, dance, and short plays. Likewise, Sandra Norris (Phillips) described the formation of BSA as the "encounter" that pushed her toward Blackness. "I know going through the growing pain phase I became more aware of a conscious identity as a Black student. When I came there, I was . . . a student who happened to be Black. When I left, I was a Black who happened to be a student." This conversion experience was more relevant for some

students than for others. Some interviewees stated that they brought their Black consciousness with them to campus and did not progress through the stages. However, those that indicated they already had a developed sense of self and ethnic pride often attributed a heightened sense of identity consciousness to events occurring across campus. Also, it is certain that many Black students did not participate the conversion experience. They were content with their identity and did not want to "rock the boat."

Black UIUC students were influenced by events and attitudes in their home town of Chicago as well. Many were born during the Great Migration of Southern Blacks to Northern cities such as Chicago. The influx of Blacks forced the city of Chicago to act quickly to build more housing and schools in Blacks neighborhoods. Far from an act of benevolence, the city was more concerned with ensuring that Blacks would not have to move into White neighborhoods or attend predominantly White schools. Segregation was not legally mandated, but it was legally sanctioned. Civil rights activists focused attention on Chicago's educational and residential racial segregation and linked them to poverty and the rise of "slums" or "ghettos." Activists attempted to engage city officials in discussions of possible remedies to Chicago's racial problems, but their efforts were put down or pushed aside repeatedly. Discrimination and segregation in housing and education were high on the civil rights agenda in Chicago and continued as such into the 1960s.

In the early 1960s, Blacks complained about the overcrowding in Blacks schools and tried to force the city to allow Black students to attend predominantly White schools. Instead, the city assured Black parents that there were no vacancies in the White schools, gerrymandered school district boundaries, and created mobile classrooms (the Willis Wagons one interviewee protested). Blacks responded with sit-ins and mass student walkouts. Neither was very effective.[15] Segregation in housing was maintained by the initiation of restrictive covenants, devices that served as a promise not to sell property to Blacks. The covenants proved so effective that by 1930, approximately two-thirds of Chicago's Black residents lived in neighborhoods at least 90 percent Black. As with

school segregation, the city decided to provide more housing where Blacks lived instead of attacking the policy of housing segregation. The policy lead to overcrowding and debilitating housing conditions which worsened steadily by the 1960s. This sanctioned segregation lead to "a differential quality of life and a practical inferiority or subordination."[16] The persistent intransigence of White city officials frustrated Blacks to the point of disdain. Their frequent defeats paired with the shifting mood of Black Americans regarding Civil Rights and Black Power became the kindling awaiting a match.

During a July 1966 heatwave, Black children trying to stay cool turned on city fire hydrants. A city ordinance prohibited use of the hydrants, but the ordinance was not strictly enforced, especially during the summer. Worried that the heatwave would lower water pressure, police closed the hydrants. In one West Side community, the police repeatedly tried to close a hydrant that the Black community was determined to keep open. The police called for help as the crowd grew larger and angrier. Eventually, the police used their clubs to quell the crowd and in the process beat, pushed, and bloodied bystanders. Word of the incident spread. Chicago civil rights leaders and Dr. Martin Luther King, who was in Chicago to support SCLC's recent arrival and civil rights project there, tried to calm the crowd. However, by the end of the evening, ten people were injured, twenty-four arrested, and nine stores looted. The next night would see eleven people--including six police--wounded, thirty-five arrested, and several stores vandalized and looted before hundreds of police restored order. Neither civil rights activists nor city officials were able to stop the nightly disturbances, and the next day the rioting continued. Two people were killed, thirty wounded, two hundred arrested, and more stores firebombed and looted. Unable to handle the growing unrest, the Mayor called in the National Guard. Finally successful and ending the riot, the grand total of arrested persons rose to 533 with 61 police wounded. Angered by the city's steadfast defense of segregation, many Black Chicagoans looked to violence as a possible remedy and outlet for their frustrations. Some took this frustration and channeled it into Black Power.[17]

Black UIUC students were home for summer vacation during the riot. Though none of the interviewees reported participating in the riot, their participation was not necessary to foster increasing Black Power sentiment. They were aware of the conditions igniting the riot. They were the beneficiaries of Chicago's educational and residential segregationist policies. It was the same educational system that, years later, they would indict for inadequately preparing them for college. It was the same residential policy that denied them the interaction with Whites which would have alleviated the culture shock they experienced at UIUC. Black Chicago, including UIUC students, examined alternative strategies for dismantling segregation. Some reexamined the goals of integration. Instead of fighting to integrate Chicago's White schools and communities, many sought to strengthen the Black community from within. They sought to make the "ghetto" a self-reliant and self-supporting community using the principles of Black Power.

An additional influence in Chicago came in the form of the Nation of Islam. Begun in the very early 1930s in Detroit by W. D. Fard, the Nation's headquarters moved to Chicago under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad in 1934. Black Muslim ideology asked "Black" Americans (they believed the word "Negro" was a White invention to better identify victims) to recover their self respect and reject the White man's religion and culture. According to their Creation Story, Blacks were created as a superior race while Whites were sub-human or "devils." Because of their philosophy, Black Muslims vehemently rejected integration and assimilation in favor of Black self-reliance. The Nation and its ideology proved most attractive to urban working-class Blacks, some of whom had recently migrated from the South. Though membership consistently remained low and none of the interviewees were members, the Black Muslim presence offered a model of resistance, Black self-determination, and Black Power. Many Black Chicagoans never ascribed to the Nation's religion or theory of Black superiority, but their philosophy of Black self-help and the rejection of integration did become attractive in light of White inflexibility and shifting attitudes regarding Black liberation.[18]

A specific example of the Black UIUC students' national consciousness as well as their link to Chicago was their contact with the Illinois chapter of the Oakland, California, Black Panther Party, an organization fervently advocating autonomy in the Black community and a more confrontational method of achieving liberation--armed self-defense. Panther chapters organized across the United States in the late 1960s; the Illinois chapter was chartered in November 1968. In January of the following year and invited by BSA and Students for a Democratic Society, Illinois Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, Deputy Minister of Defense Bobby Rush, and member Diane Dunne spoke to UIUC students about the approaching revolution and the need for the Black community to arm itself. Approximately one month later, 7 February 1969, two Illinois Black Panthers were arrested at the Illini Union. According to the 8 February 1969 *Daily Illini,* William Brooks, Minister of Education, and William Dunne, Lieutenant, were charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. BSA vigorously defended those arrested and claimed that the Panthers were targeted because they dressed in full Panther uniform. Both Panthers were released early the next morning.[19]

The next day, another group of eleven African Americans were arrested approximately thirty miles from the UIUC campus in the town of Rantoul; nine of the eleven were suspected members of the Black Panther Party. Arrested on charges of defrauding an innkeeper, theft of services, and conspiracy to defraud an innkeeper were UIUC student Jeraldine (Jeldean) Eldridge (a member of the BSA newspaper staff), former UIUC student Ronald Satchel (who at the time of the arrest was a Black Panther), and Illinois Panthers Bobby Rush, Fred Hampton, Ted Boston, and William Dunne. Several months later, at 4:45 a.m. on 4 December 1969, the Chicago police stormed the Illinois Black Panther Party headquarters at 2337 West Monroe Street in Chicago. After approximately ten minutes of gunfire, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, a Panther visiting from Peoria, Illinois, were dead; both had been visitors on the UIUC campus. Two former UIUC students, Brenda Harris and Ronald Satchel, were injured in the raid. Harris

attended UIUC from September 1968 to June 1969 in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Instead of returning to UIUC for the 1969-1970 school year, she remained in Chicago and attended Malcolm X College. Satchel attended UIUC for part of the 1968 academic year.[20]

Although there is no record of a campus Black Panther Party chapter, all of the above instances demonstrated that Black students were connected with and aware of Panther activities. Black UIUC students often hosted Black Panther visits and attended Panther political orientation classes. They both defended the Panthers and their ideology of Black Power. Several interviewees recounted the influence of Panther ideology and tactics on them as individuals and on the Black student movement in general. James Eggleston remembered watching news reports on the Black Panthers while living at home in Chicago. The influence was significant, "Everybody wanted to be like the Panthers, strong." Similarly, Terry Cullers remembered when Chicago Black Panthers came to UIUC and the effect their presence had on Black students on campus, "They really made an impact." Rodney Hammond remembered the influence the Panthers had on him personally as well as on campus.

> Fred Hampton and what they were doing on the West side of Chicago was very important to me. How that translated on the campus is hard to say other than as contributing more and more to this idea that we can do for ourselves and we can defend ourselves. It was very important even if it meant relinquishing the principle passivity and non-violence. . . . I felt attached to what they were doing and to Fred during my years.

Early BSA ideology

Black UIUC students published the works of their ideological influences in their newspaper. Articles demonstrating their connection to the larger Black Power Movement included segments of Carmichael and Hamilton's book, parts of Julius Lester's *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!*, a *Ramparts* interview with Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale, cartoons and articles reprinted from the Black Muslim newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks,* and a book review of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth.* Also, they cited LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka), a devout cultural nationalist and Black

Power advocate, James Baldwin, author and active participant in Black Power, and Don L. Lee (Haki Madhubuti), a cultural nationalist living and publishing in Chicago. All evidenced pro-Black sentiment and anger regarding the status of Blacks in America. Being *aware* of these influential Black Power figures, *reading* their works and *choosing* sections to cite in their newspaper indicated shared ideologies between the national figures of Black Power and Black UIUC students. Using these influences, BSA began to formulate further an ideology. They appropriated parts of their ideology from their own experience in civil rights struggle and others from national/Chicagoland discussions on Black Power and new tactics for Black liberation. Increasingly, they involved themselves in Black freedom struggles and "went with the Movement."[21]

How national ideas on Black consciousness reached the typical Black student and the extent to which such ideas were internalized was demonstrated in the interviews. Terry Cullers stated that the UIUC ideology of Blackness and Black Power "was influenced by what was happening all over the country because you were reading stuff from all over the country." The most mentioned influences on Black UIUC student ideology were the Black Panther Party and Malcolm X. As cited previously, Rodney Hammond discussed the personal impact of Black Panther ideology. Yolanda Williams, Terry Cullers, James Eggleston, David Addison, and other interviewees also remembered the personal impact of Panther ideology. Also, Malcolm X's autobiography almost became required reading for Black students. From that, James Eggleston remembered, "we started to formulate an ideology." Demonstrating their respect for Malcolm and his ideology, Black UIUC students would later name the new Black cultural center's reading room the El-Hajj Malik Shabazz Reading Room. Closer to home, James Eggleston remembered copying his poetry style from Don L. Lee (Haki Madhubuti), a cultural nationalist in Chicago. Also, Black students were influenced by events on other college campuses. Terry Townsend discussed how shootings at Kent State, South Carolina State, and Jackson State impacted Black students locally. As leaders in the UIUC Black student movement, the interviewees

translated their national influences into emerging BSA ideology and presented their philosophies in their publications. They dedicated publications to Malcolm X, wrote poems in honor of one-time SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown, reprinted the Panther's Ten Point Party and Platform, used language reminiscent of Malcolm's "any means necessary," and echoed Carmichael and Brown discussions of the "role of the Black student." Not only were Black UIUC students aware of national discussions, they participated in them and translated them into an ideology fit for a predominantly White campus in the Midwest.

In the first issue of *Drums,* BSA outlined the organization's purpose and ideology in an article entitled, "Goals are Black Unity and Black Consciousness." After becoming institutionalized, BSA supported their decision to establish a racially-based campus group by citing Malcolm X's statement, "We are not discriminated against because we are Baptists or Methodists; we are discriminated against because we are BLACK." Taking cues from the national movement, Black students mirrored Carmichael and Hamilton's call to close ranks, "By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society." Black UIUC students declared that Blacks needed to "stick together" to protect their interests: "If it is logical that we as black students must 'stick together' in order to promote and protect our own interests, it should be equally logical that we as a people must stick together to protect and promote the interests of our people."[22]

Similarly, interviewees remembered questioning the value in integration. "The mood had really become not anti-integration or not integration at any price, but is integration really the goal?" Certain interviewees reported having little faith in integration even before the onset of Black Power. By the later 1960s, the NAACP and other integration-minded organizations still existed on campus but faced competition for Black members from newly formed Black Power-minded organizations including CORE and BSA. It would be futile to argue that all Black students swayed toward Black Power. Like African Americans in the larger community, Black students were not a monolithic group in

any sense, including their ideas on the proper tactics and goals of Black liberation. However, Black Power-minded organizations gained momentum with a significant part of the Black student population.[23]

The Black Power Movement's push for more aggressive means and tactics for liberation was reflected in BSA's advocating of direct confrontation "with any institution within or outside the University" and the use of "any tool necessary" in fighting against apathy and for liberation. Black students explicitly stated their connection to the larger Black Power Movement and their role in it, "It is our responsibility to interpret to each student the changing attitude of the Black Movement [from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement] nationally and locally and to reflect Black Consciousness." BSA took it upon itself to insure that all African Americans on the campus and in the Champaign community were aware of and participants in the Black Power Movement. Consequently, the campus chapter of CORE initiated the call for a Black history course in late 1966. They proposed that the course be instituted in the Spring semester of the 1966-1967 school year or the following Fall. The purpose of the course would be to improve Black self-image, to reinsert African Americans in American history, and to educate the naive "to remove stereotypes."[24]

Consistent with the new definition of Blackness, Black UIUC students threw off the term "Negro" in favor of Black. While still being used in the general student newspaper, *The Daily Illini,* in none of BSA's newspapers was the word Negro used as a descriptive racial term. Like in the national movement, they assigned it a derogatory meaning. Negroes were those who had not embraced Black Power and Black consciousness. As John Lee Johnson, a Black Champaign community activist closely affiliated with BSA, stated: "I resent the word 'Negro'; it means second class fool and one who does not want to be free. I am black and black means just the opposite." Johnson's statement not only addressed the "Negro" versus "Black" dichotomy but revealed the tone of the Black Power-minded Champaign community and Black UIUC students. While

some used Negro and Black interchangeably to describe people of African descent based on pigment, Black UIUC students used the terms to denote particular ideologies of liberation. By 1968, Black students referred to themselves and other African Americans as Brothers and Sisters, and denounced those ascribing to a "Negro" philosophy as Uncle Toms. Also, derogatory terms for Whites such as honky, arch-bigot, and Mister Charlie crept into the BSA newspaper.[25]

BSA members often berated Black students whom they felt were not participating in Blackness. Many BSA authored articles and publications were aimed at convincing the dissenters that Black Power was the proper road toward Black liberation. For instance, in an article entitled, "Accept What You Are," former Vice Chairman Christine Cheatom (Holtz) berated Black women who used hair straighteners. Trying to convince African Americans to "get serious" about Black liberation, including psychological liberation, Ms. Cheatom (Holtz) stated: "No one with straightened hair is an enlightened Black. You may be militant, you may be intelligent but if you can not see any beauty in the average black woman's unstraightened hair, then you are still brainwashed."[26] This attack mirrored the cultural flavor of the Black Power Movement. In 1997 interview, Cheatom described the Afro as a badge that signaled loving and reveling in the African self; it was a statement in favor of Blackness and against assimilation or Whiteness. The use of hair straighteners, "processes," and skin bleaching creams was interpreted as a sign of weakness, desire to assimilate, and denigration of the African heritage. It was the internalization of standards of beauty consistent with the phenotypic traits of Whites. Students were told break away from the long-held preference in the Black community for "good hair" and light skin, to stop mutilating their bodies for the sake of Whiteness, and to embrace their African/African American selves.

Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) explained how the physical nature of Blackness affected her personally,

> As the transition into the late 1960s, 1966, 1967 and on, it became a much bolder stand and much prouder statement. . . . I remember the first time I got my Afro. .

> . . It was an outward expression of pride. That was the seed that let that pride grow and grow. . . . My Blackness, my big butt, my lips, those were the signals that were being sent--this is great, Black Pride. You saw a more forceful, prideful, and bold kind of student--some of it silly bold. But, still it helped push the envelope for that period of time.

Other women interviewees described a similar experience. But, having unstraightened hair did not necessarily mean "true Blackness;" one had to fully appreciate one's Afro. The "hair issue" was so intense that during a BSA sponsored Black Heritage Weekend, Black students felt compelled to sponsor a discussion of it: "Resolved: That Blacks must go Natural."[27] Also, Black students were expected to avoid certain clubs and bars, disassociate themselves from White friends, and only date other Blacks--though several interviewees indicated interracial dating still existed and that it was often the Black men dating "outside" the race.

By March 1968, BSA's organizational structure was functioning well enough for BSA to become productive. In its short existence, the organization managed to publish three issues of its newspaper, sponsor a Black Heritage Weekend, participate in the recruitment of future Black UIUC students, and prompt the university to discuss seriously the initiation of a Black history course. In the spirit of the era, each BSA initiative was infused with the ideology of Black Power. Also, BSA members sought to make the intangible nature of Black consciousness tangible in their programs. With their raised level of consciousness of Black America's problems, BSA students used the emerging definition of Blackness to appeal to a sense of Black unity on campus. However, participation continued to waiver. By April, BSA members still wondered how to get more of their peers involved in the Movement.

4 April 1968

The 4 April 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King provided one of the catalysts in increasing Black Power sentiment on campus. His murder stunned the campus, Urbana-Champaign, and the entire nation. After his death, Black UIUC students examined the roadblocks in the path of Black liberation. They mourned the assassinations

of Medgar Evers, John Kennedy, Malcolm X, and Robert Kennedy. They discussed and were affected deeply by the conditions igniting riots in Chicago, Watts, and Newark, the Vietnam War, and civil rights defeats in the South. They protested the police action used to murder students at various Black colleges in the South.[28] King's assassination was the last insult they could endure. As Terry Cullers stated,

> It slowly started in 1963, with the assassination of Kennedy, and then it just accelerated. The most power-packed was between 1967 and 1970. . . .1968, in the midst of all this stuff happening on this campus, King is assassinated. Two months later, Robert Kennedy is assassinated. . . . There was a feeling in 1968 of, "What in the world is happening? Is this country really going to hell in a handbasket?"

King's murder bolstered their resolve and confirmed their belief that non-violence for the sake of a moral statement was inappropriate, ineffectual, and useless (for some it acted as the "encounter" that pushed them toward Blackness). They turned away from the Civil Rights Movement tactics toward a more aggressive or active self-defensive strategy.

After reeling in disbelief and anger, many activists commented on the impact of King's assassination. In an article published the day after the assassination, John Lee Johnson called King's death an awakening and stated he was sorry about the death but, "believed it would be a tool for the Black man to break out of the shell he's fallen into under King's leadership." When asked in 1996 about the statement in retrospect, Mr. Johnson agreed with his earlier statement, "I think that did happen. Not that we were lulled into non-violence. We were lulled into believing Dr. King was going to free us. . . . My point was that after Dr. King's death, we were going to have to get off our ass and do it ourselves." Black students on campus in 1968 echoed Johnson's statement in the same article. After the assassination, Paul Brady remembered being so angry that he and twelve others went to the campus armory to learn how to shoot. Fellow student, Rodney Hammond, voiced outrage at King's death. Hammond stated, "There is no doubt in my mind now that violence is the only way to get anything." He further declared:

> I speak for all young black militants when I say that our attitudes emphasized that now the white man was more than ever a "monster" to be distrusted and feared. The white man has lost the only black friend he had. From now on he will have to deal with us black militants.[29]

Many cities exploded after King's death including Chicago. According to Chicago's Black newspaper, *The Daily Defender,* looting, sniper-fire, and arson consumed much of Chicago's Black community for days after news of the murder. As they did in 1966, city officials called in National Guard troops to restore order. By 8 April 1968, 270 juveniles were arrested and at least six under the age of 24 were dead. Students attending predominately Black high schools vented anger on White classmates, voted to petition school boards to rename their high schools in honor of Dr. King, held memorial services, and initiated a mass student walkout. Many Black students already attending UIUC graduated from the same high schools in which the disturbances occurred. Also, Black UIUC students already had begun recruitment efforts at some of the same schools including Hyde Park, Marshall, Tilden Technical, and Englewood. Further fueling frustrations, Mayor Richard J. Daley ordered police to shoot any arsonists and looters. The order drew heavy fire from Black Chicago civil rights activists. Alderman A. A. Raynor, a UIUC alumni, lead the charges, "I have heard both Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown and neither have ever said anything nearly as inflammatory as the remarks made by Daley." He continued, "What Daley has said will without a doubt make even the best non-violent person mad as hell." Similarly, civil rights attorney Anna Langford, stated, "Since I left [for] Atlanta to attend Dr. King's funeral, I don't feel non-violent anymore." Chicago events and attitudes had a significant influence on Black UIUC students since many called the city home. Though two hours away, Black UIUC students did not exist in a vacuum and were affected heavily by Chicago's response to King's death. They watched their neighborhoods go up in flames, heard stories about protests at their former high schools, and learned first hand how their families and friends were involved.[30]

It was in this context and climate that an affirmative action initiative brought more than 500 Black students to campus in the Fall 1968. BSA was eager to swell its ranks and

participate in the recruitment and political education of the new students. Not only would the new students have to contend with the pressures of attending college and being away from home for the first time, they would bring with them increasing Black Power sentiment--in part due to King's death--and would enter an environment in which continuing Black students encouraged them to place themselves in opposition to the university and question the university's commitment to its Black students.

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[1] Donald J. Wermers, *Minority Ethnic Enrollments at the University of Illinois Fall Terms, 1967-1973* (Urbana: University Office of School and College Relations, April, 1074), 17; Report obtained from the University Office of Academic Policy Analysis. A more detailed discussion of the number of Black students attending UIUC from 1965 to 1975 is in the previous chapter.

[2] Charles Willie and Joan Levy, "Black is Lonely," *Psychology Today* 5 (March 1972): 50-52, 76-80.

[3] For information regarding desegregation efforts by students of the 1940s and 1950s, see Deirdre L. Cobb, "Segregated Students at the University of Illinois, 1945-1955," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 24 (1997): 46-51; For articles regarding the Alabama church bombing, see: "Senate Maps Bill" *The Daily Illini*, 17 September 1963, "NAACP Plans March on FBI, Week of Vigils," *The Daily Illini*, 18 September 1963, and "Pass Emergency Legislation," *The Daily Illini*, 19 September 1963. For articles regarding UIUC student trips to Mississippi and other Southern states, see: "Free Integrationists Under $50 Bond," *The Daily Illini*, 29 January 1964, "CoEd With Atlanta Groups," *The Daily Illini*, 30 January 1964, "UI Rights Workers Return from Mississippi Campaign," *The Daily Illini*, 7 November 1964, and "Students Here Join in Selma Protests," *The Daily Illini*, 10 January 1965. For articles on Champaign-Urbana civil rights demonstrations, see: "SNCC to Stage Sit-In," *The Daily Illini*, 19 May 1964, and "Arrest 14 Students in Demonstration," *The Daily Illini*, 30 May 1964. For coverage of the NAACP boycott of athletics, see "NAACP Calls for Boycott," *The Daily Illini*, 13 February 1965; James Johnson, "Bevel: Say It Long, Loud," *The Daily Illini*, 10 April 1964; "SNCC Members, Friends Discuss Integration Projects," *The Daily Illini*, 24 March 1964; Beth Hupp, "Gregory Hits at North," *The Daily Illini*, 5 May 1964; Bob Snyder, "Meredith Answers Questions," *The Daily Illini*, 2 December 1966, Clipped Article File obtained from the Afro-American Studies and Research Program.

[4] The Willis Wagon were not perceived as objectionable solely by Black Chicago residents. The US Department of Justice itself investigated their use and described them as a form of racial segregation (Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986).

[5] The belief that the struggle for social concerns was no longer inconsistent with academic success is discussed in "Part Three," of, Patrica Gurin and Edgar Epps, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement: A Study of Students in Historically Black Colleges* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975).

[6] "Encourages Negroes to Form Racial Pride," *The Daily Illini*, 7 January 1967.

[7] "Request for University Recognition of a New Undergraduate Student Organization Not Maintaining a House," Student Organization Constitutions and Registration Cards, 1909-1981, File number 41/2/41, Box 4; Because BSA declared that *all* Black students automatically could become members of BSA did not mean that all Black UIUC students participated in BSA, followed its policies, or accepted its leadership.

[8] Delores Parmer, "Greek Coup," *Drums*, December 1968.

[9] "Encourages Negroes to Form Racial Pride," *The Daily Illini*, 7 January 1967.

[10] Terry Cullers, Edna Long (Long-Green), and Terry Townsend interviews.

[11] James Eggleston interview; William Savage, "Retention and Recruitment," *Drums*, March 1968.

[12] Again, see, Gurin and Epps, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement.*

[13] Julius Lester, *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!* (New York: The Dial Press,

1968), 100; Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power,* viii.

[14] The discussion of the Negro to Black Conversion is taken from William E. Cross, Jr., "The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience," *The Black World* 20 (1971): 13-27, and William E. Cross, Jr., "Chapter 6: Rethinking Nigrescence," *Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

[15] Anderson and Pickering, "Chapter 2," *Confronting the Color Line.*

[16] Ibid., 49, citing Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957,) 87-107; Ibid., 57.

[17] Ibid., citing *Chicago Sun-Times,* 13 July 1966, *Chicago Tribune,* 13 July 1966, *Chicago Sun-Times,* 17 July 1966, *Chicago Sun-Times,* 15, 17 July 1966, and *Chicago Sun-Times,* 27 July 1966.

[18] The discussion of Black Muslims and their ideology is taken from a combination of sources; See, C. Eric Lincoln, "Introduction," *The Black Muslims in America* (Queens, New York: Kayode Publications, 1973), and E. U. Essien-Udom, "The Negro Dilemma," *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[19] Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark, *Search and Destroy: A Report by the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and the Police* (New York: Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., 1973), 19; "Unity and Action" and "PIGS at Work: Incident 1," *The Black Rap,* 18 February 1969; All *Black Rap* articles were gathered from this source, therefore, only the author (if provided), article title, and date of publication will be given for further references to this source.

[20] "PIGS at Work: Incident 1," *The Black Rap,* 18 February 1969; Wilkins and Clark, *Search and Destroy,* 6.

[21] For quotations taken from LeRoi Jones, James Baldwin, and Don L. Lee, see *Drums,* March 1968; James Eggleston interview.

[22] "Goals Are Black Unity and Black Consciousness," *Drums,* November 1967; Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power,* 44.

[23] Terry Cullers interview, Paul Brady, Delores Parmer (Woodtor).

[24] "Goals Are Black Unity and Black Consciousness," *Drums,* November 1967; "CORE Touches Racial Issues," *The Daily Illini,* 5 October 1966; "Plan Negro History Course," *The Daily Illini,* 18 November 1966; For other *Daily Illini* articles covering the Black history course, see "Neglected History," 28 October 1966, and "Expect History Dept. Support; Requests Negro Course," 2 November 1966. History 199, "Black Culture," became a reality in the Spring 1968-1969 semester. This course will be discussed further later in the paper.

[25] "Revolutionary Blasts Whites," *The Daily Illini,* 17 February 1968; Derogatory terms used to describe Whites can be found in "Honky Posse . . . In Your Neighborhood," and "Black Student Shot," *Drums,* March 1968.

[26] Christine Cheatom, "Accept What You Are," *Drums,* December 1967.

[27] "Phil Cohran Here for Black Heritage Weekend," Drums, November 1967.

[28] For a discussion of the murders at Jackson State, South Carolina State College, and Kent State, see interviews with James Eggleston and Terry Townsend and "BSA Mourns Slaughtered," "Orangeburg Facts," and "Orangeburg's Blood Will Not Flow in Vain," *Drums,* March 1968.

[29] Carolann Rodriguez, "Negroes Predict Violence," *The Daily Illini,* 5 April 1968. In a 1997 interview, Hammond stated he was misquoted in this article. Hammond remembers stating something to the effect of, "Now that [King] has been eliminated, I would not be surprised if there was a violent reaction to his death since the power of his symbolism is now removed." Though the words may not have been Hammond's, the fact remains that many Black UIUC students held beliefs consistent with those printed in the article.

[30] Donald Mosby, "Despite Guard, Cops, Federal Troops More Looting Hits Ghetto," *The Daily Defender,* 8 April 1968; "Student Reactions Mixed Over King's Death. Prayers, Plans, and Riots Are Outlets for Grief," *The Daily Defender,* 8 April 1968; Dave Potter, "Rights Figures Blast Daley on 'Shoot Looters' Order," *The Daily Defender,* 16 April 1968. All *Daily Defender* articles were gathered from the Newspaper Library at UIUC.

CHAPTER 4

THE SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM

Preparing for the 1968-1969 academic year, BSA held its second elections. On 15 May 1968, BSA members elected: David Addison, President; Patricia Yeatman, Program Coordinator; Rozalind Frazier, Secretary; and Alvin Gray, Treasurer. Like the previous executive council, this new leadership and the few BSA members continued their efforts to increase the number of Black students on campus. UIUC administrators discussed similar notions, including the concept of increasing equal educational opportunity and the role of a university in alleviating racial injustice, in a report made as early as 1963. However, certain UIUC initiatives remained plans while others were only mildly successful. The April 1968 assassination of Dr. King prompted the new executive council and Champaign community civil rights groups to demand the university take a more active role in recruiting and admitting Black students, and the university accelerated its efforts. In early May, UIUC announced the creation of the Special Educational Opportunities Program (SEOP), a program to recruit more minorities, especially Blacks, to the campus. With the aid of BSA, Office of Admissions staff, and high school teachers and counselors, UIUC sought to identify and recruit 500 students for the program, hence its commonly known name, Project 500. This chapter offers a chronology of the development and initiation of SEOP beginning with pre-SEOP initiatives to increase Black enrollment as a grounding for the 1968 affirmative action program. After its conception and initiation, UIUC then devised academic and financial aid admission requirements for the incoming Freshmen. Soon after deciding the admission standards, UIUC set out to recruit for the program and was aided by BSA in their identification and the orientation of those accepted. Preparing for the new group of "academically disadvantaged" students, colleges and departments restructured various courses including Math, Psychology, and Rhetoric. The influence of SEOP on the UIUC campus cannot be underestimated. The arrival of this first substantial group of

Black students had a significant effect on university programs and policies and altered the UIUC campus in very distinct ways.

The Beginnings of SEOP

UIUC administrators and faculty began discussing the groundwork for SEOP in late 1963. In a report issued by the University Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, a conscious effort to increase substantially the enrollment of Black students became a basic goal for UIUC. In the Preamble of the report, the committee cited the overwhelming under-representation of African Americans in "almost all of the status roles and favorable conditions of our relatively affluent and largely white dominated society." In an effort to compensate for "the grievous record of the past and present," both nationally and on the UIUC campus, UIUC was directed to reexamine its role in the perpetuation of oppression. The Committee highlighted the low number of African American students, faculty, and employees and pointed to the fact that "the 'public service' to the state to which we are dedicated [has not] been at all focused on the racial problems of the state and its citizens." Also, the Committee suggested UIUC remember and reclaim the historical role of the university as the birthplace for social, cultural, and economic revolutions. The recruitment and retention of more African American students was one means to this end.[1]

The imbalance of minority student enrollment due to past discrimination had to be remedied, and the University decided to take an active role.

> It is not sufficient simply to affirm the principle of non-discrimination in all aspects of the University's undertakings. Instead it is urgent to develop an affirmative action program to help overcome handicaps stemming from past inequality so that all shall have equal opportunity to develop their talents to their fullest capacity.[2]

The Committee suggested expanding the enrollment of "innately able but educationally, socially and economically disadvantaged" students, encouraging those already enrolled to complete their education, and assisting those with the potential to go on to graduate school. In order to monitor student progress, attrition, and graduation rates the Committee proposed the collection of racial data for all students. UIUC had not collected racial data before (though they knew how many Black students were on campus before the late

1960s[3]), but the committee thought it necessary to advance the university's interest in providing opportunities to diverse students. They made clear the fact that the information would be collected after admission and would be used for research and statistical purposes, not to discriminate against individuals or groups. Out of the Committee's proposal came the foundation of SEOP.[4]

Underscoring UIUC's decision to recruit more Black students, two federal government pieces of legislation helped initiate many changes in higher education in the middle 1960s. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, counter to previous race-blind policies in college admissions, ordered a census of all higher education institutions identifying students by race or ethnicity. The collection of such data dramatized the low number of Black students at predominantly White institutions and had a profound effect on Black enrollment at such institutions. In response to Section 402 of the Act, a study "concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions" was conducted by the Office of Education under the auspices of the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.[5] This report heightened awareness of discrimination in education and the value of a diverse campus environment as well as reminded institutions that federal money would be withheld from any institution in non-compliance with providing equal opportunity.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 expanded the financial opportunities open to African Americans pursuing a higher education. Title IV, Part A, was created with the mandate to "encourage and enable exceptionally needy high school graduates and college undergraduate students, who otherwise would be unable to continue their education, to pursue their studies at institutions of higher education by providing them with educational opportunity grants [EOGs]." Financial assistance was not limited to Black students, but they were the group that most benefited from the grants. The grants often covered half the student's financial need. Part B enabled students to get low-interest loans from their respective institutions. Part C enabled students to take advantage of College Work-Study

Programs in which they would work part-time to help defray college costs. These financial gifts enabled many low-income African Americans to attend institutions of higher education.[6] Both the Higher Education Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 acted as catalysts in opening the doors of educational opportunity.

In an effort to recruit more students and play its part in solving the "racial problem" in the nation, UIUC began devising programs and policies to increase diversity on campus. Several UIUC units were involved. The Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity endorsed an exchange program between the UIUC College of Education and an historically Black college. College Deans and Directors modified probation and drop rules because "some students whose initial performance was quite low, suddenly began to demonstrate a solid academic capacity--but they were eliminated by the rules." The University Foundation sought and/or provided additional financial resources since many Black students could not attend college due to financial constraints. Separate campus units initiated a support program for Freshmen from "disadvantaged areas" including extra counseling, tutoring, and "other supportive activity." The Office of Admissions monitored applications of students attending particular inner city Chicago schools.[7] The number of Black students remained low despite their efforts. Though Black UIUC enrollment was average or above average with respect to other predominantly White campuses in the North, UIUC continued to examine ways in which to attract more Black students more successfully.

UIUC inaugurated an experimental program during the summer of 1965 both to promote equal educational opportunity and to investigate the academic needs of Black students from disadvantaged high schools. Under the auspices of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, seventeen Black students admitted to UIUC for the 1965-1966 academic year attended eight weeks of college prepatory courses on campus. Initially conceived to include 25 to 30 students, the summer program provided participants with "intensive guidance, counseling and testing, intended to reveal, and training and teaching, intended to

correct or alleviate such deficiencies as might interfere with the successful prosecution of college work." Such deficiencies included physical ailments (hearing loss or astigmatism), lack of basic skills (slow reading pace), and inadequate academic preparation (remedial use of oral or written English). The participants completed questionnaires and interviews during the summer program, and the university charted their progress through their first year at UIUC. Most of the students were enthusiastic about attending UIUC and believed they could succeed academically. Also, most were described by their teachers and tutors as at least "fair" in their motivation to succeed. Attempting to gauge their attitudes toward the university, program organizers asked, "Negro students sometimes will express mixed feelings about the way they're received on a large, predominantly white campus. How do you feel about this University as a place for Negro students?" Most were optimistic or neutral in their attitudes. Possible reasons for such a response is that they actually were optimistic in their feelings or they were afraid to accurately express their feelings since their status in the program increased the ease with which they could be identified. Regardless, most expected to be treated well and like any other student on campus.[8]

By mid December, the end of the summer participants' first semester, the group studying the students came to no definite conclusions about the effects of the summer program "since so much of the students' academic record is still in the future." Their improvement on most measures was unimpressive, however the students did demonstrate a slight gain in short-term academic achievement. The primary benefit of the program was that the university got the opportunity to better understand the academic problems and attitudes of Black students. The university realized that eight weeks was not enough to improve significantly the academic performance of students from disadvantaged high schools. Instead, they suggested recruiting prospective UIUC Freshmen during their Junior year of high school for future summer programs. Also, the university entertained the notion of inviting "the highly able student who because of cultural disadvantages would probably not come to college at all unless he were given special encouragement and help."[9]

Additional programs were initiated in the following years. One pilot program was devised for the 1966-1967 academic year. Under the direction of Miriam Shelden, Dean of Women, academic, counseling, and advisory assistance was offered to Black women students. Again under Shelden's direction, the program was extended into Spring 1968 pending the approval of the new Chancellor, Jack Peltason. Another proposal for a program was submitted by the Assistant and Associate Deans of the Colleges during the 1967-1968 academic year. They suggested "a coordinating committee, a two-year division of special services, and a center for disadvantaged students." But, the proposal was tabled in order to allow the new Chancellor time to determine the direction of the program. Presumably, the arrival of a new Chancellor and the upcoming 1968 summer vacation prompted the university to delay making concrete decisions on the future and direction of minority recruitment and support services programs. However, the university took seriously the 1967 BSA call to increase the number of Black students enrolled and their own commitment to increase educational opportunities to disadvantaged students. By early 1968, the university was in the process of implementing a program to allow approximately 200 Black high school Seniors to enroll for the 1968-1969 academic year.[10]

If the UIUC campus was preparing to enroll African American students in significant numbers in the early to middle 1960s, the 4 April 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. accelerated the process. As a result of King's death, segments of the campus and community, especially BSA, demanded that more African Americans be admitted in the Fall of 1968. In 1960, Blacks constituted 10.3 percent of the Illinois population and 5.1 percent of the Champaign county population; by 1970 Blacks constituted 12.8 percent of the state population and 15.2 percent of the county.[11] On the UIUC campus in 1967, they were only 1.1 percent of the UIUC student population. 330 Black UIUC students of 30,407 total students attended in the Fall of 1967 (223 undergraduates of 22,017; 107 graduate/professional students of 8,390).[12] Black students became determined to increase their numbers.

Responding to BSA, a newly formed Champaign community group called Citizens for Racial Justice, and King's assassination UIUC altered its enrollment program. The university's new plan was presented to the public in a news release dated 2 May 1968. Instead of admitting the original 200 students, "working in close cooperation with the Black Students Association, the Chancellor announced that substantial efforts will be made to increase the program to hopefully enroll at least 500 students for September 1968." By admitting such a large number of students, SEOP became one of the largest programs initiated by a predominantly White university in attracting low-income Black high school students. Clarence Shelley, the Black director of an Economic Opportunity Program in Detroit, Michigan, was recruited and appointed Dean of the program in July.[13]

UIUC put forth five objectives in implementing SEOP: (1) to provide an educational opportunity to students who may not have had the opportunity to attend college; (2) to increase the number of minority students on the UIUC campus; (3) to develop educational programs and practices to aid the "disadvantaged" students in their academic careers; (4) to expose non-SEOP students to the cultural and social experiences necessary in understanding different cultures; (5) to develop information enabling in the ability to deal successfully with educational and sociological problems affecting students from "disadvantaged" backgrounds.[14] In a move to justify the program, downplay race, and soothe concerns, the university issued a report discussing the economic and social sense of the program: "Not only will the SEOP students contribute through their trained services to society, they will pay taxes rather than requiring services from public taxes. . . . Their contribution to the state and national income over their years of productive life will far outstrip the relatively low financial investment required to provide them with a college education."[15] Hurriedly, UIUC devised admission policies and recruitment techniques for the incoming SEOP students.

Admission Requirements

In order to "facilitate the social class mobility of poor and disadvantaged youth," the University broadened its admissions policies in admitting the SEOP students.[16] Admission requirements for all entering Freshmen in 1968 were based on a combination of high school percentile rank, score on the American College Test (ACT), distribution of academic courses, and fulfillment of the subject pattern requirements for the college and curriculum to which they were applying. In a program *not* associated with SEOP, students who did not meet standard admissions criteria could be admitted after demonstrating evidence of their ability to do satisfactory work.[17] The requirements for SEOP admission included: students who met the high school subject pattern requirements for the appropriate college and curriculum and who ranked in the top half of their graduating class; students who met the subject requirements, ranked in the third quarter of their class, and had an ACT score of at least 19; and students who ranked in the fourth quarter of their graduating class and had a composite ACT score of at least 21. Students not meeting the above requirements could qualify for special admission.[18] At the end of registration, approximately 1300 students applied to participate in SEOP. 768 were approved for admission since the university predicted that only two-thirds of beginning Freshmen actually register. However, the university misjudged the SEOP class. Almost three-quarters of those admitted, 565 students, registered. These included 502 Freshmen and 63 transfer students.[19] SEOP students comprised approximately 10 percent of the incoming Freshman class.

It is important to note that not all Black Freshmen were SEOP students. Some were admitted to the university before the initiation of SEOP. Also, not all SEOP students were Black. A small number of White and Puerto Rican students were admitted through SEOP. A report compiled by Dr. Faite Royjier-Poncefonte Mack, UIUC Dean of Personnel, revealed that of the 502 SEOP Freshmen, 478 students (95.2%), were Black. 287 students (57.2%), were women while 215 (42.8%), were men. Most, 402 students (80.1%), were Illinois residents.[20] The rest of the students primarily were from Holmes County,

Mississippi, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 435 (77%) of the 565 had a percentile rank in the upper half of their high school class.[21] According to a separate report, most SEOP students met standard admissions criteria. 491 (87%) met the minimum combination of high school rank, test score, and transfer grade point average. The other 74 (13%) were admitted on a special admissions basis when they were able to offer other evidence of academic success and promise.[22] The breakdown of registration in each college was as follows:

Liberal Arts and Sciences - 388
Commerce and Business Administration - 47
Engineering - 23
Agriculture - 10
Education - 49
Fine and Applied Arts - 19
Physical Education - 27
Aviation - 2[23]

As well as filling the academic requirements, the students had to have an unmet financial need to qualify for SEOP admission. "Disadvantaged" students were those whose family income put them in the working-class. In meeting the requirements for the program, each student had to qualify for a federal Equal Opportunity Grant (EOG) or have an unmet need of at least $1,200 in UIUC expenses. If UIUC students were representative of all students receiving EOGs, only 13 percent came from families whose annual gross income exceeded $7,500.[24] Margaret H. Ismaila, Assistant to the Director of the Office of Admissions and Records, issued a progress report in which "disadvantaged students" were further defined as: "Americans of college-going age whose family income and number of siblings, as well as the conditions of his home, school, and community, restrict his opportunities to develop socially, culturally, and economically toward becoming a useful member of society."[25] In its first year of existence, SEOP accepted disadvantaged students from out-of-state and non-Freshmen; but, in Fall 1969, the program was limited to Illinois residents and Freshmen.[26]

By November 1968, the family income criterion for SEOP qualification changed. In a Memorandum from David D. Johnson, Chief of the Educational Opportunities Grants

Branch of the federal Office of Education, UIUC financial aid coordinators were informed of the high number of institutions applying for EOG funds (on which many SEOP students were dependent). The federal government initiated a change in award criteria for Fiscal Year 1970. EOGs were to be given first to students from families whose annual gross income was $6,000 or less. Other students would qualify if the number of dependents in their home, combined with the family's gross income, translated into a small family contribution. These guidelines applied only to initial year of college attendance. The objective for Fiscal Year 1970 was to have at least 80 percent of all these initial awards going to Freshmen. The remaining grants were distributed between transfer students, Sophomores, and Juniors. No EOGs were given to Seniors.[27]

Other financial sources on which SEOP students could depend included federal loans, work-study programs, and the Martin Luther King Scholarship Fund. Students whose family income met a certain criteria could apply for Guaranteed Student Loans, a creation of the Higher Education Act of 1965, or National Defense Education Loans. Students could repay such loans over an approximate ten year period at a low interest rate and could wait to repay until s/he graduated or left school. Students participating in the College Work-Study Program, another creation of the Higher Education Act of 1965, worked part-time during their college career to defray the cost of college. Also, the university created the Martin Luther King Fund. The Fund Committee solicited all faculty and graduate students to contribute to the Fund "to help their institution do its part to begin to work on a national problem." In their letter to faculty and graduate students, the Committee explained the objectives of SEOP and rationalized contributing to the Fund, "extending our facilities to talented people who would otherwise not have a chance to develop their capabilities is nothing more than sensible economic, social, and moral policy."[28] Also, the Committee arranged for the sale of a drawing of Dr. King; at $25 a piece, all proceeds went to the Martin Luther King Fund.[29]

In the first year of SEOP, the University estimated a moderate student budget of $1797. In reaching this amount, most SEOP students usually received a combination of EOGs and National Defense Student Loans. 426 received EOGs (on average amounting $644). 492 received National Defense Student Loans (on average $683). Several students' parental contributions could not pay the difference between the EOG/National Defense Student Loan and the cost of UIUC. To offset the difference, 94 students received Illinois State Scholarships and Grants, 105 received tuition waivers, 169 received the Martin Luther King Awards, and 19 received grants and scholarships from agencies outside UIUC.[30] Other campus units making attempts at fund raising for SEOP included the Association of American University Professors Policy Committee who solicited faculty contributions to a discretionary fund which would be available to students only for emergency purposes and the Division of Rhetoric who sponsored several events including a bake sale to finance academic services including tutoring and the purchase of supplies.[31]

In October 1968, the university decided to offer 400 SEOP students admission for the 1969-1970 academic year. However, by March 1969, recruitment efforts were halted due to federal cutbacks in financial aid sources and dollars. The university was notified that 40 percent of the National Defense Education Loan dollars requested would not be available. Likewise, 40 percent of the EOG funds had been cut. Without the two primary sources of financial aid used by the 1968 class, UIUC reduced the number of SEOP participants for 1969. Instead of the original 400, 175 students were sent letters of acceptance by May 1969.[32] An additional 69 were admitted and enrolled.[33] UIUC attributed the decline to shrinking financial aid sources. Administrators encouraged potential students to tap alternative resources such as Illinois State Scholarships and Grants and attempted to increase the resources available through the Martin Luther King Fund. Black students attributed the decline to other possibilities. In 1969, Black students accused the Office of Admissions of discouraging potential students with militant or activist views from applying, advising them against applying, or rejecting them when they otherwise

qualified. The Office of Admissions responded by stating that it did not concern itself with the political leanings of applicants and proceeded to list the academic criteria on which student admission were based.[34] This climate of distrust would affect Black student-UIUC administrator relations for several more years and have implications for future policies and programs initiated by the university.

Though the number of Black Freshmen admitted to UIUC continued to vary, the initiation and continuation of SEOP did substantially increase the number of Black students on campus. In 1970, UIUC ranked first in the Midwest in Black student enrollment.[35] The following Table demonstrates the changing number and percentage of Black UIUC undergraduates from 1967, the year before the program, to 1975, two to three years after the first SEOP students graduated.

Table 1

BLACK UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN NUMBERS AND PERCENT OF TOTAL, 1967-1975

Year	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of Black Students Per Year	223	690	767	944	1040	1094	968	856	927
Black Students as Percent of Total Undergraduates	1%	3%	3.2%	3.9%	4.5%	4.4%	3.8%	3.2%	3.6%

Source: D. J. Wermers, *Enrollment at the University of Illinois by Racial/Ethnic Categories: Fall Terms, 1967-1975* (Urbana: University Office of Academic Policy Analysis, December 1976), 12, Report obtained from the University Office of Academic Policy Analysis.

SEOP Recruitment

With the university's public commitment to enroll 500 Black students, recruitment efforts intensified. The university solicited high school counselors to identify and encourage prospective students to apply to SEOP and arranged a series of Illinois regional conferences with counselors working in schools with large numbers of disadvantaged

students. At the meetings, admission and financial aid applications were distributed, questions answered, and problems discussed.[36] Also, the university built on BSA efforts. As stated previously, BSA members began recruitment efforts before the initiation of SEOP. Representatives visited eleven predominantly Black high schools in Chicago during their 1967-1968 Winter break and hosted a "get acquainted" weekend for Black high school Seniors accepted for the Fall 1968 semester. With university sanction, BSA invited approximately 80 Black high school Seniors from Chicago, East St. Louis, Illinois, and Holmes County, Mississippi, to the UIUC campus and sponsored tours, discussions, dances, and other activities.[37] The BSA effort was praised and their impact recognized in a university Memorandum: "We are highly encouraged by this evidence of interest on the part of a student organization and regard it as a most effective means of recruitment. We shall continue to encourage their efforts and to cooperate in every way. The activities of this group will be an important aspect of the total program of identification and recruitment."[38]

After the initiation of SEOP, BSA students remained not only involved but pivotal in the recruitment efforts. BSA recruiters believed the university doubted their ability to recruit 500 Black Freshmen and sought to prove the administrators wrong.[39] Hired as university employees during the Summer 1968, BSA actively canvassed for prospective students across the nation including Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and down-state Illinois. Again, BSA recruiters impressed UIUC administrators with their results, particularly in Chicago. After a visit to the BSA Chicago headquarters for SEOP recruitment, administrators commended their organization, dedication, energy, and resourcefulness. BSA had been able to tap so many sources and publicize the program so well that community leaders routinely sought them out and submitted unsolicited names for SEOP consideration. That they took their jobs seriously was apparent to one particular administrator, "Apparently, there are two recruiters who are not making a 100% effort. I understand that these recruiters have been severely chastised [by fellow Black recruiters]

and told to shape up or get out." BSA efforts also were successful in New York and Philadelphia, home-towns for a few continuing Black UIUC students. Success in down-state Illinois and Champaign-Urbana was harder to attain but did not go without considerable effort.[40] In reaching the university goal of 500 students, BSA assistance in recruitment was invaluable.

BSA recruiters were very proud of their role in the recruitment program, and their leadership role created a sense of ownership of the SEOP students and the program. They declined summer jobs with higher pay and sacrificed the chance to attend summer school in order to help make the program, first, a reality, and second, a success. Their investment in the program translated into a high degree of commitment. Interviewees involved with the SEOP recruitment efforts described the experience as personally gratifying and exciting. Yolanda Smith (Williams), a Sophomore at the University of Illinois at Chicago who began as a recruiter but eventually enrolled as an SEOP student at UIUC, described it, "I don't know if this is just a rumor, but they had always told us they had a quota of 100 or less Blacks at U of I Champaign. This particular year, 1968, there were going to be 500 Black faces, and I was going to be a part of it. To me, it was wonderful." Other interviewees who recruited for the program expressed similar sentiments. The idea that they would play a part in bringing 500 Black Freshman to campus was tremendous especially since there never had been 500 Black students *total* on the UIUC campus.

BSA energy and commitment were applauded, but their lack of recruitment training occasionally lead to confusion regarding admission policies. For instance, some recruiters thought they had the authority to admit students and invited their recruits to campus for the Fall. Adding to the confusion, the enrollment offers sometimes were presented to high school Seniors who, prior to BSA recruitment efforts and SEOP, would not have been targeted for UIUC enrollment. James Eggleston, a UIUC student recruiter in Chicago, provided one example of this type of recruitment,

> I would get people walking down the street. I remember one guy, Harry, was just sitting on the porch. I said, "Harry, you want to go to college?" . . . He said, "No, I don't want to go to no college." I said, "OK," and went down to the basketball court and played some basketball. On the way back, I said, "Harry, are you sure you don't want to go to college?" He said, "Well, what about it?" I told him about it and he came.

This example of recruitment was extreme though not necessarily atypical. Many Black students who became part of SEOP never intended to attend college--some for financial reasons and others due to academic deficits. The fact that they previously were not targeted for UIUC admission was not necessarily reflective of their academic readiness. According to interviewees, the rumor of a quota dissuaded many Black high school seniors qualified for admission. Also, the university itself recognized a history of discrimination in its 1963 report by the Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity.[41] Academically qualified Black high school seniors existed but were not recruited or extended the opportunity to attend UIUC. Though not initially college bound, it is important to indicate that SEOP students--perhaps, including Harry--did have an academic background and only a few did not meet the admission standards of the program.

The arrival of the SEOP students fostered conflicting feelings in many continuing students. They were excited to receive the 500+ Black Freshmen but worried that the label "special," with its connotations of lowered admission standards and financial duress, would be applied to all Black UIUC students. Pre-SEOP interviewees stated that they worked hard, excelled in high school, and were admitted to UIUC through "regular" channels, therefore some resented the fact that they would be associated with the lower admission standards for SEOP students.[42] Also, some continuing students perceived a distinction between their economic backgrounds and those of the SEOP students. Many pre-SEOP students stated that they came from middle-class households and/or had a relative who had attended college. Many SEOP students came from working-class families and often were the first in their families to attend college--"plain old Black folks," as Paul Brady described them. The continuing students had ambivalent feelings about the possible tension economic class distinctions would engender and mean for Black student

relationships. Regardless, those interviewees who noted the lower admission standards and the differences in economic background were careful to note that neither should preclude the admittance of the SEOP students. Continuing students supported the enrollment of the SEOP students and believed they had a right to attend college.

It is interesting to note that though continuing students described the differences between themselves and the SEOP students, certain studies reveal significant similarities where the most differences were noted: admission standards and economic class. Like SEOP students, continuing students also were admitted to UIUC with lower ACT scores than their White counterparts. More than three-quarters of Black Freshmen in 1966 received an ACT score of 23 or below while three-quarters of "non-Negro" (primarily White) students received a 24 or above. In 1967, over half of the Black Freshmen received a 23 or below while more than three-quarters of White students received a 24 or above. In 1968, almost 100 percent of SEOP students scored 23 or below while more than 80 percent of non-SEOP students were concentrated at 24 and above. Again like the SEOP students, continuing Black students were poorer than their White counterparts. 58 percent of Black Freshmen in the 1966 entering class and 68 percent in the 1967 class reported family incomes of less than $7,500 (approximately 87 percent of SEOP students reported the same family income). Also, both pre-SEOP and SEOP Black students came from larger families than non-Black students. The number of dependents in the home contributed to their lower economic class status. This information indicated that though the continuing students perceived major differences, and some undoubtedly existed, they were like their SEOP recruits in important ways.[43]

SEOP students arrived on campus one week before the rest of the student body to attend a week-long pre-college workshop. Students were housed in Illinois Street Residence Hall (ISR), a popular and relatively new residence hall. One objective of the orientation was resolve unfinished issues in SEOP student enrollment. Attesting to both the hasty and sometimes haphazard nature of recruitment, many students who arrived for

the orientation still had not taken the ACT. Also, many had not taken the required math diagnostic, reading, rhetoric, biology, or chemistry placement tests used to place students in different academic levels. Many were still not assigned permanent housing and had to complete housing forms and contracts. Some had not completed the physical examination required by the university prior to enrollment. All such matters were scheduled during their first week on campus.[44]

BSA members assisted in the orientation program's second objective, acclimating the new students to the campus. BSA representatives took seriously their job of introducing the students to the university, and the university to the students. BSA volunteers sponsored the orientation welcome session, lived and ate meals with the students, conducted tours of the campus, and provided social activities such as bowling, billiards, and dances.[45] Like in recruitment, BSA members were thrilled to participate. There was not necessarily an overt agenda to politicize the students during the orientation program, but Black Power attitudes were not absent in BSA-SEOP interaction. However, continuing students were more concerned with the academic success of the students than their extra-curricular involvement on campus. As Paul Brady remembered, "The last thing we wanted was for them to be political or social. They were going to do that anyway. We wanted them in tune to the fact that this was a real battle." With social interaction as inevitable, continuing students attempted to prepare the Freshmen for the academic rigor of UIUC. They warned the incoming students, "Beware or the Chief will get you, too."

Restructuring Classes

UIUC braced for this new population of students who were considered less academically fit.[46] Administrators and department heads encouraged faculty to restructure several courses to emphasize "content appropriate to students with scholastic deficiencies."[47] These restructured courses did not make up the bulk of any SEOP student's semester schedule. The students took a maximum of one or two of such courses at a time. The Department of Mathematics created "Math 101," the purpose of which was

to bring students to a level of competence in high school algebra. The Department administered a special diagnostic math test as well as the standard math placement exam at the SEOP orientation to determine course placement. Approximately 150 SEOP students were placed in Math 101 while more than 100 enrolled in higher level courses. Math 101 students attended smaller and more personal courses and were taught by four faculty members and seven teaching assistants. Instructors noted that student difficulties stemmed from general problems including proper organization of time, efficient study habits, and trouble translating English into mathematical language. Tutors were made available to future offset SEOP student difficulties. No special grading procedures were established for the course. "Apparently the SEOP students are proud of the fact that the University is not lowering its standards for them but rather providing them with an opportunity to compensate for the lack of an adequate mathematics background."[48] Students who succeeded in Math 101 advanced to upper level math courses.

After examining records of pre-SEOP Black students in the standard introductory psychology course, "Psychology 100," and discovering a high percentage of unsatisfactory grades, the Department of Psychology developed a new course, "Psychology 105." In the new course, the department attempted to isolate the needs of Black students. The primary difference in the courses was that the standard course was taught as a large lecture with approximately 3500 students while the SEOP sections included approximately fifteen to twenty students each. Also, the Psychology 105 course included topics of "particular interest to black students." Many students expressed misgivings about the course when they realized it was composed only of SEOP students. They worried that they were being placed in a remedial course and given an easier academic load. However, many chose to remain in the course when instructors explained that the exact same material was taught in Psychology 105 and the standard introductory psychology course. Many instructors were impressed by their SEOP students. "Students in Psychology 105 are less inhibited, ask more questions, and seem to become excited about learning. . . . The instructors find that

their students' responsiveness stimulates them, creating a more dynamic classroom atmosphere than is typical of a Freshman psychology class." As with the introductory math course, standard grading practices were used. And again, the instructors were impressed with their SEOP students and believed that the students would encounter "no exceptional difficulties during their course of study at the university."[49]

Approximately 330 SEOP students enrolled in the Division of Freshmen Rhetoric experimental program to assist disadvantaged students, "Rhetoric 101." The course was established "to deal specifically with atypical writing problems arising from inadequate preparation in secondary schools." The SEOP rhetoric objectives were the same as the standard Freshman rhetoric, but the teaching method differed. While standard rhetoric classes were based on a comparison between individual student writing and professional writing found in textbooks, SEOP rhetoric classes focused on the student's own writing and stressed content before form. The Division of Freshmen Rhetoric also created a writing laboratory where tutors assisted students with mechanical problems. Willing students could attend the laboratory two hours a week and receive one hour credit. Again, instructors were impressed with the SEOP students' "vitality, enthusiasm, . . . and desire to learn." SEOP students received no special grading practices and their instructors predicted their success in further rhetoric courses. Most students did not object to being placed in the SEOP rhetoric, however, "they want to learn what all the other sections are learning, keep up with them, and be expected to produce the same quality of work. Their main concern is that they are being shown favoritism as a precaution against their 'flunking-out'; most students resent this and want to be challenged to find out what their potential actually is." At the end of the first semester, the experimental rhetoric class was described as a success by both students and instructors.[50]

In the College of Education all SEOP students enrolled in the Alternative Teacher Education Program (ATEP). In ATEP, students received first year classroom experience in a local school rather than fourth year exposure as was typical for education majors. Their

first two semesters of coursework were each made up of participant-observation in a local school, a foundations of education course, physical education, rhetoric, and another academic subject. Students also met with faculty in small groups to devise curriculum materials, discuss teaching pedagogy, and link their school exposure to educational theory. 78 SEOP students (of which 77 were Black; 1 White) and 20 regularly admitted students (10 Black; 10 White) participated. No salaries were paid to professors teaching ATEP courses; all volunteered to work on a course overload basis. Though faculty noted deficient writing skills and study habits, they agreed that the outcomes of the program were largely positive. Students particularly enjoyed the close working relationship with professors, graduate assistants, and public school teachers. The public school administrators and teachers were impressed with the students, and all asked to remain in the program for a second year although they did note that the students' enthusiasm often exceeded their competence.[51]

Other academic support services were created as well. A Tutoring Office was created to assist SEOP students in a variety of academic subjects. Students having academic difficulties could make an appointment to see a tutor, usually a graduate student or an undergraduate taking the same course. At one point, the supply of tutors equaled 900, far exceeding the demand. However, the number of tutors did not translate into success for the program. Approximately half of the SEOP students were assigned tutors in their first semester. About half that number participated during the second semester. Only one-third of those participating during the Fall were re-assigned tutors in the Spring, the rest were new participants. Certain impediments included the fact that students often had to walk half an hour each way to meet the tutor, the tutor was not prepared to be of assistance in the particular course, or certain tutors (usually White) brought condescending attitudes to the tutor meetings.[52] Also, the university hired graduate students as graduate assistants to act as "the eyes and ears" of SEOP to monitor student academics, finances, and social adjustment. Graduate assistants met with the student every two weeks to discuss

problems, solutions, and advice. The graduate assistants received instructor evaluations, progress reports, and absence notices to better serve the SEOP students.[53] Many SEOP students resisted. The Assistant Dean in the College of Liberal Arts General Curriculum noted, "At times, there appears to be an almost suicidal determination to make it on one's own. . . . Perhaps it is a matter of black pride; perhaps it is a matter of distrust of us; perhaps it is an unwillingness to cooperate with an establishment which has been less than kindly disposed toward them in the past." The Dean observed that their resistance often had dire consequences in the form of academic failure. He and others attempted to devise ways to make the system more beneficial and productive.[54]

The university's commitment to providing the SEOP students with the opportunity to "get up to speed" proved more successful in certain departments/units than others. Some administrators cited the spotty and hastily conceived nature of the "special" courses as a cause for concern. One administrator in particular cited such courses as evidence of a lack of commitment on the part of several departments. In a letter to Dean Clarence Shelley, he wrote, "It is all too easy to believe that because one has set up a special course or provided departmental tutors that one has discharged one's responsibility. I have yet to see a rational and cogent description of what the University believes it is doing for black students and where we have been successful."[55] The hasty nature of SEOP initiation meant that programs and courses were not fully conceived or organized. Also, many departments were unsure of the direction their initiatives should take. Support services needed further planning, development, improvement, and evaluation. Administrators looked to the summer months as an opportunity to revamp the programs to make them more productive and preempt future problems.

Overall, many students and instructors were pleased with the new services provided for the SEOP students. SEOP students benefited from the SEOP courses. They received the academic foundation necessary to excel in the subject matter and succeed in upper level courses. Many of the new teaching techniques devised for SEOP courses began to filter

into standard courses. The idea of smaller courses with intensive discussion became attractive to departments across the campus. Also, the creation of the Tutoring Office provided a service for non-SEOP students as well as SEOP students. All students struggling with subject matter could request a tutor to improve their grades. ATEP became well known, and requests for information on the program were received from across the country.[56] Inevitably, some students resented the fact they were in "special" classes, and some instructors continued to doubt their students' academic ability. However, the university continued its development of SEOP services including classes, tutoring, and other services.

The initiation of SEOP was an enormous undertaking. First, UIUC administrators had the task of identifying, recruiting, admitting high school Seniors. After their arrival, administrators had the additional responsibility of creating and implementing academic support services. Some institutions used years to prepare for such a program. The entire SEOP operation occurred in only four months in 1968: 4 April, King's assassination provided the catalyst for SEOP; 2 May, the university announced the creation of the program; late May to June, recruitment efforts intensified; 1 July, SEOP finally was assigned a Director (only two months before the academic year began); July to August, recruitment slowed and enrollment began. Emphasizing the atypical nature and time frame of SEOP recruitment and admission, most college going high school Seniors received their acceptance letters before April--one month before SEOP even was initiated. The hasty creation of the program predisposed it to several problems encountered during the Summer 1968 and later in the 1968-1969 academic year. It's short life span did not allow for much planning. Instead, most SEOP staff efforts were directed at troubleshooting. As SEOP Dean Clarence Shelley stated, "most of my time was spent catching up instead of conceptualizing it, looking at curricula, creating a model. . . . It was a mess." Also, the University got more than it anticipated with the influx in Black students. It initiated SEOP to increase Black representation on campus--and it succeeded--but, as a consequence, the

late 1960s call for Black Power also was magnified on the campus. The more than 500 additional Black students meant they now constituted a crucial number of the UIUC population and, in accordance with the BSA motto, no longer *hoped* for anything; instead they *demanded* everything. The SEOP arrival combined with the newly elected BSA executive council (in May 1968), changed the campus forever.

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[1] University Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, "Interim Report by the University Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity," 30 November 1964, 1, 2, Senate General Boards and Committees, Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, 1964, File number 4/6/0/19, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[2] Ibid., 1.

[3] For instance, the number of African American Freshman students enrolled at UIUC in 1966 (93 students) and 1967 (59 students) was published in, Samuel C. Davis, Jane W. Loeb, and Lehymann F. Robinson, "A Comparison of Characteristics of Negro and White College Freshman Classmates," *Journal of Negro Education* 34 (1970), 360.

[4] University Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, "Interim Report," 30 November 1964, 8, 9.

[5] Peterson, Marvin P., Robert T. Blackburn, Zelda F. Gamson, Carlos H. Arce, Roselle W. Davenport, and James R. Mingle, *Black Students on White Campuses: The Impact of Increased Black Enrollments* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1978), 25; Office of Education, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, prepared by US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington DC, 1966), iii.

[6] Office of Education, *Higher Education Act of 1965, Outlined By Title*, prepared by US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington DC, 1966), 9, 11, 13.

[7] This information was gathered from a combination of sources. See, "Interim Report by the University Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity," 30 November 1964; University Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, "Report to the President," Senate General Boards and Committees, Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, 1964, File number 4/6/0/19, Box 1, UIUC Archives; E. E. Oliver letter to Jack W. Peltason, 4 March 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[8] "The Special Educational Opportunities Program," Campus Report 3, March 1970: 1, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson; LAS Committee on Policy and Development, Subcommittee on Disadvantaged Students, "Interim Report," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives; Costin, Frank to Robert Rogers, "The LAS Summer Study Program Evaluation Report," 4 December 1965, 6, 11, 14, 15, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[9] Frank Costin to Robert Rogers, "The LAS Summer Study Program Evaluation Report," 39, 40.

[10] Charles Sanders to Emerson Cammack, etc., "Special Educational Opportunities Program, Materials," 21 February 1969, 2-3, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives; Richard E. Spencer, "Program for the Cultural Deprived: A Proposal," March 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[11] 1960 Illinois data, 1970 Illinois data and 1970 Champaign County data derived from Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population: Illinois, 1970*, prepared by US Department of Commerce in cooperation with the Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D. C., April, 1973), 15-89, 15-90, 15-252; 1960 Champaign County data derived from Bureau of the Census, *Characteristics of the Population: Illinois, 1960*, prepared by the US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D. C., 1963), 15-202.

[12] Donald J. Wermers, *Minority Ethnic Enrollments at the University of Illinois Fall Terms, 1967-1973* (Urbana: University Office of School and College Relations, April, 1974), 17; Report obtained from the University Office of Academic Policy Analysis.

[13] "News Release," 2 May 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[14] Jack Peltason, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 2 (October 1968): 1.

[15] "The Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 3 (March, 1970): 1, 2, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[16] "The Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 3 (March, 1970): 1, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[17] "University of Illinois Undergraduate Study, 1968-1969," Admissions and Records, Records and Statistics, Undergraduate Study and Undergraduate Course Catalogs, 1964-70, File Number 25/3/0/1, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[18] Clarence Shelley, *Annual Report, July 1, 1968 - June 20, 1969* (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: Office of Student Personnel, 1969): A-3, 2, Clipped Article File obtained from Vice Chancellor Clarence Shelley.

[19] Jack W. Peltason, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program At the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 2 (23 October 1968): 1, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[20] Faite Royjier-Poncefonte Mack, *A Systematic Study of the Differential Characteristics of Black and White Graduates in an Educational Opportunity Program* (Office of Education, US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, September, 1972), 23, Report obtained from Vice Chancellor Clarence Shelley's collection of papers and reports.

[21] Letter to Charles E. Warwick, 3 October 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[22] Jack Peltason, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 2 (October 1968): 1.

[23] Letter to Charles E. Warwick, 3 October 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[24] David D. Johnson (Chief of the Educational Opportunities Grants Branch of the Office of Education) to Coordinators of Student Financial Aid, "EOG Administrative Memorandum No. 2-69," 11 November 1968, 1-4, Special Educational Opportunity File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[24] Ibid., 3.

[25] Margaret H. Ismaila to E. E. Oliver, Charles Warwick, Robert Corcoran, and James T. Hashbarger, 28 March 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[26] "The Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 3 (March, 1970), Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[27] Johnson to Coordinators, 11 November 1968, 1-4, Special Educational Opportunity File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives; It is difficult to determine exactly why the federal government reduced EOGs, or whether the university's claim that the decrease of federal aid necessarily translated into a reduction of the number of SEOP students in subsequent years.

[28] Mack, *A Systematic Study*, 4; Bruce Morrison and David Eisenman to All Faculty and Graduate Students, 11 June 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[29] "The Symmetrical Man," *The Plain Truth*, 15 June 1968.

[30] Jack W. Peltason, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program At the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 2 (23 October 1968): 1, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[31] AAUP Policy Committee to Urbana Faculty Members, 30 October 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives;

SEO Rhetoric Program letter, 4 December 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981. File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[32] Jack Peltason to Clarence Shelley, 13 May 1969, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[33] John E. Bowers, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," 27 December 1970, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[34] Office of Admissions and Records, "Admissions Procedures for Fall, 1969," 25 September 1969, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[35] Meyer Weinberg, "Table 45," *A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States* (Long Beach, California: The University Press, 1970).

[36] James T. Hashbarger to E. E. Oliver, 16 February 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File Number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[37] William Savage, BSA Recruitment and Retention Committee of the BSA, to Graduating Seniors, 19 April 1968, Administration and Records Admissions, Special Educational Opportunity File, 1968-1970, February 1968-July 1969, File number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives; "BSA Holding H.S. Weekend," *The Daily Illini*, 24 April 1968.

[38] E. E. Oliver to James T. Hashbarger, "Memo on High School Contact Program of the Black Students Association," 16 February 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File Number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[39] Interviewees believing the university doubted their ability to recruit 500 students included Dan Dixon, Terry Cullers, and Paul Brady.

[40] Charles Warwick, "Two-Week Report on '500' Recruiting Program," 25 June 1968, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File Number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[41] Evidence of past discrimination on the UIUC campus can be found in Deirdre L. Cobb, "Segregated Students at the University of Illinois, 1945 to 1955," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 24 (1997): 46-51.

[42] See, interviews with Sandra Norris (Phillips) and Jacqueline Triche (Atkins).

[43] Davis, "A Comparison of Characteristics," 361, 364; 1968 ACT data were gathered from, Measurement and Research Division of the Office of Instructional Resources, "A Preliminary Report on the Characteristics of Students in the Special Economic Opportunities Program," March 1969, 13, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-1977, File Number 41/2/14, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[44] "Special Educational Opportunity Program, 'Project 500,' Pre-College Workshop," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[45] "Special Educational Opportunity Program, 'Project 500,' Pre-College Workshop," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[46] The influx of students due to affirmative action programs was not the first time institutions of higher education had to absorb a large number of students within a relatively short period of time. For instance, the influx of veterans returning from World War II and taking advantage of the Serivcemens' Readjustment Act (the GI Bill) alarmed universities across the country. Also, the fear of a new population lowering admissions standards and the creation of "remedial" courses and support services was not new. As a group, veterans had worse academic records and lower ACT scores than the average student. To accommodate this new population, administrators and faculty modified admissions criteria, sometimes gave veterans preferential enrollment over non-veterans, created special "refresher" courses, and initiated special veterans services including a veterans' counseling office. The fear that veterans would lower academic standards was not realized. Veterans repeatedly outperformed their non-veteran counterparts in the academic arena (Keith Olson, "Anticipation and Preparation," *The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges* [Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974]); for a discussion of the GI Bill's impact on UIUC, see, Deirdre Cobb-Roberts, "Race, Gender and Higher Education at the University of Illinois, 1945 to 1955," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998).

[47] "The Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 3 (March, 1970): 2, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[48] William Plater, "Summary of Department of Mathematics courses for SEOP students," 5 December 1968, in Clarence Shelley, "Annual Report, 1 July 1968 to 20 June 1969," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[49] William Plater, "Summary of Department of Psychology courses for SEOP students," 4 December 1968, in Clarence Shelley, "Annual Report, 1 July 1968 to 20 June 1969," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[50] William Plater, "Summary of Division of Freshmen Rhetoric courses for SEOP students," 28 October 1968, in Clarence Shelley, "Annual Report, 1 July 1968 to 20 June 1969," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[51] W. L. Shoemaker and Arthur Davis, "The Alternative Teacher Education Program: One Segment of the Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," 1969, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson; Publications on ATEP include, Peter Sola and Booker Gardner, "ATEP: An 'Alternative Approach' to the Training of Teachers at the University of Illinois," *Journal of Negro Education* 45 (Fall, 1976): 459-471, Arthur Davis, *An Evaluation of the ATEP in College Education* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1970), and Walter Feinberg and David Tyack, "Black People, Not Student Personnel: The 'Disadvantaged' in Teacher Education," *The Record* 71 (December 1969): 225-235.

[52] David Eisenman, "Tutoring Office Summary," in Clarence Shelley, "Annual Report, 1 July 1968 to 20 June 1969," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley; Michael Brady to David Eisenman, 2 May 1969, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-1977, File Number 41/2/14, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[53] Richard Gaines, "The SEOP Graduate Assistant: A Job Description," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[54] Patrick L. Miller to Clarence Shelley, 3 July 1970, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-1977, File Number 41/2/14, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[55] Patrick L. Miller to Clarence Shelley, 3 July 1970, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-1977, File Number 41/2/14, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[56] Requests for information on the Program were received from the University of Minnesota, a Chicago Public School System teacher, Indiana State University, a Middlesex Junior High School (Connecticut) Principal, and the Penta County Vocational School (Ohio), Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

CHAPTER 5: 9 SEPTEMBER 1968

> They were a nervous bunch. There was lots of tension because their presence was an anomaly. At the end of [orientation] week, it all went to hell after that.
>
> --Clarence Shelley, first Director of the Special Educational Opportunities Program in a 1997 interview

New SEOP students and BSA volunteers lived together in ISR, a highly coveted residence hall, during SEOP orientation week. Though much of their time was occupied with examinations, interviewees remembered the orientation week fondly. The week spent together fostered a sense of closeness and cohesiveness among continuing and new students. The new students, like many beginning Freshmen, were happy to be away from home and anticipating the start of the academic year. The continuing students were excited to see their new recruits and eager to get them acclimated to campus. The initial intent was not to politicize the SEOP students, but together the new and continuing students would have a kind of "baptism by fire" a full week before classes would even begin. Disputes over housing arrangements and financial aid packages erupted 9 September 1968, the first day of New Student Week, and ended in a mass arrest of Black students. The arrest energized BSA and validated their call to close ranks. Previously a small group of students, BSA became a major force for change on the UIUC campus. The pre-existing BSA organizational structure, developing set of goals, and evolving ideology paired with a significant increase in a possible membership pool, provided the preconditions for the Black UIUC student movement in which the arrests were a catalyst. Using the mass arrest as a springboard, this chapter will discuss the emergence and direction of the Black student movement at UIUC. It will begin with an examination of the events precipitating the arrests, the impact of the arrests on the Black student population both individually and collectively, and university/community backlash as a result of the arrests. Next, it will offer an examination of the further development of Black power ideology on campus as

represented in common themes in BSA publications. Also, a discussion of the BSA demands that grew out of the arrest, further backlash against BSA/Black students, and events exacerbating racial tension on campus is included. Next, a brief discussion of SEOP student grade point averages, retention rates, and graduation rates illustrates their initial academic success. Finally, the chapter concludes with a critique of BSA's version of Black Power ideology.

The Arrests

The interviewees agreed that a state of total confusion existed when the SEOP students arrived on campus. As stated previously, many students had not taken the appropriate tests for college admission or course placement, did not have room assignments because of incomplete housing paperwork, and were awaiting news of financial aid status. Administrators assured students that the remaining housing and financial aid issues would be cleared up during New Student Week or the first few weeks of school and encouraged them to focus on other matters such as course selection, registration procedures, the activity of New Student Week, and the purchase of books for their courses. On the last day of orientation, Saturday, 7 September, administrators instructed the SEOP students to move out of ISR and into their permanent rooms assignments in the residence halls across campus. The general student body was arriving for the beginning of the academic year and many would be moving into their assigned rooms in ISR.[1]

Before removing their belongings from ISR, many SEOP students surveyed their permanent rooms in other residence halls. A number of female SEOP students were dissatisfied with the size and condition of their permanent rooms. Others were told they did not have a permanent room assigned yet and would be placed in hall lounges until space could be found. After discussing their grievances with each other, approximately twenty Black women refused to remove their luggage from their rooms at ISR and vowed to stay until some satisfactory conclusion had been reached. Yolanda Smith (Williams) described her reaction, "After leaving ISR and going to my assigned room, I opened up the door to

the room and it was a closet. Then they said I had a roommate. . . . I didn't like my little cubbyhole, and I started raising hell about it." Also, many SEOP students were informed that the financial aid packages offered them (perhaps prematurely by BSA recruiters) were nonexistent and that they would have to apply for a loan or work to offset college costs. Housing staff, Clarence Shelley, and David Addison (new BSA President) met with approximately 17 or 18 dissatisfied female students on 7 September to discuss their concerns. Another meeting with additional housing staff was scheduled for the next day. The women remained in ISR that night.[2]

On the evening of 8 September, the housing staff and female students met in ISR, and the women drafted a list complaints regarding room assignments. The women objected to being assigned temporary housing in lounges and the condition of the permanent rooms they were assigned. Also, they wanted the opportunity to live with the roommate of their choice. Arnold Strohkorb, Director or Housing, described the meeting as constructive until Yolanda Smith (Williams) arrived. At that point, Ms. Smith (Williams) took control of the meeting and explained that the Black women deserved better housing to compensate for their disadvantaged backgrounds. According to one administrator, she declared that Black Illinois residents had been paying taxes to support UIUC for years without representation on campus. It was time for Black students to reap the benefits. Housing staff attempted to explain that the university regularly experienced an overflow in housing and that regardless of ethnicity, it was common for several students to be placed in hall lounges until permanent rooms could be found. The women rejected the administration's explanation and demanded they be placed in permanent and adequate rooms for the academic year immediately. Administrators were aware that regularly assigned students had arrived to claim their rooms but believed that removing the Black women would take physical force. They were not willing to take such action. Instead, they moved the regularly assigned students into other rooms. 19 Black female students remained in ISR that night to protest their room assignments.[3]

The next day, housing staff, Clarence Shelley, and the Black female students met in ISR to further discuss complaints and to find the students permanent living quarters. Administrators presented the women with a list of available rooms. The women found certain rooms acceptable but realized that one of their demands--that they be able to choose their own roommate--was not met because some of the available rooms already had an occupant. They rejected all rooms in an effort to remain a cohesive group, and Yolanda Smith (Williams) announced that she and the other women would unpack and remain in ISR for the entire year. Administrators tried to calm the students and assure them that the housing staff would continue to work toward a solution but told the women that if they did not vacate their rooms by 2:00 pm the next day, they would face disciplinary action and not be able to register for classes. In a letter hastily drafted late that evening and meant to be distributed the next day, John Briscoe, Vice Chancellor for Administrative Affairs, told the women that they were jeopardizing the status and success of SEOP. He further warned, "If you are seriously interested in an education, we want to work with you in a spirit of cooperation. If instead, you insist upon making your own rules and dealing through group force and disruption without regard for the rights of others, then this institution will have no place for you." The women refused to be swayed and left the 9 September meeting to convene with other Black students who had congregated in the ISR Multipurpose Room.[4]

As the number of Black students assembled in ISR grew, BSA staff arrived to assess the situation and participate. None of the interviewees could remember why, but the students moved from ISR to outside the Union at approximately 9:00 pm. The large group, estimated at between 100 and 150 at the time, attracted attention. Other Black students and Black community residents joined the crowd where they were informed of the confrontation between the Black women and university administrators. Though clearly agitated, the students remained calm. The group moved inside to the South Lounge of the Union when it started to rain. Wary of such a large group of Black students, Union staff contacted administrators and advised some sort of administrative intervention. At

approximately midnight and while most students remained in the lounge, a group of administrators met with the BSA officers who had adjourned to the BSA office to discuss a course of action. BSA officers reiterated the female students' complaints, described the financial aid situation as unacceptable, and demanded that the Chancellor come and address their grievances.

After the meeting with the BSA officers, UIUC administrators went to the South Lounge to address the group at approximately 12:30 am--half an hour after the Union's closing time. Administrators explained that they were doing everything possible to remedy the situation, but the students refused to leave en masse. With news of property damage, theft, and physical assaults on White passers-by, administrators decided that it would not be safe for the Chancellor to come to the Union and continued to try to reason with the students. By approximately 2:00 am, a few individual students had gone home but most remained for a variety of reasons. Many students chose to stay for the sake of unity and to support the women protesting their room assignments. Some of the women were afraid to walk home so late at night and doubted they could get in their residence halls after curfew. When rumors of a growing police presence spread, many students reported they were afraid they would be injured by billy clubs and dogs if they left the security of the lounge. Some actually thought the Chancellor was going to arrive at any minute to address the group. Others were not aware of the fact that they were violating university regulations by remaining in the Union after closing hours. Some students explained later that they were coerced into staying by BSA members, non-students, and older students. Some students simply were asleep. By approximately 3:00 am, it was apparent that most students resolved to remain in the Union until some action was taken on the part of the administration.[5]

Meanwhile, several administrators and staff were gathered at the Student Services Building, approximately one block from the Union. Clarence Shelley remembered that "they were trying to decide what to do, arrest them, make them leave, or let them sit all

night until they got tired." It was established that the students had violated university regulations by remaining in the Union after closing. The reports of property damage and attacks on White students precipitated their decision to arrest the students (though David Addison believed they would have arrested the students regardless of the attacks and property damage, "It was quite clear that they just weren't going to allow that to happen on campus"). At 3:03 am, 90 Urbana, Champaign, State, and University police were called to the scene. The police moved in quickly and the students, after being assured they would not be injured, left peacefully. By the early morning hours of 10 September 1968, the UIUC campus was inaugurated as the scene of the first student "riot" of the 1968-1969 academic year. Approximately 250 Black UIUC students were arrested on counts of mob action and were charged with "being an inciter, leader or follower of an alleged unauthorized mass demonstration."[6] Nineteen were continuing students, three were SEOP transfer students from the University of Illinois at Chicago, and 218 were SEOP freshmen.

Interviewees who were present at the 9 September incident remembered how terrifying they found the experience. They agreed that the demonstration was not planned and that tension escalated with the growing crowd and due to miscommunication between the students and administration. Yolanda Smith (Williams) remembered being appalled and frightened when she saw one person destroying a painting on the wall of the lounge. Individuals attempted to dissuade the perpetrators (who according to interviewees and university reports, primarily were community residents) explaining that it would defeat the general purpose of the group demonstration and hamper their ability to deal effectively with administrators. When their arrest seemed imminent, students attempted to convince the administration to let the women leave the building without penalty. However, the police moved in and began the mass arrest. In a single file line, they were marched out of the Union and into waiting trucks. The sheer number of students arrested outnumbered the available spaces in local jails, therefore the men were taken to the football stadium. Some jumped from the police vehicles as they slowed to make turns. All students were released

from jail on bond with considerable help from the Champaign community; concerned community residents guaranteed the bonds of the students who did not have the money to post it themselves. The whole incident left many students in a state of disbelief and completely stunned. They had only been on campus one week and the beginning of the academic year was still one week away when they already had been arrested, charged with mob action and unlawful assembly, faced legal hearings, and confronted the possibility of being dismissed from the university and sent home.

In retrospect, interviewees recognized that their demands were not necessarily reasonable. Yolanda Smith (Williams) stated that she realized the university's housing problems were heightened by the fact that so many students were admitted in such a short time through SEOP and that their hasty arrival did not allow housing staff time to find adequate housing. James Eggleston also reevaluated the situation and believed that the discrimination the students thought they were facing merely was inefficiency on the part of the university. He attributed the heightened tension to miscommunication and separation anxiety. He stated, "We had been together for a whole week [during orientation]. It was like being at a Black college living in ISR. We had so much fun. Then we all got separated, and the White students came." When removed from their insulated ISR environment, they lost the sense of cohesiveness and community fostered during orientation. Jeff Roberts, a Freshman at the time, stated that many of the new students were caught up in the moment and did not realize what was happening around them. In retrospect, he believed they were being used as pawns in a conflict between BSA and UIUC administration, "The leadership of BSA felt they had been hung out to dry and they didn't want to look bad in front of their constituents. The university wasn't about to give on anything. You had these two forces come together and the students got caught in the middle." The SEOP students were new to campus and were unfamiliar with the existing tension between BSA and the administration. Students went to the Union to show support for their fellow SEOP students not for a mass demonstration. However, BSA saw the

large number of new Black students as a possible source of strength and power in dealing with the university and attempted to use them as an intimidation tool. The university refused to be intimidated, and the unwitting students were arrested.

News of the 9 September 1968 incident spread across the country. In *The New York Times,* the headline read, "Classes to Begin at U. of Illinois: Tension Pervades Campus After Monday's Protest;" in *The Wall Street Journal,* "Black Student Revolt: Colleges' Bid to Enroll 'Disadvantaged' Brings Problems and Protests; Feeling Strange at Illinois;" in *The Los Angeles Times,* "College Plan for Negroes Passes Test; But 'Project 500' at Illinois U. Meets Obstacle; " in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat,* "300 Negro Students Charged in U of I Row", in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch,* "Illinois University Officials Meet Negro Group's Housing Demands;" in *The Chicago Tribune,* "Negroes Riot at U of I;" and in bold letters in the local campus newspaper, *The Daily Illini,* **"Blacks Occupy Illini Union."**[7] The articles chronicled the goals of SEOP, the students arrival on campus, the fact that Whites were barred from the South Lounge where the Black students met to discuss their grievances with the administration, the vandalism of the Illini Union, and the number of Black students arrested.

University administrators were compelled to issue damage control statements as news of the incident spread. A considerable amount of energy was spent defending SEOP and addressing concerns of contributors to the Martin Luther King Fund, alumni, and tax-paying citizens of Illinois. The highest ranking administrators were involved in the damage control. Chancellor Peltason confirmed that a disruptive and coercive mass demonstration occurred and that approximately $4,000 worth of damage was done but refused to call the incident a riot. He and others accused the media of exaggerating the incident and unnecessarily alarming Illinois citizens. The President, David Henry, refused to justify the behavior of the guilty students but added that "it would be grossly unfair to the Project 500 students who were not involved, and to some who were . . . to evaluate the Special [Educational] Opportunities Program through an assessment of the events of September 9,

1968." The Board of Trustees issued a similar statement. They applauded the creation and purpose of the program and advocated similar programs for the future, but the Trustees condemned "acts of violence, disruption and interference with the rights of others [as] wholly antagonistic to the spirit and purpose of the University of Illinois."[8]

BSA released a policy statement regarding the incident in which they placed blame squarely on the university, charged the university with acting in bad faith, and accused certain administrators of deliberately sabotaging the program. They also addressed the issue of student versus community involvement in the destruction of property on 9 September. BSA refused to "divide its loyalty" and "rat out" community members who participated in the destruction. They assured administrators that "all actions taken by participants in the confrontation were collective actions, " and presented a "united front against the racist bungling, intentionally half-hearted and lackadaisical attitudes." When asked in 1998 about the statement in retrospect, David Addison remembered that, "Once the arrest took place . . . there was always pressure to give up somebody. We never gave up anybody. That's what brought us all together." BSA signed the statement, "UNITE OR PERISH; BLACK STUDENTS ASSOCIATION; u of illinois." The capitalization of "Black Students Association" and the lower case "u of illinois" was a political statement not a clerical error. Like Negro began to be printed "negro" and America was changed to "america", the act of writing "u of illinois" in lower case letters was an attempt to convey a disrespect of "the man's" institutions. BSA used such language to invalidate the university's power and assert their own superiority and strength.[9] However united and strong a front BSA attempted to display, interviews with students involved in the incident demonstrated that this posture did not represent or reflect the thoughts of many other Black UIUC students, including those who identified themselves as participants in Black Power. Several students were appalled by the destruction of property and did not want to be associated with such behavior, regardless of cries for group unity. A few interviewees

indicated that Black students were afraid to identify the members of the community who caused the destruction because of the possibility of reprisals.

Some parents were furious their children involved themselves in such a protest. Many reminded their children that they would not have had the opportunity to attend UIUC without SEOP recruitment efforts.[10] The fact that their children would not happily embrace such an opportunity and get arrested was an abomination. Clarence Shelley, then Director of SEOP, recounted an incident when a mother confronted her son who had been arrested in his office. According to Mr. Shelley, she yelled at her son, "I sent you down here to school, and you go to jail?" Edna Long's (Long-Green) mother had a similar reaction. The day after the incident her daughter called to tell her how the university was "denying the Black students their rights" and that she planned to protest. Ms. Long (Long-Green) remembered her mother saying, "You're going to do what? I am sending you money to go to the University of Illinois so take your Black ass to class tomorrow." According to Mr. Shelley, some parents even took their children out of school. Anticipating future questions and concerns, Mr. Shelley sent a letter to all SEOP parents. After briefly describing the incident, he assured parents that no one was seriously hurt, that all students were released from jail by posting bond or with the guarantee of a local citizen that the student would honor his/her bond, that legal assistance would be provided, and that all students were permitted to register and attend classes as scheduled.[11]

Other parents supported their children, and defense of the arrested students came from many directions. Black UIUC alumni in Chicago, Illinois, formed "Concerned Alumni of Illinois" in an effort to support those Black students arrested at the Illini Union. Led by Chicago Alderman A. A. Rayner, the group requested a meeting with Dean Clarence Shelley and Chancellor Jack Peltason.[12] They did not defend the destruction of the Union, but they did support the students' grievances and were interested in the kind of disciplinary action that would be taken against them. Various White student groups supported the Black students and often offered support. The National Students

Organization sent a telegram to UIUC students decrying police conduct on the night of the arrest: "The National Students Association pledges legal assistance and advice to the students involved . . . We are ready to continue the struggle against the use of such police tactics in the educational environment."[13] In a letter to faculty, the UIUC Graduate Student Association made a veiled threat of violence if students were dismissed.[14] Many individual White UIUC students also rallied around the arrested Black students. According to *The Daily Illini*, Peace and Freedom Party members circulated a petition during a rally to support the arrested Black students and collected approximately 700 signatures. Speakers at the rally included Black and White UIUC students, UIUC faculty, and church pastor, Reverend James Offutt. The culmination of the rally was the presentation of the petitions to Assistant Vice Chancellor, John Briscoe.[15]

Many Whites, and no doubt many Blacks as well, were confused by the students' actions and the demonstration on 9 September. The arrests caused a backlash against SEOP. Letters to the editor in both the student newspaper, *The Daily Illini,* and the Urbana-Champaign community paper, *The News Gazette,* chastised the SEOP students. One of the women who was kept from her room in ISR by protesting women SEOP students described her encounter with the Black women as hostile and wondered why "the privileged 500" thought they automatically deserved the covetous room assignments in ISR. She then asked, "Are these the 'culturally deprived' for whom I contributed $10 to the Martin Luther King Fund," and mused that the Union incident "may turn many people against the entire Project 500." Her sentiment was echoed in other letters and articles following the incident. One article in particular, though probably overestimating the situation, suggested that the Union incident would "probably even have an impact on the November Presidential elections, with George Wallace gaining votes," would lead other institutions to decide against initiating similar affirmative action programs, and would make fund-raising for future UIUC affirmative action programs virtually impossible. A letter sent to Clarence Shelley called the students "apes," "black pigs," "dregs of society," and

"hoodlums." Appalled by the destruction of the Union (as many Blacks were--including those who participated in the demonstration), many people recommended harsh sentences for those students involved. One suggested "It's about time you college officials start cracking some heads, as that is what is wrong with this country." The tone of many critics revealed an assumption that SEOP students should be grateful for their opportunity to attend such a prestigious institution; many critics could not fathom why the "underprivileged students" would come to campus and not gladly accept their new status. One article warned the university that if it did not properly and adequately punish those arrested, "the prospects for order and peaceful protest during the 1968-69 academic year on the UI campus are dim.[16]

Hearings on the incident were conducted by Subcommittee A of the Senate Committee on Student Discipline and lasted into the Spring semester. Administrators were split on how to handle the students' academic status. Some recommended expulsion; others recommended suspension; still others recommended more lenient procedures. The Black students, as well as various White student groups, demanded that the charges be dropped and that the students retain full academic status. After a long period of deliberations, most incoming SEOP students were issued reprimands of record based upon reports of their alleged involvement. Such reprimands would not appear on transcripts of record in the event of graduation or transfer to another institution. Lack of evidence that they were involved in destruction of property, threats, or coercion figured in their lenient sentences.[17] By February 1969 and of the students not issued a reprimand of record, one was given conduct probation, one was given a reprimand not of record, and several were acquitted since they were found not to have knowingly participated in the event.[18] Continuing students in general and David Addison--President of BSA and law school student--in particular, did not have such lenient treatment since their continuing student status should have made them aware of university rules and regulations regarding mass student disturbances.[19] Mr. Addison's hearings dragged and lasted approximately a year.

Eventually, he and the other continuing students received sentences similar to those of the SEOP students.

The 9 September crisis fostered a strong sense of unity and reinforced the cohesiveness many Black students remembered experiencing during orientation. Their shared experience of the mass arrest served two functions, unity and a catalyst for activism. According to Jeff Roberts,

> It actually brought people closer together. It really brought things into focus for me personally. After that experience, we knew we really had to watch each other's back. I don't think, prior to the arrest, that we would have been that close. We wouldn't have known each other that well. It was a beginning bond that brought a lot of people together.

The arrests bonded many students for life. Jeff Roberts, James Eggleston, and Terry Cullers call each other on the telephone every year on 9 September to commemorate their involvement in the Union incident and reminisce. The arrests spurred many students to action, also. For some, the arrests were a confirmation that the university did not want them there and would not act in good faith with Black students. For others, the arrest was the "encounter" which jolted them out of their "Negro" reality and pushed them toward Black Power ideology. As Clarence Shelley stated, "A lot of kids who wouldn't have been active spent all their time trying to get even for [the arrests]." Likewise, Jeff Roberts stated, "I think it turned a lot of people into activists. People who were sitting on the fence and didn't know what to do got pushed into, 'I need to participate.'" According to several interviewees, memories of 9 September colored the interaction between the Black students and university administrators for years.

Many interviewees directly attributed the growth in BSA membership and Black Power sentiment to the 9 September arrests. Though BSA existed before the SEOP students arrived, the interviewees agreed the arrests energized the organization. Before 9 September 1968, BSA was, according to Clarence Shelley, still "trying to define itself as a force." At the 9 September rally BSA leadership attempted, as Mr. Shelley described, "to use this mass of students as a mobilizing entity. They were trying to politicize these kids."

BSA focused their efforts on SEOP academic acclimation to the campus during the orientation week, but the demonstration and arrests caused them to redefine their situation as political. The arrests confirmed BSA's call to become involved in the organization and Black issues on campus, and according to David Addison, radicalized the student population. With this newly energized and politicized group, Black UIUC students connected themselves to the Black Power Movement sweeping the nation in the late 1960s and found themselves a place in it.

Though BSA often declared itself the Black student voice on campus, many Black students were not involved in BSA and did not ascribe to BSA ideology. Conversely, not all the students embracing Black Power ideology were members of BSA. Many Black students withdrew their participation in BSA after the arrests. For instance, according to a letter written by a faculty member to Chancellor Jack Peltason, one particular student arrested at the Union regretted his actions and vowed to no longer participate in BSA or disruptive behavior. The letter stated that the student got caught in the middle of a clash between "young firebrands" and administration. The faculty member assured the Chancellor that the student was not "a youth out to disrupt--or even to reform--the 'establishment', but . . . one who, until Monday night, saw his way clear to 'making it' in the status quo." This may or may not have been an accurate interpretation of the Black students' beliefs and attitudes, nonetheless, many Black students did feel caught in the middle between BSA and the administration and, as the faculty letter stated, felt they were left "holding the bag." Black students did not participate in BSA for a variety of reasons and, inevitably, neither the organization nor its publications spoke for all Black students.[20]

However, evidence indicates that a significant proportion of Black UIUC students were involved with the Black UIUC student movement whether directly through publishing or public speaking, or indirectly through boycotts, rallies, or workshops. No membership lists were kept, but interviewees believed that more Black students than not participated in BSA in some way, shape, or form. For example, the vast majority of the Black freshmen

admitted in 1968 engaged in direct-action protest against the University during their first week on campus. Many did not go to the Union or remain there with a specific political purpose in mind, but the arrests did get many "off the fence" and into campus activism. The arrival of the SEOP students allowed for a critical mass of Black students on campus. The fact that they were still a relatively small percentage of the UIUC student population was less significant than the fact that the absolute number of Black students swelled. As scholars at the American Council on Education found in their study of 427 colleges and universities, as the absolute number of Blacks enrolled increased, so too did the likelihood of Black protest.[21] SEOP provided the numbers; the arrests provided the catalyst for activism.

Further Development of Ideology

The arrests made the development of BSA ideology more urgent, and BSA and Black UIUC students in general hashed out their ideas in their publications. In poems, short essays, and articles they advertised their definitions of Blackness and Black Power and became part of the burgeoning Black Arts Movement, a byproduct of Black Power. According to Larry Neal, "the political values inherent in the Black Power concept [found] concrete expression in the aesthetics of Afro-American dramatists, poets, choreographers, musicians, and novelists." The development and celebration of a Black aesthetic, based on African American cultural traditions as opposed to a White or Western aesthetic based on White/Western cultural sensibilities, provided "a new frame of reference which transcends the limits of white concepts." Through it, African Americans could best express themselves and their unique perspective on reality. They could redefine themselves in their own terms. Black art would reflect Black beauty; Black literature would reflect Black writing style; Black music would reflect Black rhythms. The creators of culture would be the armies of the people. They would provide protective armor as well as a weapon to wield against White society.[22]

The nature of the cultural creations was characterized as "more social, more programmatic, more therapeutic." This was due to the throwing off of White society's cultural shackles. Almost like a rebirth, writers/artists emerged with new ideas and means of expression. No longer would they be content to create art within the confines of White standards. Though too simple a categorization of different generations of activism and cultural creation, certain Black aesthetic scholars believed that the 1960s generation would break free of constraints and provide a new kind of art, drama, literature, etc., "Younger Blacks will throng the air with animated poetry and prose. Their intensities . . . will often be emulated by their elder contemporaries who find it either useful or pleasing to express racial passions long subdued by accommodation and despair." According to certain Black Power era artists, both young and old would advance liberation themes and together the generations would build the knowledge and creative base on which to launch a Black cultural revolution.[23]

At UIUC, BSA used newspapers such as *Drums, Black Rap,* and *Yombo* (a traditional Swahili greeting), and the yearbook, *Irepodun* (Swahili for "unity is a must") as a forum for Black arts and expression. Poems and articles became major vehicles for the dissemination of Black Power themes on the UIUC campus. Like writers in the larger movement, many BSA authors regarded themselves the cultural arm of the Black revolution. With their "pens of fire," as Sandra Flowers called them, Black poets and dramatists used their creative works to transmit and communicate 1960s ideology. According to Flowers, Black artists/writers sought to redefine Blackness and reject White judgments of worth by rejecting negative images perpetuated by Whites, asserting Afro-centric values, images, and perspectives, and replacing stereotypes and historical inaccuracies with an African-American generated body of work. BSA publications can be couched in Flowers' assessment of the aim of Black nationalist literature/poetry. Using themes such as the worth of the African heritage, "Uncle Tom" ideology as a detriment to the liberation struggle, and a celebration of Blackness their work paralleled the ideology,

ideals, agencies, and social theory of nationalist philosophy and drew from the artifacts of Black life.[24] Evidence of Black Power sentiment in BSA publications began before King's assassination and the SEOP students' arrival. Black UIUC students already were contemplating new definitions of Blackness in 1967. However, after King's assassination, the arrival of the SEOP students, and the arrests at the Union, Black Power sentiment grew as did its representation in BSA publications.

The campus definition of "Black consciousness," according to the interviewees, varied between different individuals and groups, and they were careful not to paint a monolithic picture of Black student ideology. As Jeff Roberts stated, "You had people who were Black nationalists, culturally oriented, academicians. We were spread all over." Clarence Shelley described parts of the group as Marxist, Pan-Africanists, or most concerned with Black Studies. "It was a very disparate group in terms of ideology." Just as an ambiguity in the national definition of Black Power and Black consciousness existed, so too did definitions remain vague on the UIUC campus.[25] Many students did not find the variant definitions problematic as long as students were able to work toward similar goals.[26] As stated in the 1973 yearbook, *Irepodun*, "No one view completely right, and yet, no one view completely wrong. What we have concluded is that there are different visions but all with the same end objective--Uhuru [unity]."[27] However tolerant of variant definitions, BSA did attempt to impose a set of behavioral and psychological constraints on students to conform to a certain conception of Blackness. Articles and poems in BSA publications often were used to communicate such constraints. Popular themes in the publications and meant to provide Black UIUC students with a working definition of Blackness included the 1960s generation as a new and distinctly different generation from their parents and a corresponding redefinition of "Negro" and "Black," and the worth of African ways of being in the identity of African Americans.

BSA students often attempted to demonstrate their ideological break with previous liberation struggles. For instance, an editorial published in the October 1968 issue of

Drums, "While Their Parents Waited. . .," juxtaposed the Black parent and Black student/child and mirrored the split in the Civil Rights Movement. The older generation was characterized as apathetic, ignorant, and "white-washed." Frustrated by their parents' inaction, the Black students decided to take the reins, "it appears that the days when black students waited for their parents to take action against the racist school policies are over." While their parents engaged in "habitual things" such as cooking, cleaning, reading the newspaper, and watching television their children were "organizing themselves to form a united front against the system to which their parents had become so well adjusted."[28] This view, of course, distorted the Black liberation struggle. As demonstrated in the works of Aldon Morris, Charles Payne, and Adam Fairclough, the parents of the students had fought for freedom and equality decades before the 1960s. In fact, some of the students attributed their social justice concerns to the influence of their parents and other civil rights activists of the 1940s and 1950s. Nonetheless, this view of a new generation was a good and maybe necessary ideology for breaking with the mainstream Civil Rights Movement to launch the Black Power Movement.

This break with the Civil Rights Movement had implications for the redefinition of "Negro" and "Black." Previously used as a descriptive racial and self-referent, "Negro" was redefined as a pejorative and used for those ascribing to integrationist or assimilationist philosophies. The act of "becoming" Black or the Negro-to-Black conversion experience was a very common theme running throughout the BSA publications. For instance, two poems, one entitled "Negro," the other entitled "Black," were included in a 1971 edition of *Yombo.* The Negro was characterized as an "aged" person afraid to take a step forward and emasculated, "a Negro not a man . . . a Negro, boy, not a man."[29] As the Black UIUC students did in an earlier edition of *Drums,* Black Power advocates often ridiculed Civil Rights adherents for being of another and past generation with outdated methods for gaining Black liberation: Negroes. Blacks, on the other hand, were no longer seeking integration. They wanted to revel in their culture and remain autonomous. This was the

"correct" manner in which to gain liberation. "Black is like a treasure inside of a chest . . . beautiful, sweet, loving, and strong. . . Black is where it's at, it's about time we should realize that."[30] *Negroes* outlived their usefulness; *Blacks* had to take the reins.

One poem explicitly depicting the transformation from Negro to Black was printed in the 1972 edition of the yearbook, *Irepodun*. Black UIUC students were called to "experience the warmth of belonging to a race of Beautiful Black People."

> The birth of Blackness through becoming AWARE;
> The killing of the Negro, the birth of Blackness;
> The killing of Whitey in your soul and
> The birth of Blackness in your mind.[31]

The Negro--the assimilated, complacent, timid, "white-washed," and pre-Black Power advocate--part of the self had to be "killed" before the transformation could occur. One also had to annihilate White influence. The process was a rebirth, death necessarily preceded life: kill the Negro, kill the White influence and Blackness was possible. The search for and attainment of true Blackness was a resurrection of the mind and soul. Awareness, both political and cultural, was the means to the end.[32]

BSA used their publications to attack the Black students whom they felt were not participating in or ascribing to their notion of Blackness. A poem indicative of the era and meant to chastise those who did not fully participate in the celebration of Blackness was,

> Black enough to belong to BSA
> but too white to come to meetings
> Black enough to have lived in the ghetto
> but too white to return
> Black enough to understand our lingo
> but too white to speak it
> Black enough to wear an Afro
> but too white to appreciate it
> Black enough for your Honky friends
> but too white for me.[33]

BSA students made clear the alternate definitions of Blackness. Blackness was deeper than pigment; it was a commitment to Black liberation, celebration of the Black aesthetic, and immersion in Black culture. Also, associating with Whites was not consistent with the search for true Blackness. Using of words such as "Whitey" and "Honky" conveyed a sense of disrespect and was an attempt to dehumanize and denigrate Whiteness and White culture. By demoralizing Whiteness, many Blacks asserted their superiority and demonstrated that imitating Whites or attempting to integrate with Whites was absurd.[34]

Africa and Africanness was another common theme in BSA publications and was consistent with the national trend toward increasing Pan-African sentiment.[35] Definitions of Pan-Africanism varied, but most included the recognition of a link between Africans in the Diaspora and the continent of Africa, the restoration of cultural identity, and a glorification of the African past.[36] 1960s and 1970s discussions of Pan-Africanism were not new. They were couched in an ongoing discussion regarding the African American connection to Africa and Africans in the Diaspora. The ascendancy of Pan-Africanism received a boost in the late 1950s and sixties as African countries, including Ghana, asserted their independence while other French and British colonies broke free from colonization. African American ideologues of the Black Power Movement including Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael were influenced by the autonomy African nations demanded and by new African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, and Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal.[37] According to William VanDeburg, "It was Africa that provided Blacks in this hemisphere with a much-needed reference point within the pageant of world civilizations."[38] In the same vein, a number of prominent Black Power activists including scholars and students took Swahili or other African names to assert and acknowledge their African heritage. A few reasons for their name change included that the fact that they were not "American" because *true Americans* would not have had to fight for their civil rights, it offered a public display, celebration, and

acknowledgment of their African roots, or because they wanted to distance themselves from the decadence of American society.[39]

BSA publications demonstrated evidence of this interest in Africa. The October and November 1968 issues of *Drums,* carried "Know Your Black History" quizzes. Some of the questions, consistent with the Black Power call to learn about one's African roots and the diasporic component involved in Blackness, covered African history. For instance, students were asked to name "three old kingdoms of Africa," and identify the significance of Marcus Garvey (leader of the early 20th century "Back to Africa" movement), Imhotep (the 22nd century Egyptian "father of medicine"), and the Queen of Sheba.[40] Calling the column "Know Your Black History," indicated that the students felt that Africans *should* be included when discussing the Black heritage. It also indicated that they believed certain heroes and heroines--Africans and African Americans--should be common knowledge to African Americans. Other evidence of growing awareness and practice of Pan-African sentiment were included in later editions of BSA's newspapers. In a 1971 edition of *Yombo,* two poems bordered a picture of the continent; both poems were entitled, "To Lost Africans," and addressed to Black Americans.[41] This concept of Africa as the ancestral home of African Americans was popular in the 1960s.[42] Also, following in the footsteps of LeRoi Jones who became Imamu Amiri Baraka, Don L. Lee who became Haki Madhubuti, and Stokely Carmichael who became Kwame Ture, some Black UIUC students dropped their "slave names" in favor of names with African roots. For instance, James Eggleston signed both his given name and his chosen African-influenced name, Osmusija Omusaa.[43] By 1973, the Black Students Association changed its name to the Coalition of Afrikan People (CAP) in an effort to recognize Pan-Africanist ideals as well as open the organization to non-students. Their use of "k" in the spelling of Afrikan was significant. They ascribed to notions advocated by Don L. Lee (Haki Madhubuti) who stated, "Most vernacular or traditional languages on the continent spell Afrika with a K; therefore the use of K is germain to us. Europeans . . . polluted our languages by

substituting C whenever they saw K. . . . Therefore the K symbolizes our coming back together again."[44] It was the Black UIUC students interest in Africa that led them to spell Afrika with a "k," to name their publications *Yombo* and *Irepodun*, and for some to choose Swahili or Yoruba influenced names.

In their pursuit of liberation, African American UIUC students, consistent with national trends, formed exclusively Black academic organizations, sponsored exclusively Black events, and initiated exclusively Black activities. According to Jeff Roberts, "There were attempts by the university to figure out how to bring Black students into the mix of things. But, many Black students didn't want to be a part of what was going on at the university. We weren't accepted into their social events, but nobody really wanted to be anyway." Instead of participating in established groups or activities, Black students created a parallel existence in which Blackness was the center. The fact that the Black-created groups and activities mirrored existing university groups substantiated interviewee claims that the reason for their creation was not that Black students did not see any value in established university organizations or events. They wanted to participate but did not feel welcome or comfortable either with the other predominantly White members or with the focus of the group/activity. For instance, BSA declared that *The Daily Illini* was the voice of the White students on campus. Therefore they created *Drums, Black Rap* and *Yombo*. Also, in the Spring semester of the 1971-1972 academic year, Black UIUC students published the first Black yearbook, *Irepodun*. Citing the lack of Black student coverage in the University yearbook, *Illio* (according to Black students, only sixteen pages out of 432 of the 1971 *Illio* were devoted to Black students), Black UIUC students decided to initiate their own yearbook.[45] Black organizations and events served the academic and social needs of Black students attending a predominantly White institution. As Jeff Roberts recalled, "you could go [there] and you didn't feel like you were being beat-up on by the university. Every place else you went had such a negative situation. At least for that hour

you felt like you were in a positive situation where people were reinforcing whatever needs you had."

In their search for a more fully developed Black identity, many African Americans participated in invented traditions--traditions constructed, instituted, and popularized in a relatively short period of time. Objectives of invented tradition included socialization, inculcation of beliefs, and conventions of behavior. According to Sandra Flowers, "In meeting these objectives, the traditions and their accompanying symbols provided nationalists and their followers with a sense of historicity that they did not feel in the observance of traditions and symbols in the context of the dominant society." Such traditions and symbols were manifest in the wearing of African jewelry, the Afro hairstyle, African inspired clothing such as dashikis, raising a clenched fist to symbolize Black Power, celebrating Kwanzaa (a first fruits festival celebrated by African Americans around Christmastime), following the Nguzo Saba (the Seven Principles by which African Americans could guide their lives), and waving the red, black, and green "Black Nationalist" flag.[46] Black UIUC students participated in the larger Black community invented traditions by reproducing such images in their publications and in their own behavior. For instance, Yolanda Smith (Williams) provided an example of how invented tradition infused Black UIUC students with a sense of power and pride,

> Our Blackness lead me to create a 6' x 5' Black nationalist flag a few nights before graduation, June 1970. Many of the Black graduates preferred to march into [the auditorium] together with our flag in tow. At first, we weren't allowed in with the flag. We were told we couldn't bring it into the building. We refused to go in without it. Finally, after about twenty to thirty minutes, someone came up to us and said, "If you wrap the flag around the pole and keep it lowered--don't wave it or anything--have it your way." They let the flagged group in. We went in together and then went to our seats. To us, that was Black Power.

Also, they created their own traditions on the UIUC campus. In an effort to create events with a Black focus and center, Black students initiated annual events that paralleled University sponsored activities such as Black Homecoming with the election of a Black King and Queen, Black Mom's Day, and a Black graduation ceremony.

The racial climate on campus remained tense throughout the 1968-1969 academic year as well as subsequent years. Increasing activism often strained relationships between Black and White students, and both groups were wary of each other. As Edna Long (Long-Green) remembered, the White students "began to look at you differently because they were slightly afraid of you because they didn't know how radical you were." Jeff Roberts agreed and described the racial situation on campus as hostile and confused. Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) described hostility in the classroom. She acknowledged that university professors often were unavailable for the general student population but believed their inaccessibility was compounded by her race. In her experience, Teaching Assistants also were insensitive to Black student concerns in the classroom. In a sense, the academic isolation Black students experienced before 1968 continued after the SEOP students' arrival.

Dean Clarence Shelley addressed Black student wariness on campus in his 1968-1969 SEOP Annual Report. Mr. Shelley was careful to cite the fact that though the upsurge in Black student activism and corresponding vocalization of their discomfort occurred in 1968-1969, racial tensions and Black student frustration on campus existed before the influx of Black students arrived. According to Mr. Shelley, "We witnessed this year conflagrations that have been long smoldering and which would have flamed had the SEOP never been executed." He acknowledged that, "Often these feelings are over-reaction or rationalizations or even misinterpretations of circumstances. But more often these students have been neither welcomed nor comfortable."[47] Such claims were substantiated by interviewees. In general, there was a sense of trepidation on campus. In 1970, the university itself addressed the seriousness of racial tension on campus by conducting a Hearing Panel on Black-White Relationships in which they recognized that "even in the areas of the campus where there is no open conflict there is an uneasy and awkward climate."[48]

Tensions on campus may have been exacerbated by the sentiment of certain faculty, administrators, and students. Some openly doubted the Black students ability to compete at UIUC and believed their increasing activism reflected their academic frustrations. Such a discussion reached a national audience in a letter written by UIUC Professor of Psychology, Lloyd Humpheys, and published in the journal, *Science*. Dr. Humphreys never mentioned SEOP by name but did identify his university affiliation and a "crash recruitment program" begun in 1968. In the article he stated, "recent events at my own university have produced in me a strong pessimism about the future." He proceeded with a characterization of Negroes as less intelligent than Caucasians and attributed the difference to biological factors and "deficiencies in the home and neighborhood." His major issue was that affirmative action programs which brought intellectually unqualified Negroes to campus had a negative impact on student quality. He then connected their academic difficulties to their activism on campus,

> A group of young people who are newly imbued with pride in race are placed in a situation in which they are, by and large, obviously inferior. . . . The causal chain from [academic] frustration to aggression is well established. A large ability difference as a source of aggression cannot be ignored. The universities are damned if they don't admit more Negroes, but they are also damned in another sense if they do.[49]

This link between poor academics and campus activism was a dubious one. First, the majority of SEOP students met standard qualification requirements. Second, in their study of Black students, Patrica Gurin and Edgar Epps found that individual achievement goals and activism were unrelated, that grade performance was not related to activism, and that nationalist ideology was almost always unrelated to how well students performed in college.[50]

Humphreys' sentiment was not universal on campus, and his statements were countered by other faculty members who supported the Black students' rights to attend UIUC.[51] It is difficult to determine how many professors and/or administrators agreed or disagreed with Humphreys or the extent to which they did so. However, many interviewees perceived a hostile academic environment in the classroom. Quantifying such

racial hostility on the part of faculty and the accurateness of Black student perception may be less important than student perceptions of their own reality. They acted based on their interpretation of the situation. They believed that the majority of Black students faced a cold and almost antagonistic academic situation where many professors doubted their intelligence and dedication to education. Anecdotal evidence from interviewees provided examples of the existence of such hostility. For instance, Christine Cheatom (Holtz) remembered that when she approached the Head of the Department of Philosophy about transferring to the department he tried to dissuade her. She attributed his attitude to his doubts about her intellectual capacity. She described a similar experience when she entered the Law School at UIUC. "I remember a law professors saying, 'Everybody knows the reason Black students don't pass the bar exam is that everybody knows that Black students can't write. They're good on their feet talking, but everyone knows that they can't write so they can't do the essay answers.'" Again, as Mr. Shelley stated, certain claims may have been exaggerated, but interviewees did remember a particular kind of hostility in the classroom. According to Ms. Cheatom (Holtz), such experiences deeply affected her, "it engendered in me a kind of ugly emotional reaction that I started to have and still have these days."

Resulting BSA Demands

Tension had not subsided between the Black students and the administration, and the sentences from their involvement in the 9 September 1968 incident had yet to be handed down when BSA delivered an ever growing list of demands to the administration on 13 and 14 and February 1969. The demands included: dropping all criminal charges against those who participated in the Illini Union incident, establishing "a Black Cultural Center large enough to accommodate all Black people which will be run by the Black Students Association," hiring 50 Black residence hall counselors by September 1969, including fifteen percent Blacks in the incoming graduate student class, hiring 500 Black faculty within a four year period beginning with 150 by September 1969, establishing an

autonomous Black Studies Department with a major emphasis on Afro-American and African Studies, and fulfilling the University's financial commitment to the SEOP students. Demonstrating their link to the Urbana-Champaign Black community, of the 35 demands published in the 18 February 1969 issue of *The Black Rap,* twenty dealt with student issues while the others dealt with Urbana-Champaign resident issues and included: eliminating the high school diploma as a requirement for employment, forming a committee to assist in increasing employment of Black residents, and extending access to university buildings such as the Illini Union and the Intramural Physical Education Building.[52]

A letter from Chancellor Jack Peltason to Robert Rogers, Dean of the College of LAS, demonstrated that the university anticipated some kind of demands from Black UIUC students as early as May 1968. Though BSA was a very small number of students at the time, the university recognized the link between BSA's role in SEOP recruitment and the possibility of an increase in BSA membership. The Chancellor warned, "Sooner or later, and probably sooner rather than later, some group or other will 'demand' that we provide courses in African history, Negro history, Negro culture, Negro music, etc." Explicitly, the letter asked that Rogers "quietly discuss this matter" with several department heads to develop appropriate courses and then discuss the matter with BSA "rather than have them hear about it from the newspapers or other sources." Dean Rogers responded to the letter after meeting with various department heads and informed Peltason that one course in History, one course in English, and a lecture series were feasible--though not in the budget--at the time.[53]

It is difficult to determine whether BSA was aware of the university discussion regarding the creation of Black-centered courses before crafting their demands and impossible to determine the impact such knowledge would have had on Black student/university relations. What is easier to determine is that although the administration anticipated some sort of demands, they were not prepared for the scope of the BSA demands or the manner in which BSA pursued them. After receiving the demands,

university administrators privately evaluated the situation. Melvin Rothbaum, Director of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, wrote a confidential letter warning the Chancellor that the militant students were in part deliberately seeking a confrontation rather than negotiation and that the strategy employed was "keeping the University completely on the defensive." His suggested course of action included framing a set of proposals regarding preexisting university efforts on Black student issues, endorsing certain demands considered "reasonable," and broadening the discussion to include other student organizations such as the Student Senate and the Graduate Student Association.[54] Administrators attempted to diffuse the situation, but BSA's public debate with the university and the increasing pace of events forced the university to respond instead of initiate action.

BSA representatives and various university officials met over the next week in an attempt to discuss the feasibility of the demands. 14 February, BSA attempted to meet with Chancellor Jack Peltason but was unsuccessful. 15 February, BSA representatives met with the Faculty Senate Council to discuss the demands. After approximately two hours of debate, BSA representatives walked out of the meeting and attributed the meeting's failure to racist sentiment and university intransigence, "In a surprise show of bigotry the Faculty Senate Council refused to take a vote on any of the 35 demands." BSA acknowledged that faculty had little power to initiate many of the demands but decried their lack of support. Also, BSA refused to hold further talks with the Council until they publicly stated that they would take positive action on the demands. In a BSA press release, the organization described the seriousness of the situation, "Recent events on the U of I campus have created an atmosphere which can only lead toward violent racial confrontation if negotiations are not effectively established to discuss Black demands." BSA reentered talks with Chancellor Peltason Monday, 17 February, and stated that it was convinced that "the meeting with Peltason is the final chance to avert racial confrontation at the University of Illinois."[55] Claims of impending racial violence may be overstated. None of the

interviewees remembered being willing to participate in such action. They were willing to protest and demand concessions from the university, but none were willing to resort to violence.

BSA called for a one-day boycott of classes on Monday, 17 February, as a show of support for BSA representatives during their negotiations with the Chancellor. Students were told that a sit-in at the Illini Union Cafeteria would disrupt university functions and demonstrate Black student commitment to their demands. Also, the sit-in became a mini-economic boycott; participants were asked to bring lunches with them so they would not have to purchase food from the university. BSA members solicited "all Black students" to attend and asked participants to meet at the Union at 7:00 am to begin the boycott. The flyer declared, "The sit-in will be in effect until we hear from the Executive Board of BSA as to the results of their meeting with Chancellor Peltason to discuss our Demands and Grievances." Conceivably, many students refused to participate in such an event for fear of arrest or jeopardizing their status in the university, especially since their fate had not yet been decided regarding 9 September. Perhaps anticipating their anxiety, BSA assured the students that the meeting would be "legal in all respects" and developed a set of rules of conduct for the sit-in to assure their safety. The sit-in did occur, though "all Black students" did not participate as requested. According to Leo Glende, Illini Union Operations Supervisor, approximately fifty Black students participated in the sit-in. To occupy their time, some brought record players and records or playing cards. Some used their coats and lunch bags to occupy empty seats in an attempt to take up as much space as possible. Although the sit-in was orderly, university officials found cause for concern. V. L. Kretschmer, Director of the Department of Plant and Services, cited that the number of persons served on the day of the boycott was seventy percent of the persons served on the previous Monday. Because of the sit-in, he estimated that thirty percent of the dollar volume was lost and approximately 300 persons were inconvenienced by not being able to eat in the cafeteria.[56] Regardless of the show of support by boycott participants and their

effective disruption of university functions, the BSA meeting with the Chancellor reached an impasse and BSA representatives called the meeting a "total failure."

The characterization of such meetings as "failures" may be a overstatement. Communication did breakdown between BSA representatives and university officials, but the blame for this breakdown did not rest as fully with the university as BSA members accused. BSA members also demonstrated a kind of intransigence on certain demands. The university did respond positively to certain demands including the establishment of a Black cultural center and the initiation of a Black Studies program. And, although they did not move as quickly as BSA wanted, the university did move forward with a degree of haste on certain issues--those they considered "reasonable." In part, the BSA description of the meetings can be interpreted as useful for promoting the cause of Black unity on campus. By placing themselves in opposition to the university, they sought to unify Black students in a fight against "the man," vilify the university, and demonstrate their righteousness. However, BSA charges of university intransigence were not unfounded. Certain faculty and administrators were not receptive to Black student issues and were offended by the idea that students could "demand" concessions. Others, like Dr. Lloyd Humphreys, questioned their academic right to even attend the university. Black students saw their demands as a way to make the university more receptive to their needs and to sensitize the university to their concerns. They considered the demands *real* solutions to *real* problems.

Adding to the tense campus atmosphere were events occurring over the weekend and during the BSA negotiations with the administration. On 15 and 16 February, vandals removed and burned thousands of card catalogs from the UIUC library. University officials estimated it would take years and tens of thousands dollars to replace the cards. Investigators did not accuse any group or individuals of the crime but stated that it was "an effort to disrupt the University's operation, and any group interested in that could have done it." Though the university was careful not to publicly name any particular group,

letters to the editor in the student newspaper, *The Daily Illini,* revealed the tone of disapproving students, faculty, and the Urbana-Champaign community and subtly indicted BSA and/or Black students for the vandalism; perhaps the 9 September arrests, the BSA demands, and the somewhat hostile negotiations between BSA and administrators remained fresh in their minds (and in their newspapers). One letter chastised the administration for entertaining the BSA demands and asked the university "to quit tolerating infractions of its rules and regulations and disruptive action (especially in light of the recent library vandalism) on the part of a few and return to the task of educating those eager to learn." Another reminded the vandals that their destruction "hurt every student attending Illinois--black and white"--this was odd since race never was introduced as an issue for this particular incident. A third letter called the BSA demands discriminatory, asked "Black students, why don't you attend classes now and work toward advanced degrees so some of your dreams will be fulfilled by your efforts and not handed to you on a silver platter," admonished BSA to act in a "civil manner" when dealing with some its "rational" demands, and indicted Black students for the vandalism at the library.[57] In this environment where SEOP was beginning to receive increasingly bad press, where over 250 Black students were arrested on campus before the start of the school year, where BSA presented the university with a list of "demands" and continually severed talks with administration, and where library cards--the only record of book holdings at the university--were burned, BSA members increasingly stood in opposition to the university administration and Black/White, student/administration tension remained.

Why, many Whites asked, would Black students attend UIUC instead of an historically Black college? If they felt more comfortable with separate activities and felt the university was not supportive, why not transfer to an historically Black institution? Answers to this question were not found in BSA publications but in the oral interviews. Answers among the interviewees varied, but none interpreted the perceived dissonance in attending a predominantly White institution and practicing Black Power ideology as

debilitating. Some interviewees, especially those in SEOP, indicated that their financial packages kept them at UIUC. Others explained that there was an attitude among some Black UIUC students that their peers at historically Black institutions were not as academically capable. Though noting it was elitist, Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) stated, "There was an attitude that we may have been a tad bit better." Many interviewees noted the prestige of UIUC. The academic reputation of the university and its high status among premier institutions was attractive and beneficial for future career pursuits. Terry Cullers explained UIUC attendance as a right as tax-paying citizens in the state of Illinois. He stated, "Since we're paying taxes for this institution, we felt we should be able to take advantage of it." Also, UIUC was only two hours from Chicago, home for most students. It's location, paired with financial aid and prestige, made it a simple choice for most students. Discussions of the possible incongruence between Black Power ideology and attendance at a predominantly White institution existed but was not the primary concern of Black UIUC students. As Terry Townsend stated, "We were more concerned with trying to pressure this university into being all it could be."

Initial Academic Success

Because of its nature and status as a first attempt at an affirmative action program, UIUC conducted several studies of the academic success/progress of the SEOP students. Some studies found that SEOP students received lower grades that non-SEOP students while others demonstrated that SEOP students outperformed pre-SEOP students. A summary of various of such studies follows. One report by Dr. Jane Loeb, Coordinator of Research and Testing, revealed that the 502 SEOP Freshmen of 1968 were on academic probation, dropped, or not enrolled at higher rates than regularly admitted Freshmen.[58] On average, SEOP students achieved lower grade point averages (GPAs) than regularly admitted students. A report by John E. Bowers, Assistant Professor in the Office of Instructional Resources, found that 1968 SEOP men achieved a 2.15 after their first semester and a 2.04 after their second (GPAs are on a 4.0 scale). 1968 SEOP women

achieved a 2.09 after their first semester and a 2.11 after their second. SEOP Freshmen in 1969 received a GPA of 2.22 at the end of their first semester and a 2.33 at the end of their second. SEOP Sophomores achieved a GPA of 2.29 at the end of their second year.[59] Also, SEOP students received higher grades in their SEOP courses than their "regular" courses. According to figures published in a 1970 *Campus Report*, the 1968 SEOP Freshmen achieved a mean GPA of 2.3 in the SEOP courses, 2.0 in regular courses, and a 2.1 overall after their first semester on campus.[60] The Bowers report reached similar conclusions.[61]

Explanations of the fact that SEOP students performed better in their SEOP courses varied. Some administrators attributed their inflated grades to lenient grading procedures in such classes (though individual instructors denied such practices and the SEOP students would have resented such treatment). Others believed the material in such courses was redundant for certain SEOP students in that they were exposed to the same material in high school. Though they did not master the material in high school, their familiarity with it meant higher grades in college. Some administrators attributed their success to the fact that the SEOP courses were taught in more efficient ways. The classes had fewer students than the standard courses and promoted more class discussion and interaction with the instructor. This individual attention then translated into higher grades. UIUC continued to conduct studies to explain the difference between grades in special versus standard courses. In the meantime, the university contemplated the creation of a few upper level SEOP courses and tried to ease the transition from SEOP courses to standard courses.

As the College with the most SEOP students enrolled, Liberal Arts and Sciences closely studied the progress of the SEOP students. A study comparing the grade point averages of the SEOP students in LAS and other students in LAS revealed a difference between groups during the first semester. While 76 percent of regularly enrolled LAS students were clustered between 2.5 and 3.49, 60 percent of the SEOP students were clustered between 1.5 and 2.99. Also, SEOP students were more represented across the

grade point average range with 41 percent below a 2.0 grade point average (versus 9% of regularly enrolled students) and 59 percent above a 2.0 average (versus 91% for regularly enrolled students).[62] A 1969 study found similar results. Of the 453 SEOP students in LAS, a total of 438 completed the Fall semester (this included both first semester and third semester students). 142 (75%) of the Freshmen were on clear status at the end of their first semester, 40 (21%) on probation, and 8 (4%) were dropped by the university.[63] Of the SEOP Sophomores in LAS, 141 (57%) were on clear status at the end of the Fall semester, 92 (37%) on probation, and 15 (6%) dropped. Of the total of 132 students on probation at the end of Fall semester in LAS, 62 (46%) achieved clear status by the end of the Spring semester. 421 of the 432 students who began the Spring semester finished the Spring semester. 252 were on clear status. 147 (35%) were on probation while 22 students (5%) were dropped.[64] All the above figures demonstrated that the SEOP students routinely were out-performed by their "regular" admit counterparts.

Although the 1968 SEOP Freshmen had more academic difficulty than regularly admitted Freshmen, they out-performed pre-SEOP Black UIUC students.[65] For instance, in 1966 and 1967, 50 percent and 53 percent of Black students, respectively, were on clear status after the completion of their first term. In 1968 and 1969, the first two years of SEOP, 64 percent and 67 percent, respectively, were on clear status.[66] One possible explanation for the relative academic success of the 1968 group was the presence of an academic support system. University efforts to reduce attrition rates, including SEOP courses and tutoring, provided the SEOP students with the tools necessary to compete successfully. Another explanation was offered by the Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, the committee who first conceptualized SEOP. They stated that few "disadvantaged" students were prepared for the competition and academic demands of the University. "For most of them, it has been a first exposure to the predominantly white world, and the first encounter with major failure. . . . As these students have encountered academic difficulty, they have usually become frightened and begun to withdraw,

attributing much of the blame to the practices and attitudes encountered in the 'white' world."[67] In order to help the students along the Committee proposed an easing of drop and probation rules, increased financial aid, and more support services.

Interviewees offered similar explanations when asked about the academic status of pre-SEOP students and SEOP students. Black students arriving at UIUC before SEOP attributed their low success rates to a lack of academic assistance and isolation on campus. When they entered before 1968, no academic support programs existed. Paul Brady remembered, "When I walked in there they told me, 'Look on both sides of you. That person is not going to be here at the end.' . . . This wasn't just the Black students they told. They told everybody that." Their inadequate preparation in Chicago high schools set them up for failure at UIUC. Also, their isolation on campus was compounded with their low numbers. As stated in a previous chapter, pre-1968 students were not a cohesive group. Often they could go an entire day without seeing or interacting with another Black student. This social isolation coupled with culture shock, a lack of adequate preparation for college, and the absence of an academic support system impacted their academic status and well-being.

When discussing the GPAs of 1968 SEOP students, Paul Brady, a pre-SEOP interviewee, attributed their relative success to their "us versus them" attitude. He explained that since the SEOP students knew the conditions in which they were arriving on campus (that some students, faculty, and administrators doubted their abilities and right to attend UIUC), many "buckled down" to prove the skeptics incorrect and successfully fought the Chief. Terry Townsend, a Freshmen in 1968, agreed that culture shock and a lack of academic support contributed to varying academic success, but added that racial rejection both in and out of class compounded their academic difficulties. According to Townsend, racist attitudes "took [a] toll on African Americans at the time as a group as well as individually. It negatively impacted academics." Other interviewees believed the creation of a social system of Black students explained the fact that SEOP students out-

performed pre-SEOP Black students. The 1968 influx of Black students allowed for a cohort of peers. They now had friends with whom to study, attend class, and unwind.

At the end of four years, many administrative units again examined the academic success and persistence of the SEOP students. The previously mentioned Loeb study found that regularly admitted students graduated at higher rates than SEOP students within an eight semester period. For the Freshmen entering UIUC in 1968, 45.4 percent of the regularly admitted students and 16.7 percent (84 students) of the SEOP students graduated by June 1972; by 1973, 60.7 percent of the regularly admitted and 32.1 percent of the SEOP students graduated.[68] This was evidence that SEOP students who remained at UIUC, on average, took an extra two semesters to complete college requirements and receive their degrees. According to a separate study by Dr. Faite Mack, 223 of the Fall 1968 SEOP students completed eight consecutive semesters between Fall 1968 and Spring 1972. Of these students, 43.5 percent (97 students) were men, 56.5 percent (126) were women, and 95.5 percent (213 students) were Black. 236 terminated enrollment and did not re-enroll. However, 43 students who terminated enrollment after 1968 re-enrolled for continuous student status by the eighth semester. 13.7 percent (69 students) graduated in June 1972, a slightly lower figure than Loeb's.[69] 30.4 percent (21 students) of those who graduated were men, 69.6 percent (48 students) were women, and 95.7 percent (66 students) were Black. Like Loeb, Mack found that the SEOP students who remained at UIUC for consecutive semesters took longer to attain a bachelor's degree than regularly admitted students. Mack, however, came to another conclusion: those students who left the university often enrolled in other institutions. 59 of the drop-outs attended another four-year (39 students) or two-year (20 students) institution after leaving UIUC.[70]

Critique of Ideology

According to psychologists and psychiatrists such as William Cross, William Grier and Price Cobbs, and Alvin Poussaint and Linda McLean, some segments of the Black community, including college students, often felt compelled to demonstrate their dedication

to Black Power in front of an audience. People in such a position often tried to "out Black" each other in an effort to assert themselves. Who or which individuals had the authority to determine who was "Black enough" to be called "Black" was a question left unanswered. The criteria for true Blackness were often stringent and narrow. Depending on which person or which group was asked "who is Black" answers varied. The ingroup-outgroup dichotomy often was falsely and hurtfully drawn. Many Black Power advocates often wielded their "thou art Black enough" sword hastily and judgmentally. If a certain individual did not fit all the criteria expected of a true "brother" or "sister"--both physically (wearing an Afro, forming personal relationships with other Blacks) and psychologically (appreciating the Afro, wanting to pull away from White influence and integration)--s/he was called a Negro, sell-out, or Uncle Tom. This tactic often pushed away potential allies and alienated others.[71]

Certain UIUC BSA members and Black Power adherents practiced a "thou art Black enough" philosophy. Being considered "truly Black" could be both difficult and demanding according to many interviewees. Black students were expected conform to the physical, psychological, and behavioral conceptions of Blackness and then to translate it into activism on campus. Students did recognize the value in academic success but paired it with activism in an evaluation of a "true brother or sister." For instance, Jeff Roberts remembered, "Your academic success wasn't what you were measured by, it was your participation in relevant things," but, Black students saw enough value in academics to print the names of all students receiving a 3.0 GPA or higher (a "B" average) in its newspaper and congratulate them on their success. The degree of pressure felt by interviewees or exerted by interviewees to get involved in Black student issues varied. James Eggleston acknowledged there was pressure but did not consider it a factor in relationships between Black students. Other interviewees echoed his sentiment. Sandra Norris (Phillips) remembered being able to slip in and out of the movement. However, other interviewees described a significant amount of pressure and reflected on how it

influenced their psychological well-being. Commenting on the pressures to conform Clarence Shelley stated, "Many of them were here trying to decide how Black they had to be while they were here. There was lots of pressure on students for them to behave a certain way. You could see the dissonance in how they were expected to act and how they really wanted to act." A confidential memo by the Student Counseling Service and the Mental Health Division of the Health Service addressed this tension. The memo described certain Black students who visited their services and how the students "have been subtly threatened with harm if they did not allow their hair to grow au natural, if they ate with whites, or if they did not become active members of a particular group."[72] The memo attested to the fact that not all Black students at UIUC followed BSA or its ideology of Blackness and that those who did not were sometimes harassed or intimidated to participate.

According to the interviewees, Black Greekdom suffered as a result of narrow conceptions of Blackness. Black students continued to join Black fraternities and sororities, but often did so under the disapproving eye of a segment of the Black student population. Yolanda Smith (Williams), a member of a Black Greek sorority, described the influence of the new ideology on the Black Greek fraternities and sororities, "We were pressured to get involved in BSA and not other things, especially Greek life. BSA would say to be Greek is to be White." Other interviewees who were also members of Greek letter organizations expressed similar sentiments. BSA publications chastised Black Greeks for defeating the purpose of the collective Black community by promoting elitism and actively imitating Whiteness. Whereas in decades earlier membership in a Greek letter organization brought prestige, in the later 1960s a number of Black students considered it antithetical to the cause of Black liberation. Dan Dixon, first BSA President and Black fraternity member, and many other Black Greeks resented such implications. Some worked to dispel the stereotype while others did not care. However, many interviewees

indicated that the number of members in Black fraternities and sororities suffered during this period of "Black consciousness."

Terry Cullers explained how the pressure to be "truly Black" influenced friendships between Black and White students, "As the 1960s wore on, those relationships were not tended to. It was that period of being to ourselves and trying to work with ourselves solely." If Blacks who befriended Whites were chastised, Blacks who dated Whites were harangued. A poem illustrated the disdain for Black men in relationships with White women,

> Rappin Black/Sleepin white
> That's his type,
> Rappin he's black n' proud
> Oratin real loud
> Layin up with a Sally and
> Tellin other bloods to rally
> Wearing a fro/and a black dishiki
> Doin two thangs
> One in the daytime -- black
> One at night -- white[73]

True brothers would never date a White woman or voluntarily choose to socialize with Whites instead of Blacks. The desire for Black liberation and the love of a White woman could not co-exist in the heart of a *real* Black man. Although they were harangued in BSA newspapers, interracial relationships still occurred on the UIUC campus during the Black Power era, and as some interviewees indicated, certain BSA members themselves participated in them. The poem, besides being a rejection of assimilationist and integrationist practices, can be examined on another layer. The use of Black vernacular terms such as "rappin" (talking), chick (woman), "Sally" (White woman), and "bloods" (Black men) can be used to convey a sense of disrespect for the White value system and as a proclamation that the author had no intention of paying deference to Whiteness. Also, it created an ingroup of understanding. One had to know Black language to understand the

poem; but again, understanding the "lingo" was not enough. If one did not participate in and accept Blackness, s/he was still a "Negro."[74]

Another theme introduced in the above poem and subsequent BSA writings was that of the "Super Black." In his model of the Negro-to-Black conversion experience, William Cross described such individuals as "new converts" to Blackness and stuck in the immersion stage of the conversion process. The individual experiencing intense anxiety over whether s/he was "Black enough" or "militant enough," a characteristic of the person in the immersion stage, used attacks on others to demonstrate their "commitment to the struggle." The person did not understand fully the true nature of Blackness. In an effort to prove her/himself, the Super Black often overcompensated by "wearing a fro and a black dashiki," as UIUC students characterized them, was more concerned with the appearance of Blackness than an internalization of it and often defined Blackness by what it was *not* as opposed to what it *was*. UIUC students further described the Super Black as a person, in the above case a man, as a person who was not even attempting to integrate Blackness into his psyche. His relationship with a White woman (a Sally) mitigated his "true Black" status.

In another article entitled, "Blacker Than Thou," Super Blacks were warned not to alienate potential allies and told to reign in their divisive rhetoric. The author reminded Super Blacks that "the person you level a charge of 'Tom' at may in fact be more with it that you are." In a plea for unity, he also urged Black students to "temper the fervence that can be so much better channeled at our real adversaries than at those among us who fall at a different point on the continuum."[75] A later edition of *Drums* called such individuals Super Niggers and characterized them as,

> a coloured man with a six foot natural and custom made dashiki who sits in the snack bar and other places rapping about what other folk ain't doing. They are the authorities on Blackness and the upcoming revolution who wouldn't know a revolution if it hit him in his face. He is a super Hip hopper on Black Power whose total reading time has been limited to half of Brother Malcolm's autobiography.[76]

This attack on Super Blacks was another version of the physical versus psychological dedication to Blackness. Someone who had not internalized Blackness often attempted to compensate with outward appearances. Only when the person came to a true knowledge of self and progressed past the immersion stage in the Negro-to-Black experience could s/he get beyond divisive rhetoric and mere physical notions of Blackness.

Interviews with Dan Dixon and Yolanda Smith (Williams) revealed the personal impact of "Blacker-than-thou" sentiment. For Mr. Dixon, the tension between Black Greek life and campus activism was not a necessary reality, and he deeply resented having his Blackness and social consciousness questioned. "I had White boys chanting 'two, four, six, eight! We don't want to integrate!' in high school. Now you have these supposed Black people tell me they were Blacker than me? . . . Having come up in a cauldron of racism, I knew what it was. I didn't have to read the book." He ran for BSA President and, in his own words, "stacked the election" in an effort to take control of the emerging organization. The first BSA publication after his election ran an article--covertly directed at him--in which the author warned Greeks "not to taint" the purpose of the organization. Mr. Dixon considered his tenure as President "in name only" since non-Greeks controlled the executive council as well as the BSA newspaper. He ran against David Addison for BSA President for the following year but lost. He soon withdrew from campus activism and into fraternity life and attributed his withdrawal to the pressures and alienation of Blacker-than-thou sentiment.

Yolanda Smith (Williams), one of the primary agitators in the ISR housing struggle--who was active in student protest at the University of Illinois at Chicago before coming to UIUC and reported a passing affiliation with the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party--also described her experience with Blacker-than-thou attitudes. She discussed several factors (some from outside the university) leading to her withdrawal from campus activism including her arrest on 9 September 1968. While watching how BSA handled the arrest and the nature of their demands, she began to reevaluate her participation

and later disapproved of BSA ideology and tactics. "A lot of us didn't go to BSA like we thought we would. A lot of kids felt BSA lead us the wrong way. . . . They demanded as opposed to compromise. I had had enough of demanding." She remembered that the pressure to conform was so intense that she removed herself from campus activism and shied away from BSA. Instead, she gravitated toward Black Greek life and within a year of her arrival organized a chapter of her sorority on campus. It is important to note that though some students disassociated themselves from BSA and BSA politics, they maintained a belief in Black Power. BSA membership was not a prerequisite for Black Power ideology. For instance, though Ms. Smith (Williams) disassociated herself from BSA, she found other outlets for her Black Power ideology, forums to celebrate Blackness, and ways to protest racism on campus.

Another issue reflected in the larger Black Power Movement and on the UIUC campus was that "Black" often meant Black *man;* "Black" was interpreted as Black men reclaiming their masculinity. With the emphasis on race, issues of gender were pushed to the periphery.[77] This masculine slant affected university campuses to different degrees. At UIUC, men and women interviewees remembered the existence of such masculine definitions, but the sexism in the Black Power Movement never was discussed in BSA publications. Some interviewees indicated that it was kept out of the publications in an effort to keep this "dirty laundry" and potential source disunity behind closed doors. Private discussions between Black men and Black women were held, but rarely did they become public discourse--at least in the sense that non-Blacks were privy to their conversations. However, both Black men and Black women addressed issues such as gender roles in the publications. Many of the articles and poems contained competing messages, and UIUC attitudes on gender roles escape a tidy categorization.

Black men and Black women held conversations with each other regarding male/female roles and relationships in the BSA publications. "A brother," as it was signed, wrote a letter to all Black women in which he expressed his confusion regarding the

"collage" of different opinions about Black women: he is told to respect and protect her while at the same time being told that she will effectively castrate him if he displays emotion and weakness. In his "gyrational merry-go-round" of confusion, he solicited Black women for guidance and almost prostrated himself (a *symbolic* prostration) in his plea with phrases such as, "although I am a man, I am still a child." By the end of his letter, he stated that he realized that Black women should be treated as queens, held in high esteem, and considered equals in the Black liberation struggle. In the same issue where this Black man asked for guidance in a rediscovery of the male-self and an understanding of the worth of Black women, a Black woman offered some form of direction. Addressing the theme of interracial relationships, she suggested Black men "search your soul and mind to find yourself" and reminded them that their pursuit of White women was detrimental to the struggle. In her plea to Black men she stated that Black women wanted to facilitate in the male search for awareness but could not do so if the man did not initiate the search of his own volition, "Brothers, help us help you." The revolution was impossible without a positive relationship between Black women and Black men and unity was imperative. At the end of her plea, she solicited men to "come home" and help establish a strong and united Black nation, "Learn to love us brothers, because we are you, and you are us."[78]

Conservatism in gender roles was not atypical in Black student movements.[79] An example of such views on the UIUC campus appeared in an edition of *The Black Rap*. According to the newspaper, Al Booker, a former Black student activist at Wisconsin State University who had been dismissed from the university, spoke at the 11 February 1969 BSA meeting. The article was a summary of his statement including his notions of "Black man" and "Black woman." The role of women was the socialization and education of Black children while her function was to make the man God of his house and be subservient to his needs. The Black man was to dominate his household, help reproduce the "new Black nation," and protect "his" women.[80] BSA members offered no editorial comment on Booker's speech, therefore it was difficult to determine how his speech was

received by Black UIUC students--both men and women. However, women did write articles with similar themes. In article entitled, "Black Womanhood," one Black woman student acknowledged that Black men "needed" to reclaim their masculinity and applauded their empowered sense of self in a symbolic prostration, "One who, for too long depended on woman and who now projects his manhood in full force--Black man, you are my GOD!" Reminiscent of Booker's speech, the author asserted that a man's duty to was protect "his women" and reproduce a Black nation while a woman's duty was to socialize children and make the home comfortable for her husband.[81]

Interviews with both men and women revealed that such conservative gender roles occasionally were tolerated. As Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) stated, "It was understood that this was the first opportunity [for Black men] to really strut their stuff. Maybe we should support them and back them up." Christine Cheatom (Holtz) remembered wanting to run for BSA President but decided against it since there was a general sense that a man should hold the leadership position. However, Black women were neither absent nor subservient. They actively asserted themselves in every phase of the Black UIUC student movement. If their participation in Black student protest was an indication, it was a group of women that, by defying university policy and remaining in ISR, provided the catalyst for the Black UIUC student movement. If the number of women arrested 9 September 1968 was an indication, almost half of those arrested (46% or 114 of 250) were women. If their presence on the BSA executive council (before and after SEOP) and contribution to BSA newspapers was an indication, they were well represented in both senses. Black men and women may have discussed the worth of conservative gender roles in the publications, but may not have practiced them on campus. For instance, while women acquiesced to men at certain times and for particular reasons, they at no point whole-heartedly accepted their prescribed role in either male/female relationships or the Black liberation struggle.[82] Both the men and women interviewees remembered the pivotal roles Black women played in the Black UIUC movement.

Often, women initiated the discussions regarding such gender roles. Undoubtedly, discussions regarding the relationship between Black men and Black women and their roles in the Black liberation struggle occurred before BSA, but the conversations became institutionalized soon after the organization's inception. The November 1967 edition of *Drums,* advertised a BSA sponsored forum to discuss "problems between Black men and women on this campus." By late 1969, Black manhood and Black womanhood classes were held on a regular basis and were well attended according to the interviewees. When first conceptualized, the workshops were held jointly. After deciding that combination workshops were counterproductive because of frequent arguments and blaming between the sexes, the workshops were held separately. Sandra Norris (Phillips) taught in the womanhood workshops and described the atmosphere as primarily friendly, "Some of the discussions got virulent at times. But it was still a very supportive environment." Themes included "what it means to be together as a man and a woman, what it meant to be a Black family, how do you raise your kids properly, and how to prevent and avoid self-hate." According to Tony Zamora, one-time Director of the cultural center where the workshops were held, the manhood workshops revolved around understanding how to respect and protect Black women, being responsible for your actions, taking proper care of your family, and ensuring wide-spread participation in Black events on campus. Mr. Zamora described them, "It was about nation building. How do we create something that's better for our people." The goal of the workshops was to create a situation that taught people how to function in a partnership. The degree to which the goals were achieved varied according to the interviewees, but the workshops continued into the middle 1970s.

BSA matured as an organization after the SEOP students arrived and the large number of Black students were arrested at the Union. Beginning May 1968, annual executive council elections were held. Editions of their newspapers were printed on a regular basis and became longer as more students participated. The mass arrest and resulting list of demands provided the organization with a concrete set of goals to work

toward and into which they could channel their energy. The creation of committees, including the Black Graduate Committee and the Recruitment and Retention Committee, enabled a division of labor that would allow different groups to agitate and initiate discussion on different sets of BSA demands. BSA matured ideologically, also. The small number of BSA members in 1967 advanced their own notions of Blackness, but the 1968 arrests made the need for a common group understanding more urgent. The SEOP students brought with them additional energy, ideas and perspectives on Blackness, and ways to demonstrate and advertise Black issues in the publications. It was the SEOP students who provided BSA with the base of support it needed to negotiate their demands. Also, it was this group of students who eventually would take over BSA and advocate Black student issues when the continuing students controlling the organization graduated. Together the new and continuing Black students sought to make their understanding of Black Power a tangible reality on campus.

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[1] "Statement Made by Clarence Shelley; Notes Regarding the Events on September 9, 1968," 23 September 1968, Educational Opportunities Program File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[2] The accounts of 7 September 1968 were taken from, "Security Office Report of Events, Illini Union, September 9 and September 10, 1968," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley; 1968 was not the first time UIUC dealt with major problems regarding the housing situation. According to Keith Olson, the influx of veterans enrolling at UIUC due to the GI Bill caused overcrowding and forced drastic measures. For instance, because of a lack of housing in 1946, 300 veterans slept in bunk beds in the Old Gymnasium Annex (Olson, *The GI Bill*, 76).

[3] The accounts of 8 September 1968 were taken from, "Security Office Report of Events, Illini Union, September 9 and September 10, 1968," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[4] John Briscoe to Students, 10 September 1968, in, "Security Office Report of Events, Illini Union, September 9 and September 10, 1968," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[5] The accounts of 9 September 1968 were taken from "Security Office Report of Events, Illini Union, September 9 and September 10, 1968," Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley; A discussion of coercion tactics is included in, H. G. Haile to Jack Peltason, 11 September 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-81, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives; For a discussion of multiple reasons Black students remained at the Union, see, interviews with Jeffrey Roberts, Clarence Shelley, Yolanda Smith (Williams), and James Eggleston.

[6] "Report of Proceedings by Subcommittee A of the Senate Committee on Student Discipline," Educational Opportunities Program File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[7] Headlines obtained from a Clipped Article File from Clarence Shelley.

[8] Jack Peltason, "Statement of Chancellor J.W. Peltason," *Campus Report* 2 (1969): 2, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 1, UIUC Archives; David D. Henry, "Statement of President David D. Henry," *Campus Report* 2 (1969): 1, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 1, UIUC Archives; Board of Trustees, "Statement-Board of Trustees," 18 September 1968, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 14, UIUC Archives.

[9] Black Students Association, "Black Students Association's Policy Statement," in "Let's Make the '500' Program Work; Open Meeting for Faculty and Students Sponsored by the AAUP," 16 September 1968, Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley; The argument that the use of lower case letters is a sign of disrespect is adapted from Sandra Hollin Flowers' explanation of the use of profanity in nationalist writings (Sandra Hollin Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature of the 1960s: Pens of Fire* [New York: Garland Publishing, 1996], 81).

[10] As a previous chapter demonstrated, the majority of the SEOP students were qualified to attend UIUC. They may not have had the opportunity to attend UIUC only because they were not recruited *not* because of a lack of academic readiness.

[11] Clarence Shelley to Parents, 17 September 1968, Educational Opportunities Program File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 4, UIUC Archives.

[12] A. A. Rayner to Dean Clarence Shelley, Western Union Telegram, 5 October 1968, Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[13] Robert Powell, President of the National Students Association, to Bruce Morrison, President of the UIUC Graduate Student Association; Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley; Though the National Students Association protested the police action at the Union, according to police, administrative reports, and interviewees, the police used no undue force to arrest the students.

[14] The Executive Committee of the Graduate Student Association to Members of the Faculty," Fall 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-81, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[15] "Rally Supports Black Students," *The News Gazette* 27 September 1968.

[16] For articles/letters regarding anti-SEOP sentiment, see, Mary Kathryn Fochtman, "Complaint," *The Daily Illini*, 13 September 1968, Diana Moore, "Sit-In Perils Future for Funding of 500 Program," *The News Gazette*, 13 September 1968, and "Without Reason UI in Jeopardy," *The News Gazette*, 12 September 1968; For the letter sent to Clarence Shelley, see, M. Theodore Engeln to Clarence Shelly, 10 September 1968, Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley; George Wallace was the Governor of Alabama and a staunch segregationist. He is known for barring the entrance of the University of Alabama in an effort to keep two African American students from integrating the university in 1963 (David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* [New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986]); The argument that Black students at White institutions experienced paternalist attitudes is reminiscent of, Samuel D. Proctor, "Racial Pressures on Urban Institutions," in *The Campus and the Racial Crisis*, eds. David C. Nichols and Olive Mills (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1970), cited in William Exum's, *Paradox of Protest*, 39.

[17] "Report of Proceedings by Subcommittee A of the Senate Committee on Student Discipline," Educational Opportunities Program File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[18] Jack Peltason, "Statement of Chancellor J.W. Peltason," *Campus Report* 2 (1969): 2, Educational Opportunities File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[19] Press Release, 13 September 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Department Subject File, 1965-82, File Number 5/1/3, Box 4, UIUC Archives.

[20] H. G. Haile to Jack Peltason, 11 September 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-81, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[21] Alexander Astin and Alan Bayer, "Antecedents and Consequents of Disruptive Campus Protests," *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance* 4 (April 1971): 28.

[22] Larry Neal, "The Black Arts Movement," in *The Black Aesthetic*, ed. Addison Gayle, Jr. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), 267; Lerone Bennett, Jr., *The Challenge of Blackness; Black Paper Number 1* (Atlanta: Institute of the Black World, 1970), 3.

[23] James A. Emanuel, "Blackness Can: A Quest for Aesthetics," in Gayle, *The Black Aesthetic*, 196, 195-196.

[24] Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature*, 15-16, 80, 69.
[25] Stokely Carmichael, an ideologue of the Black Power Movement, initially asserted that Blacks could define "Black Power" for themselves. However, he and other Black Power leaders vied to provide a definitive statement of Black Power as a goal and political strategy after increasingly becoming aware of the fact that other supporters and opponents also could offer their own interpretations (Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 215-222); Carmichael's co-authored book with Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, often was considered an attempt to more fully define the concept, ideology, and goals of Black Power.
[26] *Irepodun*, 1973; Another example of the tolerance and acceptance of variant definitions is an article published in *The Black Rap*. The author discusses the different notions of "revolution" described by Julius Lester and Amiri Baraka. The author states, "It should not worry us that Brother Jones' and Brother Lesters' concepts of revolution vary. The white man has always disagreed as to what is democracy . . . Therefore, we, as Black people, must develop in each of our own minds, our concept of the revolution" ("Towards a Revolutionary Ideology," *The Black Rap*, 17 March 1969).
[27] *Irepodun*, 1973.
[28] "Editorial," *Drums*, October 1968.
[29] Clyde Winters, "Negro," *Yombo*, 2 December 1971.
[30] 'Diane,' "Black," *Yombo*, 2 December 1971.
[31] Joan Murphy, *Irepodun*, 1972, 63.
[32] This characterization of the Negro and birth of Blackness is adapted from Cross, *Shades of Black*.
[33] *The Black Rap*, 21 October 1970.
[34] Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature*, 81; Cross, *Shades of Black*, 202; This denigration of Whiteness for the sake of promoting Blackness will be critiqued in a later section of this chapter.
[35] Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature*, 7-8.
[36] Sid Lemelle, *Pan-Africanism* (New York: Writers and Readers, 1992), 12-19.
[37] For Malcolm X's discussion of Pan-Africanism, see, Alex Haley, ed., *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1965), and Breitman, *Malcolm X Speaks;* for Carmichael's thoughts on Pan-Africanism, see Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Random House, 1971).
[38] William L. VanDeburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 188.
[39] Reasons for choosing an African or African-influence name could range from a personal search and acceptance of African roots to a byproduct of Blacker-than-thou sentiment. If couched in a Blacker-than-thou argument, possible reasons for dropping one's "slave name" included self-aggrandizement, an instrument to raise political consciousness, and compensation for feelings of insecurity regarding one's Blackness (George Napper, *Blacker Than Thou: The Struggle for Campus Unity* [Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973], 41); For an example of a personal discussion of the decision to change one's name, see, Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.
[40] "Know Your Black History," *Drums*, October 1968 and November 1968.
[41] *Yombo*, 2 December 1971.
[42] Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature*, 7-8.
[43] *Irepodun*, 1972, 18; It is important to indicate that James Eggleston's "chosen" name is not Swahili nor does it have any particular meaning. He concocted the name from what he thought an African name would sound like. Also, the adoption of such names was not necessarily permanent. For instance, Mr. Eggleston never legally changed his name to Osmusija Omusaa. Instead, he used it as an expression of Pan-African attitudes. It became like the Afro, a badge to attest to the nature of one's Blackness.
[44] Don L. Lee, *From Plan to Planet. Life Studies: The Need for Afrikan Minds and Institutions* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1973), 13.
[45] *Irepodun*, 1972.
[46] Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature*, xiv-xvi, citing Eric Hobsbawn and Terrence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1; The adoption of invented traditions does not necessarily mean non-participation in dominant society traditions. For instance, many

African Americans celebrate Kwanzaa (the concept and name are African, the particular nature of celebration is African American) as well as Christmas. The purpose of Kwanzaa is to honor the tradition of African and African American ancestors, plan for the year ahead, and strengthen the Black community (Angela Shelf Medearis, *The Seven Days of Kwanzaa: How to Celebrate Them* [New York: Scholastic Books, 1994]). Also, not all African American traditions celebrated in the late 1960s began in the late 1960s. For instance, though the Black Nationalist flag became increasingly popular in the late 1960s, its origin can be traced to Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association during the 1910s and 1920s (Lerone Bennett, *Pioneers in Protest* [Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968], 233-240). The clenched and upraised fist as a symbol of power can be traced to civil rights activists in the South including Willie Ricks and Stokely Carmichael during the early to middle 1960s (Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995]). Hence, some traditions emerged and reached a larger audience in the late 1960s but existed beforehand.

[47] Clarence Shelley, "SEOP Annual Report, 1 July 1968-20 June 1969," 10, 19, Clipped Article File obtained from Clarence Shelley.

[48] William K. Williams, Chairman, "Report of the Hearing Panel on Black-White Relationships," 28 October 1970, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 66, UIUC Archives.

[49] Lloyd Humphreys, "Racial Differences: Dilemma of College Admissions," *Science* 166 (10 October 1969): 167; Humphreys' attitude toward Black students carried over from SEOP to graduate student admission to the Department of Psychology. In a letter to his colleagues, Humphreys called Blacks "inferior on every sort of intellectual ability," and worried what effect their enrollment would have on grading practices and department standing. Fellow Professor, Harry Triandis, countered Humphreys' sentiment and argued that the tests on which Humphreys based his assessment were culturally biased and the data possibly contaminated (Lloyd Humphreys to Colleagues, 6 October 1969, and Harry Triandis to Lloyd Humphreys, 7 October 1969, Vice-President for Academic Affairs Correspondence, 1965-74, File number 5/1/2, Box 9, UIUC Archives); The argument that this new and different population would negatively impact academic standards is reminiscent of the same argument against the admission of veterans to institutions of higher education (see, Olson, *The GI Bill*).

[50] Patricia Gurin and Edgar Epps, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement: A Study of Students in Historically Black Colleges* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), 346, 350.

[51] See, Harry Triandis to Lloyd Humphreys, 7 October 1969, Vice-President for Academic Affairs Correspondence, 1965-74, File number 5/1/2, Box 9, UIUC Archives.

[52] "We Demand," *The Black Rap*, 18 February 1969; When first conceptualized, the list of demands numbered sixteen. Over the course of a few days, the total number of demands rose to 41. See Appendix A for a list of the 35 demands printed in *The Black Rap*. Though BSA demands centered around Black students and Black Champaign residents, they did recognize the value of cross-racial coalitions. For instance, one of the BSA demands included the retention of William K. Williams, a White administrator, as an advisor on Black affairs. They explicitly included White Champaign residents in another demand, "That the University immediately grant a minimum 20% wage increase to all persons working in the janitorial and food service capacities, (Black and white)." Interviews demonstrated that many Black students considered Miriam Shelden, a White woman who was Dean of Women, an asset to Black students (see, interviews with Yolanda Smith [Williams] and Delores Parmer [Woodtor]). Also, Black students considered Peter Rasmussen, a White resident of Champaign and author/contributor to Champaign's Black nationalist newspaper, *The Plain Truth*, a friend to BSA (see, interview with Delores Parmer [Woodtor], and *The Black Rap*, 17 March 1969). The BSA demands were very similar to Black student demands at other institutions. For evidence of common themes, see, Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, Peterson, *Black Students on White Campuses*, and Richard McCormick, *The Black Student Protest Movement at Rutgers* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

[53] Jack Peltason to Robert Rogers, 22 May 1968, and Robert Rogers to Jack Peltason, 5 June 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-81, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[54] Melvin Rothbaum to Jack Peltason, 19 February 1969, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives.

[55] BSA, "Faculty Senate Fiasco," 16 February 1969, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives; BSA, "Blacks Meet with Chancellor," Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives.

[56] BSA flyer, "Support the BSA in the Negotiation With the Chancellor," Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives; Leo Glende, "Operations Supervisor Report," 17 February 1969, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives; V. L. Kretschmer to Jack Peltason, 18 February 1969, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives.

[57] For articles and letters to the editor regarding the library card burning incident, see, *The Daily Illini*, 18-21 February 1969.

[58] Jane Loeb, "Long-Term Retention, Performance, and Graduation of Disadvantaged College Students in an Educational Opportunities Program," 1, 5, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. Jane Loeb.

[59] Bowers, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program," 16-18.

[60] "The Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign," *Campus Report* 3 (March, 1970): 3. Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. James D. Anderson.

[61] Bowers, "The Special Educational Opportunities Program," 16.

[62] Robert A. Waller to Charles Warwick, "Comparison of LAS SEOP Freshmen and a Random Sample of other LAS Freshmen on GPA for Fall 1968-1969," conducted by Lawrence Schiamberg, Special Educational Opportunities File, 1968-1970, File Number 25/2/17, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[63] College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, "Highlights of the Annual Report, 1969-1970," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[64] College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, "Highlights of the Annual Report, 1969-1970," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[65] Jane Loeb, "Long-Term Retention, Performance, and Graduation of Disadvantaged College Students in an Educational Opportunities Program," 1, 5, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. Jane Loeb.

[66] Jane Loeb, "Performance and Retention of Students in the Educational Opportunities Program," 9, Clipped Article File obtained from Dr. Jane Loeb.

[67] "Report to the President, University of Illinois, Activity in the Area of Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, 1966-1967," 4, Senate General Boards and Committees, Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, File Number 4/6/0/19, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[68] Ibid., 8.

[69] Mack, *A Systematic Study*, 22.

[70] Ibid., 46.

[71] See, Cross, *Shades of Black*, William Grier and Price Cobbs, *Black Rage* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), and Alvin Poussaint and Linda McLean, "Black Roadblocks to Black Unity," *Negro Digest* 17 (November 1968); Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 49; For characterizations of Negroes or Uncle Toms by Black Power ideologues see Breitman, *Malcolm X Speaks*, 7-12, Brown, *Die! Nigger! Die!*, i-iii, and Julius Lester, *Look Out Whitey!*, 94; For a more thorough discussion of factors contributing to a formation of Blacker-than-thou attitudes and behaviors, types of students sustained by such notions, and the consequences of such notions, see, Napper, "Chapter Two: The Politics of Becoming Black," *Blacker Than Thou*.

[72] Student Counseling Service and Mental Health Division of the Health Service, "Confidential Draft: Suggestions for Controlling Intimidation," Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives.

[73] Albert Gray, "Who Are You," *Irepodun*, 1972, 61.

[74] The argument that use of Black vernacular conveys a certain meaning is taken from Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature*, 81.

[75] "Blacker Than Thou," *Drums*, September, 1968; This concept of a continuum of ideology is instructive. The author's concept permits fluidity and movement. Instead of pitting Black students against each other and placing ideologies at opposing poles, Black student/BSA ideology can slide up and down a continuum.

[76] "What Are You Doing, Super Cool, Super Militant, Super Niggers?" *Drums*, 17 October 1969.

[77] For a thorough discussion of how a masculinist definition of Blackness confined and alienated Black women in general and writers in particular, see, Madhu Dubey, *Black Women Novelists and the Nationalist Aesthetic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); for an example of how it affected one-time Black Panther Party Chairman, Elaine Brown, see, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992); Also, thoughts and attitudes of individual Black women on the masculine notion of Blackness are included in Flowers, *African American Nationalist Literature;* Often, the emphasis on Blackness relegated discussions of economic class to the periphery, also. According to William Exum, the denial of the reality of economic class on college campuses was due in part to the shared beliefs about the negative qualities implied by being middle-class such as "tomming" and lack of revolutionary consciousness (*Paradoxes of Protest,* 168); One group who did recognize class concerns as central in African American stratification was the Black Panther Party. For a discussion of Panther ideology, see, G. Louis Heath, ed., *The Black Panther Leaders Speak: Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver and Company Speak Out Through the Black Panther Party's Official Newspaper* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1976).

[78] "To All Black Women," *Yombo,* May 1972; "What We Have for You," *Yombo,* May 1972.

[79] Donald Yankelovich, "The New Morality," *Equal Opportunity* 8 (Spring 1975): 12-21, 24, cited in Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest,* 167.

[80] "Black Nationalism," *The Black Rap,* 18 February 1969.

[81] "Black Womanhood, *The Black Rap,* 17 March 1969.

[82] See, interviews with Jacqueline Triche (Atkins), Christine Cheatom (Holtz), and Sandra Norris (Phillips).

CHAPTER 6

"WE HOPE FOR NOTHING; WE DEMAND EVERYTHING"

Black UIUC student activism through BSA produced responses and control efforts by UIUC administrators. BSA and university officials continued to debate the merits of particular demands and the implementation of those on which they could come to a consensus or compromise. To what extent were the Black UIUC students from 1965 to 1975 successful in changing the university to reflect their vision of a proper educational institution? As William Exum suggests in his study on Black students attending New York University's University College from 1966 to 1971, several indices can be used to determine success and failure,

> the principal goals of black students, the extent to which they were achieved, and the extent to which those achieved were implemented--that is, how much change resulted and how permanent it was; the indirect or unanticipated consequences, positive and negative, of black student efforts; the subjective views of black student success held by students themselves and others within and outside the College.[1]

Using his indices as a guide, this chapter will examine the extent and nature of the successes and failures of Black UIUC students' demands. In particular, this chapter will describe university efforts in the establishment of an Afro-American Studies Program and the Afro-American Cultural Program as lasting and permanent changes, despite the high turn-over rate in Directors of both units in their first few years of existence. Next, it will examine the unanticipated consequences of the Black UIUC student movement in the form of backlash against Black students with national, state, and university legislation. Finally, using the interviews, the chapter will highlight briefly the views of Black students who attended the university from 1965 to 1975. Each interviewee was asked what they gained from their experience in the Black student movement and the strengths and weaknesses of the movement as they saw it.

Afro-American Studies Program

In his review of Black Studies across the nation, Alan Colon found common themes. First, the programs often were hastily organized in response to Black student

demands. This lack of preparation time often translated into problems with longevity, direction, purpose, and institutionalization. Also, Black Studies programs shared three common purposes: descriptive, to disseminate factual information regarding the cultural, historical, scientific and educational developments and achievements of Black people; corrective, to defend Blacks against racist stereotypes and distorted historical accounts; and prescriptive, to project directions that would secure and enhance the future status of Black people through the resolution or alleviation of group problems.[2] According to Colon, some critics of the emerging departments and programs discussed their tenuous positions on college campuses. Several factors could hamper their institutionalization and their legitimacy: the marginality of Black Studies as an institutional entity, the absence of a well-devised program philosophy accentuating rather than alleviating tensions resulting from the struggle for the program content and faculty composition, fiscal realities challenging program survival, and related long-range problems of institutionalization and legitimization including student enrollment, recruitment and tenure of faculty, and graduate education.[3]

UIUC administrators, faculty, and students wrestled with the purposes of and problems facing the creation of Black Studies on campus. In an institutional effort to create a body to take on the task, Chancellor Jack Peltason named a Faculty-Student Commission on Afro-American Life and Culture (FSCAALC) on 27 February 1969.[4] Faculty members on the Commission came from a variety of departments and colleges including Law, Education, Psychology, English, Social Work, and Physics. Student Commission members were either BSA executive council members or committee chairs. Robert Eubanks, Professor of Civil Engineering and Black faculty member, was named Chair. The Commission was charged with the mission of researching the developing Black Studies departments/programs across the country. After gathering and analyzing the information, they were asked to prepare recommendations to facilitate the development of Black Studies at UIUC.[5]

Individual attempts were made to initiate Black-centered courses before the creation of FSCAALC. In 1967, the Illinois State legislature passed the Ethnic Group Bill which declared that, "The teaching of history shall include a study of the role and contributions of American Negroes and other ethnic groups."[6] Though directed at Kindergarten through senior high schools, UIUC History department faculty attempted to integrate such material in the history survey course offered to undergraduates. They also discussed the merits of such inclusion at the Third Annual Conference on Afro-American History held at UIUC in November 1968.[7] As early as October 1968, one month after the arrests at the Union and four months before BSA issued its demands, certain UIUC faculty and administrators anticipated Black student demands and discussed the possibility of a center for the study of the African American experience. In an 8 October 1968 proposal, LAS Dean Robert Rogers, suggested the development of such a center whose primary concern would be "the development of studies relating to the Negro and his experience on the American continent."[8] As a first step, individual Black-centered courses in LAS were devised for the following semester. Also, an Afro-American Lecture Series was planned in which prominent Black figures would be invited to campus and asked to give a public lecture for students and the Urbana-Champaign community. BSA was included in the choice of speakers and also hosted receptions for the guests.[9] These individual attempts appeased many Black students, but the BSA demands and the creation of FSCAALC accelerated the development of a cohesive Black Studies program.

In preparing for a Black Studies program, one of FSCAALC's primary tasks was to develop a working program philosophy. Soon after its inception, the Commission developed a definition of Black Studies,

> The field of Afro-American studies is defined as an interdisciplinary area of scholarly study which includes the humanities, the law, the arts, and the behavioral sciences insofar as they pertain specifically to the American Black but also insofar as they are directly related to the particular problems of Afro-American life.[10]

Goals for the program included information and research. Students majoring in Black Studies would be equipped with the basic tools and techniques necessary to attack the

problems "engendered through centuries of social, psychological, and economy tyranny."[11] Under the auspices of LAS and Dean Rogers, a search committee was formed to find a Director for the new academic program. Like FSCAALC, the committee was comprised of students designated by BSA's executive council and faculty members. The committee established guidelines for the prospective candidates: s/he should be deeply concerned with Afro-American Studies and identify with the Black experience and community, s/he should be a scholar acceptable to the UIUC academic community, and s/he should be "a vigorous and forceful personality able to conduct the affairs of the program in the context of student, faculty, and administrative pressures."[12]

Professors were needed to teach the additional course offerings, however according to FSCAALC, there was a shortage of UIUC professors (both Black and White) with the academic background to teach the courses. The committee, with the support FSCAALC, proposed a three-pronged approach. First, they encouraged departments to recruit permanent specialized faculty (this can be tied directly to the BSA demand for more Black professors though non-Black professors who could teach Black-centered courses were recruited, also). Second, they advised the use of visiting professors to develop and teach the new courses. Third, they looked to graduate students as a future pool of professors. By recruiting graduate students with an interest in Black Studies and developing their talents, UIUC could deepen its pool of possible faculty (the recruitment and admission of more Black graduate students also was a BSA demand).[13] FSCAALC offered to assist departments in their efforts to recruit professors and create new courses. However, Chair Robert Eubanks was careful to indicate that the creation of Black-centered courses did not mean that Black issues should not be integrated in traditional courses.[14] The Black contributions to and experience in America needed to be included in traditional American history, literature, and art courses not simply in courses created solely for Black Studies.

The most successful first attempt at increasing course offerings was the Afro-American Lecture Series institutionalized in the form of History 199. Students enrolled for

one credit hour and wrote a paper on one of the lectures or an aspect of African American culture. Speakers represented a variety of disciplines and discussed a myriad of topics. Reverend Channing Phillips, who placed fourth in the presidential balloting on the Democratic ticket in 1968, spoke about "Being Black in America;" Val Gray Ward, a Black dramatist, spoke about the "Concert Voice of the Black Writer;" Percival Borde, a scholar of Caribbean and African culture, gave a lecture entitled "The Talking Drums;" Alex Haley, editor of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X,* spoke about his work-in-progress, *Roots;* Wardell Gaynor, an associate producer of a television show, spoke about his program "Of Black America;" Reverend C. T. Vivian, Southern Christian Leadership Conference member, gave a lecture entitled, "The Black Church in Transition;" and A. B. Spellman, author and participant in the television show, "Black Heritage," gave a lecture entitled "Toward a Saner Base for the New Black Music." Over 300 students--and not just Black students--enrolled in the course.[15] Most lectures were held in the Auditorium because of Urbana-Champaign community attendance. LAS Dean Robert Waller, estimated that between 1,300 and 1,800 people attended various lectures. Anticipating the drawing power of James Baldwin, his lecture was relocated to the basketball stadium.[16]

The Department of History and the College of LAS conducted a survey to gauge student satisfaction with the lecture series. Seventy-six students (25% of those enrolled in the course) overwhelmingly ranked the series as outstanding though the administration recognized that those who were dissatisfied with the course may not have completed the questionnaire. Students liked the idea of taking the course for credit, using papers as the primary determinant in grades, and believed they were graded fairly on their papers (although four indicated that the grading was too easy). Most indicated that they would have liked a regularly scheduled discussion group in conjunction with the lectures. Also, most appreciated the variety in lecture topics. Approximately half enjoyed the predominantly cultural nature of the lectures while the other half would have appreciated a more "sociological-political approach." The main criticisms of the series included the need

for discussion groups and the discontinuity of lecture topics. When asked to self-report who they would like to participate in future lecture series, the top four choices were, in order, Jesse Jackson, Chicago civil rights activist and leader of Operation Breadbasket, Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party Minister of Information, Stokely Carmichael, one-time SNCC Chairman, and Fred Hampton, Chairman of the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party (all of whom eventually came to campus as part of the lecture series or as BSA invited speakers). Though one student wrote, "After getting a B+, I would not recommend this course to anyone no matter what it's worth," LAS considered the following statement typical for the course, "I can sincerely say that this was the best course that I have taken at this University or anywhere else. If more courses were structured similarly, perhaps institutionalized education would not be so irrelevant and useless. This is the first time I have ever wanted to thank anyone for a course."[17]

In the 1969-1970 academic year, the course fell under the auspices of the College of LAS and was renamed LAS 199. Heeding the advice of previous students enrolled in the class, coordinators of the series altered the course. Students now were assigned three books and a final exam. Students could choose from the following list of books: *Myth of the Negro Past* (Melville Herskovits), *Black Rage* (William Grier and Price Cobbs), a *Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, Nobody Knows My Name* (James Baldwin), *Soul On Ice* (Eldridge Cleaver), *Before the Mayflower* (Lerone Bennett), *Invisible Man* (Ralph Ellison), *Souls of Black Folk* (W. E. B. DuBois), *Selected Poems* (Gwendolyn Brooks), and *Betrayal of the Negro* (R. W. Logan).[18] Lecturers included Philip Durham and Everette Jones(co-authors of *The Black Cowboys*), Gwendolyn Brooks (Poet Laureate of Illinois), Rod Rodgers and Company (professional dancers), Calvin Marshal (President of the Black Economics Development Council), Kermit Coleman (America Civil Liberties Union lawyer and Director of the Illinois Ghetto Project), and David Driskell (Chairman of the Department of Art at Fisk University). According to one report, 310 students enrolled in the course and received three hours credit.[19] 285 students

completed the course, and the average grade (not including those students who deferred their grade) was a 3.25 (on a 4.0 scale).[20] A separate report found similar results. 312 students completed the course, and the average grade was a 3.16.[21] SEOP Dean Clarence Shelley recognized the importance of the lecture series beyond an academic endeavor and commented on its broader significance in helping allay Black student concerns and frustration on campus, "I think more than any other single activity on campus this program has been responsible for the intellectual and cultural growth of the SEOP students for experiences in light of the social and political pressures to which they have been subjected."[22]

While individual new courses were being devised and offered, FSCAALC discussed the administrative structure of the future Black Studies Program and its institutionalization. Should it be a department, a center, an institute, or some other unit? The BSA demands issued in February 1969 called for "the immediate establishment of an autonomous Black Studies Department." As BSA grew wary of university commitment to creating and supporting an autonomous program, they demand that the program *not* be institutionalized as an independent unit in Spring 1969. Instead of creating a separate department with is own faculty, courses with a Black focus would continue using an interdisciplinary approach with faculty remaining in their primary departments. Dr. Eubanks agreed with the second version of the BSA demand, "My overwhelming reason is the difficulty which an Afro-American Studies Department would encounter in the acquisition of University of Illinois level staff." He doubted that Black professors who specialized in Black issues would want to be segregated in a department outside their discipline. For instance, he doubted a Black professor with a specialization in African American history would want to be divorced from his/her colleagues in the Department of History. As for "University of Illinois level staff," Dr. Eubanks explained that, "We have refused to insult the students or the faculty by attempting to fill these [positions] with people who will lower the caliber of the faculty at the University of Illinois. This does not

mean that we are hung up on degrees." Dr. Eubanks and others preferred candidates with doctoral degrees, but the lack of a doctorate did not preclude faculty appointments.[23] Dr. Eubanks attributed the slow-moving pace of institutionalization to the Commission's dedication to developing a coherent program philosophy, structured courses, and a strong faculty base.[24]

Historian John Blassingame reflected on the implications of the adjusted policy for hiring faculty, "While I accept many of the complaints against the traditional academic degrees, it is clear that Urban League officials and local black preachers are not, in very many cases, prepared to teach the college level courses in black studies that have been assigned." Blassingame's assertion may be more applicable to certain individuals and not for others, but is an important one in light of Black Studies Departments attempting to gain respect within the university system. The fact that the AASP did not have a full-time director meant that it did not always have an advocate or receive the attention it deserved and desperately needed in its early stages of development. Also, the frequent turnover meant that a coherent program and continuity was difficult to attain. However, his discussion of a lack of "qualified" instructors may be only mildly appropriate for UIUC. Not all new faculty members held doctorates, but many of the course instructors did have bachelor's or master's degrees and academic backgrounds.[25]

By Fall 1970, African Americans undergraduates constituted only 3.9 percent (944 students) of the UIUC student population.[26] However, their numbers did not deter the lecture series or the development of Black-centered courses; after all, the call for the initiation of a Black history class was made by CORE when less than a total of 300 Black students attended the UIUC campus in late 1966. Again, the 1970-1971 lecturers discussed a variety of topics in different disciplines. Invited speakers included dancer and anthropologist Pearl Primus, Professor of English and Director of Afro-American Studies at Iowa State University Charles Davis, Chicago reporters L. F. Palmer and Burleigh Hines, Black comedian and activist Dick Gregory, Chicago poet Don L. Lee (Haki

Madhubuti), musician Tony Zamora, linguist Orlando Taylor, artist Charles White, and former UIUC student and BSA President turned lawyer David Addison. In 1970, William Jackson and William Plater, LAS Deans, projected that the average 1971 lecture attendance would be 875 students, making it one of the largest courses offered on campus.[27] In the Spring of the 1970-1971 academic year, the College of LAS responded to the popularity of LAS 199 and proposed a follow-up course, LAS 291: "The Black World: Perspectives." Enrollment was open to Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors with prior relevant coursework.[28]

Also in 1970, LAS reflected on the lecture series. Administrators decided that it indeed had fulfilled it's objectives of exposing students--Black and White--to Black history, literature, and performance, but sought a broader incorporation of Black themes in traditional disciplines. College departments responded with Black-oriented courses in history, political science, psychology, sociology, and English. Courses established in Spring 1971 included the following:

Elementary Education 199:	Black Curriculum Methods in Early Childhood Education; 2 or 3 credit hours
Anthropology 199:	Cultural and Political Revolution; 3 credit hours; consent of instructor necessary to enroll
Sociology 221:	Contemporary Society; 3 credit hours
Psychology 293:	Police-Black Interaction; 3 credit hours; junior standing, three sociology and/or psychology courses and consent of instructor necessary to enroll
English 385:	Ritual, Race, and Revolution: The Forms and Fantasies of Racial Conflict; 3 credit hours; consent of instructor necessary to enroll
Speech 293:	Language and Social Cohesion; 2 credit hours; sophomore standing necessary to enroll
Speech 199:	Interracial Communication and Persuasion; 3 credit hours[29]

As an example of themes in the new courses, the syllabus for "Political Science 199/293, A Survey of Black Political Thought and Movements: United States, Africa, and the

Caribbean," offered in the Spring semester of 1971 by Mr. Walter Strong, a graduate student in the Department of Political Science, read:

> This course will be a survey study of modern Black political thought and movements in the United States, Africa and the Caribbean. It will be conducted as a lecture-discussion. Each week we will center discussion around the political expression of black political thinkers and movements; i.e., W. E. B. DuBois, the Black Panthers, Black Muslims, US, Nyerere, Nkrumahism, Negritude, Caribbean Nationalism, etc. Relevant literature will be considered to gain knowledge of black political thought and movements and a model construct will be designed to provide a mode for political analysis.

Required books for the course included Harold Cruse's, *The Crisis of Negro Intellectual,* Frantz Fanon's, *The Wretched of the Earth,* Ivar Oxaal's, *Black Intellectuals Come to Power,* and Immanual Wallerstein's, *Africa: The Politics of Unity.*[30]

FSCAALC plans to coordinate the new courses under the umbrella of Black Studies continued, but the Commission was riddled with tensions throughout its existence. Debates and arguments within the Commission and between the Commission and other university units (such as the Black cultural center and BSA) helped contribute to its demise. BSA criticized the slow-moving nature of FSCAALC deliberations and questioned Commission members' commitment to Black students. Also, the growing number of Commission participants (Urbana-Champaign residents were invited to participate) hindered fruitful discussions and action, and the intransigence of BSA representatives on certain issues precluded compromise. Frustrated that the Commission refused to adopt "a more meaningful organization and 'vote itself out of business,'" Dr. Eubanks resigned as Chair in December 1969, and unilaterally recommended to the Chancellor that the Commission be reorganized.[31]

Accordingly, the Chancellor disbanded FSCAALC and established the Afro-American Studies Commission (AASC) in January 1970. One of the old Commission's primary objectives--the development of a program philosophy--was reached, but the institutionalization of a Black Studies program remained unfinished. Dr. Eubanks suggested the new Commission focus on the establishment of an Afro-American Academic Program to be headed by a professional director as well as the establishment of a cultural

center and a community outreach program. 16 February 1970, Dr. Reverend Renford Gaines became Interim Executive Director of AASC and Interim Director of the Academic Program. When he tendered his resignation in August, Dr. Eubanks became Interim Executive Director of AASC and LAS Dean Delano Cox was hired as the Director of the Academic Program on a 1/3-time basis.[32] Academic Program objectives included parts of the former FSCAALC duties including providing assistance to academic units with the recruitment of Black faculty and the development of a Black Studies program.

While speakers were invited through History 199 and LAS 199, BSA invited many other prominent Black figures to campus. As with the lecture series, topics varied. In May 1968, Robert Carter, a University of Illinois at Chicago campus professor, called for separate but equal Black and White societies and for Black pride; on 23 October 1968, Julius Lester spoke about the need for Blacks to return to their communities and the possibilities of violence as a way toward liberation as well as autographed copies of his book, *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!;* on 27 October 1968, Eldridge Cleaver, an influential Black Panther Party member, spoke to the campus; in November 1969, Fannie Lou Hamer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegate to the 1964 Democratic National Convention and speaker at the 1968 Convention, addressed the student body and discussed the need for political activism.[33] BSA received financial support from the university in hosting the speakers' visits to campus. Often speakers would address the student body, meet with Black students in an informal discussion session, attend receptions hosted by BSA, and consent to an interview to be published in BSA newspapers.

The establishment of a Black Studies program at UIUC advanced closer to reality in the early 1970s with a set of proposals by AASC in which the Commission further defined the role of such a program in higher education. Commission proposals mirrored the claims made by Colon, that Black Studies primarily were used as descriptive, corrective, and prescriptive. Elements of each were found in UIUC's rationale for Black Studies. First,

UIUC asserted that a Black Studies program was useful for instructional purposes. Offering new courses with previously absent African Americans at the center would expose Blacks and Whites to the richness of Black culture and reinsert the African American in American history, literature, etc. Second, research on Black Americans and Blacks in the Diaspora was necessitated by "events of recent years [that] compelled an often previously uninterested academic community to focus on the many phases of the Black American." To facilitate and promote this new research interest, UIUC library holdings needed to be expanded. Third, the "pubic service" role of a public institution (especially a land-grant institution) was evoked. Administrators recognized the "urgent need" for the university to commit itself to social change in the economically and educationally underdeveloped communities of Illinois. This more complete understanding of the role and purpose of Black Studies brought the program closer to reality, but a coherent program was yet to be initiated.[34]

Some Black UIUC students voiced dissatisfaction with the development of Black Studies. In a *Daily Illini* article, BSA member Michael Wilson pointed to a class bias in the proposed program. He stated that the focus on teaching Black history, literature, and culture was only relevant to middle-class Blacks: "A Black Studies Program based on Black history and culture alone will not help the masses of Blacks who are preoccupied with the problems of jobs, housing, and education. . . . More particularly, our Black Studies Program must provide the tools that will enable us to work with the people in our communities." Classes on housing rights of the poor and consumer fraud in low income communities were proposed (but not implemented).[35] One student went further in decrying AASP and the university in general. In the 26 November 1969 edition of *The Daily Illini,* BSA member James Eggleston argued for Black UIUC students to leave the University. Declaring "Integration is dead!" Eggleston asked that "all black students who are suffering through this white hell begin to consider the establishment of an all black university. Here the ideology of black liberation could be researched and taught." Citing the smaller number

of SEOP students admitted in the 1969-1970 academic year as an example of the university's inadequate commitment to Black students, Eggleston suggested that all Black students transfer to an historically Black college by their Junior year. Illustrating his point, and closing his article, Eggleston included a poem entitled, "Whitey College USA":

> E - E - E to get a degree,
> From the whitey institution,
> but dig brothers and sisters when you
> finish this shit,
> Take a bath in a cleaning solution.
> Cause it's STANKY
> Can't you smell it?
> When you get it on your hands,
> When you get it on your mind,
> It's like taking a destructo capsule
> to get a freaky-hippy, nippy-Negro hippy-high!
> It blows your mind,
> A blown mind is hard to find ---
> again.[36]

James Eggleston did not transfer from UIUC to a Black college and neither did most Black students. The combination of factors including financial aid packages, close proximity to Chicago, and the prestigious reputation of UIUC kept Black students in Urbana-Champaign. Instead of transferring, they continued to serve on university committees to ensure that the AASP became the reality they had envisioned.

A high turn over rate in Directorship plagued the beginning of the organization of a Black Studies program. After two years as Director of the Academic Program, Dean Cox resigned to become Chairman of an eight member advisory committee on SEOP. His new duties included the exploration and assessment of the administrative policies relative to SEOP and the recommendation of policies and procedures for the development of academic and counseling services for SEOP students.[37] During his tenure as Director, Dean Cox suggested that steps be taken to institutionalize the Academic Program in the form of an

Interdisciplinary Institute of Afro-American Studies. The faculty for the unit would be drawn from existing departments and serve on a joint appointment basis. He suggested the continuation of recruitment efforts to bring new professors to campus, the use of professors with a background in Black-centered research already on campus to teach courses, and the use of non-Black professors in staffing the program. Also, he discussed the need for a bibliography of UIUC library holdings to provide instructional resources for the faculty and students.[38] A minor in African American Studies was considered feasible, but the possibility of a major was ruled out due to lack of available classes and adequate coordination.

In 1972, the Afro-American Studies Program (AASP) became an institutional reality with Mr. Walter Strong as the Director. After one year, Mr. Strong resigned, and Mrs. Ora Brown became Interim Director. By 1974, the AASP had yet another Director, Dr. John Stewart.[39] Reasons for the frequent turnover were unclear. Mr. Strong speculated that many Directors had difficulty reconciling the division of duty expected of them. For instance, Mr. Strong was a graduate student, Instructor of Political Science, and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs while acting as Director. Likewise, Dean Cox's duties were divided between the College of LAS, SEOP, and the Academic Program (that was soon to become AASP).[40] In the early to middle 1970s, the AASP was organized in the sense that it became a reality, however its institutional future remained vague during its formative years. Also, the basis for longevity as an institution was established, but its status on campus was more difficult to determine. As Colon asserted in his work on Black Studies departments, "It is one thing for Black Studies to be tolerated in an institutional setting. For it to be accepted on par with other programs of study is quite another matter."[41]

Afro-American Cultural Program

As the AASP was becoming a reality, so too, was the Black cultural center. Initially included in BSA's list of demands, the creation of the center was assigned to

SEOP administrators and staff in Fall 1969. However, after realizing it would put an undue strain on SEOP, FSCAALC took over its development and institutionalization and assigned the task to a committee composed of both faculty and BSA representatives. Perhaps because its purpose was the creation and investigation of Black culture and not an academic enterprise or because administrators were much less concerned with hiring a cultural center director with a doctorate degree than they were for staffing the AASP, the cultural center faced less obstacles in reaching institutionalization (in the sense that it became a reality; its status on campus remained tenuous). In the Fall semester of the 1969-1970 academic year, the Afro-American Cultural Program (AACP) opened with Val Gray Ward, artist, dramatist, and former History 199 guest lecturer, as its first Director 1 August 1969. Dr. Eubanks, who at the time was still FSCAALC Chair, described her duties as the coordination of cultural and artistic activities on campus. According to a university press release, Director Ward further explained her duties to include "making Black students aware of their heritage, and sharing our rich Black culture with those who are not aware of our contributions."[42] The AACP was located in a small University-owned house until larger accommodations could be found. All students (but, especially Black students) and Black Urbana-Champaign residents were welcome at the center.

The AACP was not just a recreation center or meeting place for Black UIUC students and Black Urbana-Champaign residents. Under Director Ward, AACP sponsored several culturally centered workshops including a writer's workshops where students read, learned about, and wrote poetry and essays, a dance workshop where students learned and performed African dances, and manhood/womanhood workshops where issues of gender roles and male/female relationships were discussed. Often, workshop participants would showcase their talents in shows or publications. The center became the campus locus of the creation and exultation of Black culture and the Black aesthetic and was extremely popular with Black students. Many considered it a haven from the hostile academic and social atmosphere of the campus. Also, it hosted the FSCAALC and AASC meetings.

The relationship between Director Ward and FSCAALC Chair Eubanks was strained. Dr. Eubanks lauded her for her efforts and her artistic ability, but described her as "difficult to work with and hard to help." He attributed part of the problem to her lack of administrative experience. In his opinion, her uneasiness about her lack of college experience (she did not have a college diploma) and assumption that the faculty did not respect her, further exacerbated the tensions. To compensate, "she mislead and incensed the students to get their support." Also, Dr. Eubanks cited disagreements over control of the funds in the budget. As of 1969, FSCAALC controlled the funds for AACP. Director Ward argued for AACP autonomy and, according to Eubanks, resented the fact that she had to have his approval for expenditures. Director Ward's interpretation of events was difficult to ascertain since no record of her opinions could be found. In the opinion of BSA, Dr. Eubanks precipitated her resignation. BSA accused Dr. Eubanks of collusion with university administrators in disparaging Director Ward and a lack of dedication to the cultural center. Just a few years earlier, Dr. Eubanks was the BSA faculty advisor (1967-1968). But, now BSA questioned his "sensitivity and rapport with Blacks" and depicted him as an autocrat who refused to share power. Robert Ray, Director of the Center from 1971 to 1973, remembered that Director Ward felt that the university created the Center as a "token" gesture to appease protesting Black students and doubted their dedication to supporting it. Amidst the turmoil, Director Ward announced her resignation near the middle of her term and officially resigned 31 August 1970.[43]

Dr. Eubanks, at this time Interim Director of the AASC, helped form a search committee to replace Director Ward. He cautioned against the appointment of a director not acceptable to Black students, "The strong interest and involvement of Black students in the Cultural Program makes it imperative that the Cultural Program Director be acceptable to them and be able to work with them."[44] According to Dr. Eubanks, he submitted the names of two possible candidates to BSA as the "sole organized voice of Black students on this campus." BSA rejected both and tendered their own list of candidates including

graduate students and undergraduates matriculating in June. The only candidate Dr. Eubanks and the administration thought possessed the requisite maturity and skills already had a previous commitment and could not fill the position. Again, Dr. Eubanks drafted a list of possible candidates. Antonio (Tony) Zamora, a professional musician, student of music, and former LAS 199 guest lecturer, was acceptable to the students and became Director in the Fall semester, 1970.[45]

At the same time as the search for a cultural center director was occurring, the university sponsored a Hearing Panel on Black-White Relationships. The Panel re-emphasized the need for such a center, and as a response to persistent racial tension on campus advocated the expansion of AACP,

> The Panel is under the impression that the facilities currently used for a Black Cultural Center were provided as an immediate step, in recognition of the fact that it would only serve temporarily while a more adequate facility is constructed or located. Black students are less certain than we are that the University views it as a temporary solution.[46]

Two years later, Robert Ray (Director, 1971-73) repeated the Panel's charge that university attempts to relocate the Center needed to be accelerated and openly expressed doubt that the Center would relocate for another two to three years.[47] Vice Chancellor for Campus Affairs, George Frampton, addressed the concerns. According to Vice Chancellor Frampton, UIUC remained committed to the cultural center and Black students. He reported that the university's budget request for 1971-1972 included $400,000 to be used to house AACP (as well as the AASP). He acknowledged that the amount allotted was not enough to support the center but cited an inability to convince the state board of education to improve the facility. However, he assured the Panel that, "We do not intend to give up. Only a first phase of the battle is over."[48]

Frustrated over a lack of cultural center autonomy (especially with regard to finances) and tensions between himself and Dr. Eubanks, Director Zamora resigned after only three weeks. Students accused Dr. Eubanks of being more loyal to the university than to the cultural center and Black students. BSA used the example of Director Wards' tense

relationship with Dr. Eubanks and her early resignation to prove their point. They refused to see another Director "chased out," rallied around Director Zamora, and demanded his reinstatement. In a petition calling for signatures, BSA openly doubted Dr. Eubanks' commitment to Black students and called for his resignation based on the fact that,

> 1. Dr. Eubanks is not and never has been attuned to the problems and ethos of the Black students of this university;
> 2. We have never considered Dr. Eubanks our representative; he is the representative of the university administration. We require a representative who is ours, not someone else's!
> 3. Dr. Eubanks has failed to work cooperatively with two former Directors of the Afro-American Culture Center [Val Gray Ward and Tony Zamora], resulting in their resignations. These directors had achieved great rapport with the Black students and community.[49]

In October 1970, days after the petition was circulated, Dr. Eubanks resigned as Interim Director of AASC. According to a UIUC press release on his resignation, Dr. Eubanks explained, "It is clear that misinformation, frustration and poor communication have caused a large number of Black students to feel that the present commission structure is ineffectual, and that I have been a major impediment to progress." Director Zamora was reinstated per the students' demands.[50]

Under Director Zamora, AACP's institutional structure grew as did its programs and workshops. His efforts brought AACP closer to the administrative nature and reality of other units on campus. For instance, when first organized, the center's only staff position was Director. Director Zamora brought in a significant number of staff members (usually graduate students) to facilitate in coordinating AACP activities including two assistant directors, a receptionist, a typist, an accountant, an historian, and two librarians. The workshops were institutionalized with undergraduate students filling the roles of coordinators and directors. Using his musical talent, Director Zamora organized a Lab Band including students and non-students from UIUC, Chicago, Champaign, New York, and Ghana, and a student singing group called Black Chorus. Both groups performed on campus, in local schools, other institutions of higher education in the state of Illinois, and

at various penal institutions. Also, the center published its first pamphlet in which the basis for cultural center operations was described, "Our purpose is to bring about self-awareness, self-appreciation, and Black unity through our culture. We emphasize the use of traditional and contemporary trends in African and Afro-American life styles, showing similarities which point to the oneness of Black culture. It is aimed at establishing a natural and scientific basis for the Black approach to life."[51] During this formative period, AACP made the first steps toward establishing longevity.

Mr. Zamora also established the character of the cultural center in that he helped mold it into a reflection of the Black Arts Movement sweeping the nation. The Black aesthetic became a conduit through which Black Power themes evolved and demonstrated the emancipatory nature and possibilities of Black culture. The development and celebration of a Black aesthetic, based on African American cultural traditions as opposed to a White or Western aesthetic based on White/Western cultural sensibilities, provided "a new frame of reference which transcends the limits of white concepts." Through it, African Americans could best express themselves and their unique perspective on reality. James Eggleston and other Black UIUC students emulated the writing style of poets and dramatists such as Haki Madhubuti and Amiri Baraka, participants in the Black Arts Movement. At the cultural center, they created Black art that would reflect Black beauty; Black literature that would reflect Black writing style; Black music that would reflect Black rhythms.[52]

As Dr. Eubanks stated, Black students felt connected to and invested in the cultural center. For instance, BSA sent a letter dated 23 July 1970, to Black UIUC Freshmen preparing to attend the university in the Fall of 1970. Addressed to "Brothers and Sisters," BSA apprised incoming Black students of the campus situation. The letter continued, "We have begun preparing for the fall semester and would like to acquaint you with the *political* situation of Blacks at the University of Illinois." (italics mine) Students were made aware of the status of the newly opened Cultural Program, the difficulty in retaining a Director,

and the Program's lack of autonomy due to certain administrators (most likely Dr. Eubanks though he was not mentioned by name). Autonomy was declared a must since the Center was to house and initiate cultural and political activities for Black students. The new Black UIUC students also were made aware of BSA as an organization, its upcoming elections, and possible programs. Just as it opened, the letter closed with an example of the influence of Black Power on the students: "[U]moja and Uhura, Ad-Hoc Committee."[53]

Mr. Zamora described his interaction with students fruitful and rewarding. He enjoyed interacting with them, watching and assisting them create cultural products, and considered them extremely bright. However, the stress of being torn between university commitments and concern for Black students, working to establish a solid foundation in the cultural center in an environment he considered hostile, and taking on administrative duties unfamiliar to him caused Mr. Zamora to resign permanently as Director in 1971 and distance himself from the university. Robert Ray, an Instructor in the Department of Music, became Mr. Zamora's successor. Under his direction, the center continued to focus on the arts including drama, dance, photography, and music. Director Ray resigned in mid 1973. His reasons for resigning were unclear, but in 1972, he alluded to the fact that if the Cultural Center's budget was cut he would leave, "That would tell me that the University does not have a commitment to the program and that I should look elsewhere for a job because in a few years they are going to phase the program out."[54] Bruce Nesbitt, coordinator of the Student Relations Program for the Office of Campus Programs and Services, became Interim Director in August 1973. He was appointed Director in 1974 and remained in that capacity until the late 1990s.

As an aside, the community outreach aspect of the Afro-American Studies Commission proposal received less attention.[55] However, Black students initiated community outreach programs through the cultural center and other campus units. The University YMCA offered an outlet with the Pal Program, founded in 1960. Parent and student captains in the program matched young Black children with UIUC students (both

Black and White) as a way to offer the children mature friendship and guidance. Student volunteers initiated individual activities with their "junior pals" and participated in group picnics and educational outings. In late 1971, BSA and Black community residents sponsored a Black National Liberation University to be held in a Champaign community center each Saturday. A tentative schedule of events included discussions on the structure of oppression and the historical development of Pan-Africanism, workshops on family building and nutrition, and counseling for those young men eligible for the Vietnam War draft.[56] Two years later, BSA became the Coalition of Afrikan People, and the Liberation University became the Harambee Institute. The specific goal of the Institute was, "a long, relentless and continuous struggle to create and perpetuate an institution which is alternative to and independent of the one that enslaves us here in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois and in America." Course offerings included physical development, political liberation seminars, and "Afrikan" dance and drumming workshops.[57]

By the early 1970s, the Afro-American Studies Commission's support for the Afro-American Studies Program and the Black cultural center began to take root. Budget constraints, frequent changeover of Directors, and the hasty nature of their conceptualization and institutionalization were early obstacles in ensuring program longevity. However, the university and students remained committed to their survival and both continued to eke out an existence. In evaluating other BSA demands, it is important to examine whether they were met and the degree to which they were met. For instance, the demand "that the Graduate College publicly state its commitment to admitting 15% Black students into the 1969-1972 classes" helped precipitate the formation of the Black Graduate Recruitment Committee, a group of Black graduate students hired by the university to travel around the country in an effort to recruit more Black graduate students. Their efforts added to the successful increase in Black graduate students enrolled at UIUC.

Table 2

BLACK GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENT ENROLLMENT, 1967-1975

Year	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of Black Graduate/Professional Students Enrolled	107	151	241	308	320	345	331	300	331
Black Graduate/ Professional Enrollment as Percent of Total	1.3	1.7	2.5	3.3	3.5	3.8	3.7	3.3	3.5

Source: D. J. Wermers, *Enrollment at the University of Illinois by Racial/Ethnic Categories: Fall Terms, 1967-1975* (Urbana: University Office of School and College Relations, December 1967), Report obtained from the University Office of Academic Policy Analysis.

The demand "that the university hire 500 Black faculty members over a four-year period beginning by hiring 150 Black faculty members for September 1969," was not met. It is difficult to know how to interpret this demand. BSA may have issued it as a sincere attempt to recruit 500 Black faculty (especially since a Ph.D. did not necessary preclude becoming a part of UIUC faculty), or perhaps the high number was bargaining tool. Regardless, it did heighten awareness of the paucity of Black faculty at UIUC. BSA demands were not the only factors in UIUC alteration of policy and programs, but they did help precipitate discussion and action on the part of administrators and faculty.[58]

Unintended Consequences

The nation, individual states, and various colleges and universities responded to the rise in youth activism on campuses with various forms of legislation in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The new bills, laws, and amendments differed from state to state and from university to university, but all were created to deter and punish certain kinds of activism. Black *and* White students were the targets of the legislation. As Black students protested against "racist school policies" and a lack of representation on campus, White students protested for the right to free speech and against the draft and the Vietnam War. Also, the

two groups were not necessarily counter to each other and formed coalitions when beneficial.[59] At institutions such as Berkeley, Kent State, Columbia, and Wisconsin, White students protested, boycotted, rallied, and rioted. At UIUC in 1970, White students, many involved in the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, protested the deferment of a William Kunstler campus appearance (Kunstler became famous after his defense of the Chicago Eight who were arrested during protests at the National Democratic Convention in 1968) and the presence of General Electric recruiters on campus (GE's involvement in the Vietnam War prompted the protest). Their protests sometimes turned violent. In the two days of protest following the deferment of the Kunstler appearance, thirty students were arrested and charged with participating in a riot and defying university regulations, an Air Force Recruiting Station was firebombed, and additional 147 students were arrested, a night-time curfew was set, and the National Guard was called in to restore order on campus.[60]

The nation responded to the student protests and demonstrations through federal legislation. United States Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert Finch, wrote a letter to UIUC President David Henry alerting him to new provisions enacted under the Higher Education Amendments of 1968 and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations Act of 1969. Both threatened to revoke financial aid if students were found guilty of participating in disruptive protest. The Higher Education Amendment read,

> No part of the funds appropriated under this Act shall be used to provide a loan, guarantee of a loan or a grant to any applicant who has been convicted by any court of general jurisdiction of any crime which involves the use of or the assistant to others in the use of force, trespass or the seizure of property under control of an institution of higher education to prevent officials or students at such an institution from engaging in their duties or pursuing their studies.

The "seizure of property" clause was a direct warning to those students participating in sit-ins, one of the most popular forms of protest employed by activists at the time. The Health, Education, and Welfare Amendments enumerated the kinds of financial aid to be revoked if students were convicted. Among the federal monies to be withheld were those

in the form of National Defense Education funds, Equal Opportunities Grants, and work-study funds. Black students in general and Black UIUC students in particular were highly dependent on such federal aid to attend school. Therefore, these new laws could have a major impact on Black student attendance if Black students were convicted of participating in campus unrest. Secretary Finch suggested Dr. Henry share the new legislative acts with faculty, administration, staff, and students to preempt possible misunderstandings.[61]

Also, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence issued a report in June 1969, regarding campus unrest across the nation. The Commission lamented "the violence and disorder that have swept the nation's campuses. Our colleges and universities cannot perform their vital functions in an atmosphere that exalts the struggle for power over the search for truth, the rule of passion over the rule of reason, physical confrontation over rational discourse." The Commission attributed the campus unrest to student perceptions of: gaps between professed ideals and actual performance, injustices that remain unremedied, the inequality of opportunity, and involvement in the war in Vietnam that "most of them believe is unjustified." Student efforts to improve the democratic system were encouraged, but the destruction of existing institutions was considered counterproductive and rash. Also, the Commission was disturbed by public and legislative reaction to the campus unrest that "would punish colleges and universities by reducing financial support, by passing restrictive legislation, or by political intervention in the affairs of educational minorities." They cautioned university administrators in their dealings with students and offered advice: the conception of a broad consensus between faculty, administrators, and students regarding permissible methods of presenting ideas, proposals and grievances and the consequences of going beyond them; the preparation and review of contingency plans for dealing with campus disorders in an effort to determine the circumstances under which institutions should use disciplinary procedures, police action, and court injunctions; the development of decision-making bodies enabling a rapid and effective deterrent of campus unrest and redress for grievances; and the improvement of

communication with students, alumni, and the general public to avoid misinformation and misunderstanding.[62]

From January to June 1969, the legislature in the State of Illinois also responded to campus unrest. UIUC never was mentioned by name in the legislation, but with the timing of the Acts and the fact that UIUC was the premier public institution in the state, it was doubtless that campus disorders at UIUC played a role in precipitating the legislation. One particular Act declared remaining on school property or disrupting the pursuit of educational activities illegal if the person(s) were told to depart. The consequence for defying the new law was a fine, jail time, or a combination of the two. Another Act, similar to the previously mentioned federal Acts, revoked any scholarship funded wholly or in part by the state if the holder participated in an unlawful disturbance directed against the administration of a college or university. A third provided for the expulsion of students from a state supported institution of higher learning for participation in vandalism, rioting, or other unlawful acts directed against the administration. Later the same year as this legislation became law, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence published its report explicitly warning states about the same sorts of laws made in Illinois.[63]

The UIUC Committee on Student Discipline answered the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence call for universities to improve communication between administrators and students and to establish a consensus regarding permissible methods of protest and the consequences of going beyond them. In a report to the Board of Trustees after the 9 September 1969 Illini Union demonstration, Chancellor Jack Peltason cited deficiencies in UIUC policy regarding the regulation of student demonstrations and advocated the "removal of any ambiguity about University policy toward disruptive actions and about the appropriate role of disciplinary subcommittees." President David Henry outlined four initial measures to correct the inadequacies in his report to the Trustees. One, the Urbana Senate Disciplinary Committee issued a clarifying

statement regarding "what is a disruptive or coercive action" and established that a specific "cease and desist" order did not need to be given in order to discipline a student for participation in a demonstration or protest. The new regulations would be distributed to incoming Freshmen when admitted and highly publicized across campus for those already enrolled. Two, a single hearing committee would be used for all students cited for discipline in the same incident. This would reduce the faculty hours involved in hearing and deciding the cases. Three, the Senate Committee on Discipline would not be permitted to make changes in procedure once charges were filed (such changes lengthened the trials of those arrested at the Union and made the process more confusing). Four, an Ad Hoc Senate Committee on University Disciplinary Authority and Procedures was established to examine other discrepancies in the disciplinary process and asked to submit a permanent plan for handling massive defiance of university regulations. These changes in policy were a direct response to the 9 September aftermath and were an attempt to simplify future proceedings and hearings.[64]

Alumni Impressions

Not only are tangible consequences of the Black student movement important in understanding the legacy of their efforts, personal views of successes and failures demonstrate what the students themselves took away from their experience. When interviewees were asked what they thought they gained from their involvement in the Black UIUC student movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, some commented on the development of leadership skills. Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) stated, "I think that if, in fact, we hadn't have had that movement, a lot of us who deem ourselves able to lead anything wouldn't have gotten the experience and the practice." She believed her participation in the leadership of the Black student movement spilled over into her current career as a lawyer and provided her with the skills to both work in coalitions and lead a group. Paul Brady and David Addison also attributed parts of their current career success as a lawyers to their involvement at UIUC. Likewise, Edna Long (Long-Green) described involvement in the

movement as a character building process. Black students learned how to take a beating, regroup, and recover. The ups and downs of the movement took their toll, but Black students continued to "kick the university in the ass regardless."

A second common answer to the question of what they gained from their experience was a certain kind of attitude toward Whites. Their contact with Whites (when it happened--many interviewees described the "separate worlds" of Black and White students) sometimes was hostile. Certain professors doubted their intellectual competence in the classroom; certain student organizations and associations did not welcome Black students; the 9 September arrests and the resulting BSA demands led to White (and sometimes Black) student, faculty, administrator, and community backlash. Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) commented that she gained a strong dislike for Whites while at UIUC. She acknowledged that such a stance "wouldn't serve you well throughout life," but described it as a defense mechanism Black students used to enable them to continue in their academic and social lives at UIUC. Boyd Jarrell explained, "I came [to the university] with my racial hostilities well entrenched and well organized. I left with those intact because there was nothing that the university ever did that lead me to believe that White people were going to relent." Not all of the interviewees left with such sentient toward Whites, but many discussed the scars left by racism.

Many interviewees also commented on life-long friendships and a sense of community fostered during their time at UIUC. Some experienced them through sorority or fraternity networks, BSA membership, or a combination of the two. As mentioned in a previous chapter, some interviewees still call each other every 9 September to commemorate their arrests. Most interviewees concurred with Paul Brady's characterization of the worth of participating in such a movement, "There was a time in my life when I really and truly believe I was doing something that was important. . . . I wanted to make a difference." Together they sought to force UIUC to reckon with their Blackness and address their concerns. They survived "the Chief," intransigent

administrators and faculty, and an often racially hostile campus environment. Most interviewees reflected back on their days at UIUC with affection. They often found it difficult to balance academics, a social life, and activism, but enjoyed the social and activist experience and valued the education. As Edna Long (Long-Green) stated, "I don't know if I love Illinois, but I love what Illinois did for me. . . . It was a good fit despite coming in the backdoor."

When asked to identify the strengths of the Black student movement, interviewees overwhelmingly identified unity and moral righteousness. James Eggleston described Black student cohesion as the primary factor allowing them to survive at UIUC. Because of the self-segregated campus social environment, Black students remained in a reality separate from White students. According to interviewees, Black students "did everything together. We studied together, partied together, protested together." Interviewees remembered that Black students spent so much time together not because they *had* to but because they *wanted* to. Christine Cheatom (Holtz) commented on the Black student sense of righteousness and described Black student movement participants as infected with the idealism and innocence of youth. They believed in the moral correctness and righteousness of their demands and would not be swayed. They truly were interested in bettering the situation of Black people in America and involved themselves in campus activities for that purpose. "None of it was about, 'this will look good on my transcript.'" According to Terry Townsend, "It was a time when you grew." They experienced set-backs and adversity but considered it a learning process, often a painful learning process, but a lesson nonetheless.

Many interviewees believed that a major strength of the Black student movement of the 1960s and 1970s was that they were able to leave a legacy on campus. Many stay in touch with the university through friendships, sorority or fraternity chapters, or the Alumni Association and are aware of the lasting changes begun during their years at UIUC. Several plan to return to UIUC for a reunion scheduled for Fall 1998 in which they will

celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of SEOP and their individual and group success. Interviewees believed their legacy included forcing the administration to recognize the heterogeneous quality of its student population and its need to sponsor organizations and activities that reflect diversity, to understand the need for more Black faculty and staff, and to be adaptable and think and act strategically. The increasingly diverse student population accelerated by the implementation of SEOP forced the university to confront issues previously ignored by faculty and administrators. As Jeffrey Roberts stated, "I think Black students, especially the 1968 group, changed the direction of the university. They definitely turned the ship around."

As one interviewee stated, some of the strengths of the Black student movement also were its weaknesses. Their sense of righteousness often translated into a refusal to compromise with university officials and stalled or halted many a negotiation. Their drive for unity sometimes created narrow definitions of Blackness and acceptable "Black" behavior. Their naiveté could lead to misdirected accusations of "collusion with the man" and alienated possible allies in the faculty and administration. For instance, many interviewees recognized the difficult position of Black faculty and administrators. The university expected them to act on its behalf (often in the capacity of negotiators defusing potentially disruptive protests), but Black students demanded an enormous amount of allegiance--the two roles were considered very distinct and different. Also, Jacqueline Triche (Atkins) discussed how the students' energy and commitment succeeded in creating a space and initiating dialogue but remembered that Black students did not use the space to their best advantage, "Once you push the envelope, once you create that void, once you've made people see that what was going on was not right, what's going to replace it?"

Many BSA demands were not accomplished. Others were only accomplished in part. That all their demands were not necessarily met does not mean that the students failed. Some of the demands, like the hiring of five hundred Black faculty members, were unrealistic. However, they drew attention to Black student concerns on campus and Black

community concerns in Urbana-Champaign. Also, the organization was able to exercise a great deal of power in university business usually reserved for faculty and administrators. BSA representatives served on university committees (a role previously deemed out of reach for students--especially undergraduates), helped conceive classes, chose which speakers came to campus, helped determine the direction of both the AASP and the AACP, and were consulted on issues pertaining to the Black student body. Their willingness to involve themselves in the administrative aspect of the university demonstrated a high level of commitment--at least for those who participated. The argument can be made that only a small number of Black students participated in the Black student movement at UIUC. Quantifying participation is difficult, but evidence (including the number arrested at the union) indicates that a significant number participated in some fashion. Even if it was only a small number of Black students who participated, they succeeded in changing the face of the university. In the years following their demands, UIUC considered BSA so significant that administrators would consult a group of students regarding university matters. They made BSA a force to be reckoned with and forced institutional response.

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[1] Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 125.

[2] Alan King Colon, *A Critical Review of Black Studies Programs* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1980), 6, 8.

[3] Colon, *A Critical Review*, 17, citing Elias Blake, Jr., and Henry Cobb, *Black Studies: Issues in Their Institutional Survival* (Washington, DC: Institute for Services to Education, 1976).

[4] The catalyst in the Commission's formation is unclear. BSA maintained that their demands precipitated its formation while UIUC maintained that faculty and administrators conceived the concept before BSA submitted its demands; Faculty members on the Commission included, Charles Quick (Law), Alan Peshkin (Education), Roy Malpass (Psychology), Kenneth Kinnamon (English), Sonia Clay (Social Work), and Walter Massey, (Physics) ("Afro-American Commission Issues Interim Report," *Campus Report* 3 (October 1969).

[5] Jeffrey Roberts, "Interview with Walter Strong: Black Studies," *Irepodun*, 1972.

[6] *School Code Amendments of 1967*, 75th General Assembly, 1st sess., (26 June 1967).

[7] College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, "Annual Report, 1967-1968," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives.

[8] Robert Rogers, "A Proposal," 8 October 1968, Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[9] Robert Waller to Billy Jackson, 20 September 1968, Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[10] Robert Eubanks to Herbert Carter, 19 March 1969, Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[11] Faculty-Student Commission on Afro-American Studies, "Definition of Afro-American Studies," Spring 1969, Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[12] Robert Rogers to Walter Massey, etc., 25 March 1969, Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[13] "Afro-American Commission Issues Report," *Campus Report* 3 (October 1969): 1, Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[14] "Afro-American Commission Offers Aid to Departments in Changing Curricula," *Campus Report* 3 (November 1969): 1, Vice-President for Academic Affairs Correspondence, 1965-74, File number 5/1/2, Box 9, UIUC Archives; In his version of the development of the Afro-American Studies Program, Dr. Eubanks does not mention the BSA demands. Instead, he traced the beginning of the Program to discussions he had with other faculty members interested in developing such a unit (see, Robert Eubanks, "A Brief Survey of the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Illinois," 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives).

[15] Billy Jackson and William Plater to Robert Waller, 2 July 1970, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives.

[16] Robert Waller to H. E. Carter, 14 April 1969, Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[17] "History 199: Afro-American Culture Questionnaire Summary," Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives; See, also, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, "Annual Report, 1968-1969," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives.

[18] William Plater to G.O.D. Bookstore, 12 December 1969, Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[19] R. K. Applebee to LAS Staff, 23 January 1970, "LAS 199: Black Awareness: A Spectrum," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[20] College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, "LAS 199, Grade Distribution," Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[21] Robert Rogers to H. E. Carter, 17 July 1969, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 17, UIUC Archives.

[22] Clarence Shelley to Robert Waller, 31 March 1969, Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[23] Robert Eubanks, "A Brief Survey of the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Illinois," 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives.

[24] Dr. Eubanks defended the slow-moving process of the institutionalization of Black Studies, but compared to the institutionalization of other departments on the UIUC campus, as well as higher educational institutions in general, the institution of Black Studies was relatively quick.

[25] John Blassingame, "Black Studies: An Intellectual Crisis," in *New Perspectives in Black Studies*, edited by John Blassingame (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Press, 1971), 153; Like Mr. Strong, Robert Ray, Black cultural center Director from 1971 to 1973, held a bachelor's degree and served as an Instructor of Music.

[26] Donald J. Wermers, *Enrollment at the University of Illinois by Racial/Ethnic Categories: Fall Terms, 1967-1975* (Urbana: University Office of School and College Relations, December, 1976), 12, Report obtained from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Office of Academic Policy Analysis.

[27] Jackson and Plater to Waller, 2 July 1970, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives.

[28] Delano Cox, Billy Jackson, and Bill Plater to Persons Interested in Afro-American Studies, 9 October 1970, Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives; These lectures reached a broader audience than UIUC students. All lectures were open to the Champaign-Urbana community. Also, the lectures were audiotaped. The tapes were then used in classrooms at nearby Parkland Community College and local high schools and rebroadcast on two local radio stations (College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, "1971 Afro-American Culture Lecture Series," 1971, Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC

Archives); For a listing of audiotapes located at the UIUC Archives, see, "The Black World: Perspectives. Sound Recordings in the University Archives, October 15, 1970," Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[29] "The Black World: Perspectives," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives; Brief descriptions of the courses taught are located in the Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives.

[30] "A Survey of Black Political Thought and Movements: United States, Africa, and the Caribbean," Political Science 199 Section C/Political Science 293 Section A Course Syllabus," Liberal Arts and Sciences Associate and Assistant Deans Subject File, 1948-1981, File number 15/1/35, Box 14, UIUC Archives; Mr. Walter Strong was not a professor in the history department. Instead, his position was one of Instructor since he held a Master's degree and was pursuing his doctorate. His primary duties (besides being a graduate student) were Assistant Dean of the Office of Student Personnel and Assistant Director of SEOP (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Staff Directory, 1970-1971, File Number 38/1/805, UIUC Archives).

[31] Robert Eubanks, "A Brief Survey of the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Illinois," 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives.

[32] UIUC Press Release, 21 January 1970, University Press Releases, 1935-, File Number 39/1/10, Box 6, UIUC Archives; Robert Eubanks, "A Brief Survey of the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Illinois," 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives; UIUC Press Release, 16 October 1970, University Press Releases, 1935-, File Number 39/1/10, Box 6.

[33] See, Black Student Association Publications, 1967-, File number 41/66/826, UIUC Archives.

[34] Proposal for an Afro-American Studies Program," Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[35] Michael Wilson, "Class Bias," *The Daily Illini*, 18 March 1969; "Trustees Hear Blacks: Leaders Tell Black Needs," *The Daily Illini*, 20 March 1969.

[36] James Eggleston, "Student Attacks Programs of Inter-racial Universities," *The Daily Illini*, 26 November 1969.

[37] UIUC Press Release, 30 October 1970, University Press Releases, 1935-, File Number 39/1/10, Box 7, UIUC Archives.

[38] Delano Cox, "Afro-American Studies Program: Academic Program Division," 1 April 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives.

[39] "Proposal for an Afro-American Studies Program," Robert Rogers Papers, 1960-68, File number 15/1/21, Box 3, UIUC Archives; Walter Strong, "Afro-American Studies," October 1972, Liberal Arts and Sciences Department Subject File, 1965-82, File Number 5/1/3, Box 8, UIUC Archives; John Stewart to Robert Rogers, 25 June 1974, Liberal Arts and Sciences Dean's Subject File, 1913-72, File number 15/1/1, Box 60, UIUC Archives; the Afro-American Studies minor became a reality in 1973-1974.

[40] Jeffrey Roberts, "Interview with Walter Strong: Black Studies," *Irepodun*, 1972; Another obstacle in establishing Black Studies was locating financial resources. One indication of the financial picture for Black Studies is a letter from Afro-American Lecture Series coordinator, William Plater, to LAS Dean Robert Waller. In his request for funding for the 1970 Lecture Series budget, Plater called the 1969 honorariums given to invited speakers inadequate and "ridiculously low." Also, the increased cost of advertising and staffing necessitated a larger budget for the 1970 series. He estimated the Series budget to reach approximately $20,000. Dean Rogers forward the request to Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, H. E. Carter. In his letter responding to the request, the Vice Chancellor stated that his office could only offer $10,000. The budget funds already had been allocated for the fiscal year (William Plater to Robert Waller, June 1969, and H. E. Carter to Robert Rogers, 27 June 1969, Afro-American Culture Lecture File, 1968-71, File number 41/12/88, Box 1, UIUC Archives).

[41] Colon, *A Critical Review*, 163.

[42] "Afro-American Commission Offers Aid to Departments in Changing Curricula," *Campus Report* 3, (November 1969), Vice-President for Academic Affairs Correspondence, 1965-74, File number 5/1/2, Box

9, UIUC Archives; UIUC Press Release, 12 September 1969, University Press Releases, 1935-, File number 39/1/10, Box 6, UIUC Archives.

[43] Robert Eubanks, "A Brief Survey of the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Illinois," 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives; Petition to force the resignation of Robert Eubanks, FSCAALC Chair, 13 October 1970, Clipped Article File obtained from Tony Zamora.

[44] Robert Eubanks, "A Brief Survey of the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Illinois," 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives.

[45] Mr. Zamora, like Val Gray Ward, did not have a college diploma.

[46] William K. Williams, Chairman, "Report of the Hearing Panel on Black-White Relationships," 28 October 1970, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 66, UIUC Archives.

[47] Jeffrey Roberts, "Interview with Robert Ray: Black Cultural Program," *Irepodun*, 1972.

[48] George Frampton, "Statement of Vice Chancellor George T. Frampton to the Williams Hearing Panel as the Campus Administration's First in a Series of Public Reports or Responses to the Panel's October 28 1970 Recommendations," Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 66, UIUC Archives.

[49] Petition to force the resignation of Robert Eubanks, FSCAALC Chair, 13 October 1970, Clipped Article File obtained from Tony Zamora.

[50] UIUC Press Release, 16 October 1970, University Press Releases, 1935-, File Number 39/1/10, Box 6, UIUC Archives;

[51] "Afro-American Cultural Program: Purpose of the Center," 1970-1971, Clipped Article File obtained from Tony Zamora.

[52] Lerone Bennett, Jr., *The Challenge of Blackness; Black Paper Number 1* (Atlanta: Institute of the Black World, 1970), 3.

[53] BSA Ad-Hoc Committee to Incoming Black Freshmen, 23 July 1970, Black Student Association Publications, 1967-, File number 41/66/826.

[54] Jeffrey Roberts, "Interview with Robert Ray: Black Cultural Program," *Irepodun*, 1972.

[55] By 1970, neither a thorough investigation of possible community programs nor an administrative structure had been created. The Afro-American Campus-Community Relations Program began during the 1971-1972 academic year. The primary duty of the organization was to provide assistance to programs initiated by community people by making use of university resources. A letter requesting financial support for the programs never identifies their constituents as "Black" but does identify target neighborhood areas in Northeast Champaign, home for most working-class Black Champaign residents. By middle 1972, the community program was coordinated by a student on a part-time basis and still was searching for a full-time director (R. E. Martin to J. M. Atkin, etc., 7 April 1972, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 2, UIUC Archives).

[56] "Black National Liberation University," September 1971, Dean of Students Subject File, 1963-1979, File number 41/2/30, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[57] Rick Pringle, "The Pal Program," *Irepodun*, 1972; "Harambee Institute," *Irepodun*, 1972.

[58] "We Demand," *The Black Rap*, 18 February 1969; The BSA demands addressing Black Champaign community concerns were not investigated for this dissertation. In determining the success of demands, this dissertation concentrates on campus changes and student-focused demands.

[59] For instance, White students at UIUC supported BSA and Black student demands with rallies, boycotts, and petitions. See the previous chapter for a further discussion of such alliances.

[60] This dissertation does not allow for a complete discussion of White student protest. For a more thorough discussion, see, Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987); For a discussion of the ideology, goals, and tactics of one of the predominantly-White organizations involved in campus protests, see G. Louis Heath, ed., *Vandals in the Bomb Factory: The History and Literature of the Students for a Democratic Society* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1976); For information regarding the UIUC Kunstler appearance and General Electric protests, see materials contained in, President David D. Henry General Correspondence, 1955-69, File number 2/12/1, Box 221, UIUC Archives.

[61] Robert Finch to David Henry, 22 March 1969, Liberal Arts and Sciences Department Subject File, 1965-82, File number 5/1/3, Box 4, UIUC Archives; *Higher Education Amendments of 1968*, Public Law 557, 90th Cong., 2d sess., (11 October 1968); *Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations Act of 1969*, Public Law 575, 90th Cong., 2d sess., (16 October 1968).

[62] National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, "Interim Statement on Campus Disorder," 9 June 1969, Liberal Arts and Sciences Department Subject File, 1965-82, File number 5/1/3, Box 4, UIUC Archives.

[63] Lawrence Eaton (UIUC Assistant Legal Counsel) to Grace Meyers (Secretary, UIUC Senate Committee on Student Discipline), 5 September 1969, Chancellor's Subject File, 1967-70, File number 24/1/1, Box 24, UIUC Archives; Copy of Acts, 9 January 1969, Liberal Arts and Sciences Department Subject File, 1965-82, File number 5/1/3, Box 3, UIUC Archives.

[64] Jack Peltason, "Statement to the Board of Trustees," and David Henry, "Statement to the Board of Trustees," *Campus Report 6* (1 February 1969), Educational Opportunities File, 1964-77, File number 41/2/14, Box 1.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: A LASTING INFLUENCE

Black student activism at predominantly White institutions in the late 1960s began as an active response to their situation. Many Black students felt alienated, disaffected, and experienced hostility from White classmates, faculty, and administrators. They created Black student unions as a way to allay their frustrations and used the organizations to advance Black student issues. Various precipitating events empowered the unions, forced the articulation of a coherent ideology, and increased their membership. The outcomes of Black students movements on different campuses vary. The movements themselves can be long-lived or short-lived, have a high degree of goal achievement or collapse and disintegrate, have a high degree of reward for participants or provide virtually no rewards. Though outcomes vary, scholars agree that the decline of the Black student protest movement coincided with the decline in the Black Power Movement nationwide. By approximately 1975, Black Power faded in both the national and campus context. Many possible explanations for such a decline exist not all of which include the fact that prominent Black Power figures strayed from the cause, the police actively and purposely helped disintegrate the Black Panther Party, the government effectively declared war on Black Power, the escalation of national and world economic crises focused attention elsewhere, and the American public exhibited a kind of socio-political retrenchment in the middle 1970s. Though the Black student movement at UIUC declined as other Black student movements did across the country, it did manage to leave a lasting legacy on campus.[1]

The Black Student Movement Decline at UIUC

Various scholars have posited numerous possible reasons for Black student movement mortality. William Exum cites Michael Useem's description of the decline of social movements in his discussion of such a decline at University College in New York. Useem asserts that protest movements often undergo a "decay process," precipitated by the

loss of members, increased factionalism, loss of confidence, and attempts to "reorient the movement's objectives and style."[2] Among other factors, Exum also points to: the fact that their success in attaining certain goals, such as Black Studies Programs and Black Cultural Centers, partially eliminated the raison d'être of many Black student unions; the paradox confronting Black student activists in that the means for achieving internal solidarity and external success were also likely to produce dissensus and disintegration; and an increasing reliance on alternatives to direct, collective action to force social change including individual mobility and success.[3] Alan Colon, attributes the decline in large-scale activist political dissent in part to a neo-conservative trend dominating American and African American thought, social practice, and institutional life in the middle 1970s.[4]

A 1975 article printed in the UIUC yearbook, *Illio,* (the Black student yearbook, *Irepodun,* had ceased to exist), echoed various of the above mentioned reasons for movement decline. Black students continued to agitate for change at UIUC toward the middle 1970s, but the number of students involved in both protest in general and CAP (formerly BSA) in particular declined. Like the previously mentioned scholars, the author of the article declared, "This fate is a part of a national trend. Black students, at one time dissidents, have now turned to more traditional means of dealing with inequities or else they have forsaken the movement altogether." In particular, participation continued to be crisis oriented. As various crises flared, so too did participation; as they faded, so too did participation. Second, the author pointed to a shift in strategies for gaining Black liberation. Quoting a former BSA officer, many Black students "turned to the business they came here for: getting degrees." Many increasingly used alternatives to collective, direct-action and interpreted individual attainment and success as a means for uplifting the race. Third, the author cited factionalization as a significant factor in the demise of BSA/CAP and the Black student movement in general. "Group jealousies," "internal conflicts," and "petty difference" often generated hostility between different groups of Black students. Whereas BSA was the primary Black organization on campus in the late

1960s (besides the Greek letter organizations), by 1975, more than 30 different organizations exclusively serving Black students existed. The Black law students were the first to secede from BSA and form the Black Law Students Association. Black graduate students followed by transforming the Black Graduate Committee of BSA into the Black Graduate Student Association. Other academic, social, cultural, and political organizations were created in the early to middle 1970s and further diffused the Black student population. Fourth, the reorientation of objectives and style (symbolized in the change from BSA to CAP) may have alienated potential allies and participants. In the article, Robert Harris, Assistant Professor of History, hypothesized that CAP alienated potential members with its increasing focus on Pan-Africanist ideology which "seemed out of step with the more immediate needs of students." Also, the formalized alliance with community residents brought extra pressures to bear on Black students involved in activism. Fifth, outside forces also precipitated the Black student movement decline at UIUC. University control efforts, agencies set up to act as buffers, and the institutionalization of the Afro-American Studies Program and the Afro-American Cultural Program truncated student activism.[5]

Interviewees were asked to reflect on the decline in student activism, particularly those that remained at UIUC for both undergraduate and graduate/professional school. Several identified some of the above conditions. Also, they reported that the increased academic competition and racial hostility in graduate and professional schools paired with a kind of "battle fatigue" lead them to focus on individual concerns. When Christine Cheatom (Holtz) attended law school, she remembered someone attempting to get her involved in the Black Graduate Committee. Instead, she focused on the rigors of law school (in addition to the academic aspect, she remembered having to fight the intense racial hostility in the law school) and getting her husband paroled from a draft-resistance charge.[6] Yolanda Smith (Williams) stated, "By the time I hit graduate school, I wasn't involved with anything." She shied away from activism and her sorority commitments and concentrated on her studies and outside pursuits. Delores Parmer (Woodtor) anticipated continuing her

involvement in BSA but reported that conflicting interests with certain BSA members and personal commitments led her attention elsewhere. Other students who attended UIUC as undergraduates and graduate/professional students did not report any reduced participation in the Black student movement on campus. Many in the law school used the Black Law Students Association as the vehicle to force change at UIUC. Even those students who withdrew from student activism did not necessarily forfeit their attitudes on Black Power or student rights or withhold support for particular student initiatives. However, both the interviewees that withdrew participation and those that continued participation reported that the Black student movement was almost non-existent by 1975.[7] After 1975, most Black registered organizations were based on academic support. *Yombo*, the last of the BSA/CAP mass-distributed newsletters faded; *Irepodun*, the Black yearbook ceased to exist.

Various scholars have critiqued the Black student movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s as short-sighted, narrow in the sense that many demands were aimed at particular situations in a particular context, view many of their accomplishments as short-lived, and do not consider them a social movement.[8] This interpretation is problematic if Black student activism is understood as an outgrowth of the Black Power Movement, and in turn the Civil Rights Movement. In both their newspapers and oral interviews, Black UIUC students connected themselves to the larger African American movements of the era and saw their struggle as a component of that struggle--not divorced from it. It is true that many Black UIUC student demands were short-term oriented and aimed at particular situations for particular reasons. For instance, the demand that the university remove all reprimands of record from the transcripts of those students arrested at the Union on 9 September 1968, was obviously a particular response to a particular situation (which made it no less valid for students since it directly impacted their opportunity to continue their education). However, certain UIUC demands were aimed at long-term campus changes (therefore escaping the possible mortality fostered by transient student status).

Interviewees saw the creation of a cultural center and a Black Studies program as an immediate solution to campus problems, but also saw the long-term possibilities. Also, certain demands were more global than student issues. The demands that "the university deny any employer in the community access to university buildings which practices discrimination in hiring and promotion" and "that the university as an institution, or through separate departments, initiate a program designed to increase low-cost housing financed by state or federal funds for Black residents of Champaign" followed in the same vein as civil rights issues of the 1950s and 1960s. Even the demands for increased student enrollment and Black faculty can be interpreted as long-term goals in an effort to increase representation, to provide equal educational opportunity, and to participate more fully in American institutions. The Black students' attempts to bring UIUC closer to their understanding of a "just" and "representative" institution were a part of Black liberation efforts nationwide and were continuation of such attempts in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements.

Leaving a Legacy

On college campuses, William Exum suggests that the decline of the Black student movement was more apparent than real. Black students today remain concerned about sociopolitical issues and use their Black student unions as vehicles to exert pressure in order to win improvements. The latent activist possibility of the Black student unions coupled with the fact that Black students still are alienated and disaffected from White society and the White university can lead to renewed Black student activism. To demonstrate his point, Exum chronicles Black student activism at predominantly White institutions until the mid-1980s where students made demands similar to those of the Black students of the late 1960s: increased admissions, recruitment of Black faculty, affirmative action programs, financial aid and support programs, and resolutions of episodes of open bigotry or racism on campus. Also, institutions built during the period and for the explicit purpose of advancing the Black liberation struggle remain functional and continue to "serve

as a catalytic agent to synthesize the varied components of the [Black] community into a viable force for liberation." Institutions such as Malcolm X College (Chicago), Federal City College (Washington, DC), Malcolm X Liberation University (Durham, North Carolina), and Nairobi College (East Palo Alto, California) offer African Americans a new perspective on the possibilities of post-secondary education.[9]

Although the end of the Black UIUC student movement is marked as 1975, its legacy lives on at UIUC. For instance, the Black students of the late sixties and early seventies forced the University to seriously commit itself to the recruitment and retention of Black students and faculty. As for undergraduates, student demands and university commitment has kept the number of Black undergraduates attending UIUC steady at approximately 7.0 percent of the undergraduate student population for the past decade (though the numbers fluctuated during the middle 1970s and 1980s). The number of baccalaureate degrees granted to African American students rose from approximately one percent of those receiving such degrees, to 2.1 percent in 1987, to 5.2 percent in 1996. As for graduate students, the initial university body created to increase their enrollment was the Black Graduate Recruitment Committee, a group of graduate students with university funding to recruit other Black graduate/professional students. The recruiters had a large degree of autonomy in their role as recruiters (similar to those that recruited for SEOP) and traveled around the nation recruiting students, distributing applications, and answering questions. The Committee was institutionalized in the form of the Office of Minority Affairs at the Graduate College in 1974. In 1996, the number of Black graduate/professional students reached 4.0 percent of the graduate/professional students enrolled. The number of graduate/professional degrees conferred rose from 1.6 percent in 1987, to 4.5 percent in 1996. As for Black faculty, in 1967, UIUC had two Black professors, Dr. Eubanks in Engineering, and Dr. Charles Quick in the Law School. In 1996, Black tenured faculty made up 2.5 percent (38 professors) of UIUC faculty and 5.0 percent (21 professors) of the tenure-track faculty.[10]

Certain organizations and events created by the Black Power era UIUC students continue to exist. Black residence hall councils emerged at each residence hall on campus and now have Swahili names such as Ewezo, Eusa Nia, and Solongo; also, they absorbed the duties of BSA/CAP and function under the umbrella of the Central Black Student Union. Black Mom's Day celebrations, which still include a Black Chorus concert and a fashion show, are still held the same weekend as the University Mom's Day celebrations. Black Homecoming activities, including the election of a Black Queen and King, continue to thrive. Black Chorus grew from four students to over one hundred members and now performs in churches and educational institutions around the state of Illinois. The African American Cultural Program continues to provide several different workshops and activities including Omnimov (a dance group), Theatre 263 ("Theatre of the Black Experience"), the *Griot* (a newsletter), and WBML (alias "Where Black Music Lives," a radio station housed in the AACP and run by students). Students now minor in Afro-American Studies and take a variety of courses on the African American experience in several disciplines. The first dinner to recognize Black SEOP graduating seniors was transformed into the Black Congratulatory Ceremony, a more personal event for Black graduating seniors, graduate, and professional students held in addition to the University graduation ceremonies.

The Black student movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s also had implications beyond those of Black student issues. They broadened student free speech by contributing to the debate over the Clabaugh Act which denied use of University property for meetings held by "subversive" groups. Also, their demands and concerns contributed to certain ongoing debates in higher education. What is a "relevant" education? To what end should students be educated? How is the notion of a "qualified" Professor or educator (as in those professors "qualified to teach Black Studies") determined? Black Studies Departments of the 1960s provided the historical roots of the present-day multicultural education movement and ethnic studies movement.[11] In the middle 1970s, and again in the early 1990s, groups of Latino/a students at UIUC employed some of the same tactics used

by Black Power era students such as sit-ins, marches, and boycotts. They demanded (and later received) courses relevant to their experience, increased Latino/a enrollment, more Latino/a faculty, and a cultural center for student support. A Latino Studies Program and a Women's Studies Program were established some years after the AASP. Most recently, UIUC sanctioned the development of an Asian American Studies Program. Taking cues from the Black Studies Departments emerging in the late 1960s, the new Programs are broad interdisciplinary fields.[12]

Black students themselves remain active at UIUC. As recently as the late 1980s and early 1990s, Black students protested various issues on campus and testified to the fact that the alienating experiences their predecessors encountered thirty years ago still exist at UIUC. For instance, law students received flyers containing racist epithets, derogatory cartoons, and statements calling for a ban on interracial marriage and citing Africa as the origin of the AIDS virus in their campus mailboxes. Members of the Central Black Student Union had to defend their organization from White students who considered it separatist and self-segregating. Black students reminded the academic and student community of the historical need for such an organization on campus and its role in educating Black students, acclimating them to campus, softening the cultural shock experienced on campus, and providing a voice for Black students--an echo of the goals and purpose set forth by BSA thirty years earlier. Also, Black students charged the Urbana, Champaign, and UIUC police of discriminatory practices. Black students accused police of more closely monitoring Black student parties than White student parties. When several Black students were arrested outside a campus bar, they charged the police with brutality. When a Black female student found racial epithets written on her apartment door (she lived above the same bar where the students were arrested), Black student groups declared that the police did not take the situation as seriously as they should have. To support the female student and to demonstrate that they would take control of the situation, Black students rallied. On one of the bar's busiest nights of the week, a group of Black students sponsored an

economic boycott. Two groups formed single file lines outside the establishment so that patrons would have to pass between them to enter. The Black students inside the establishment kept the bartenders busy ordering water. By remaining orderly, occupying the bartenders, and ordering free drinks, the Black students employed the direct-action tactics used previously on campus. Black students also broadened their scope and joined with other students to attack Chief Illiniwek, the Native American mascot at UIUC. Many activists described the use of such a symbol as racist and intolerable and attempted various boycotts, sponsored panel discussions, and initiated protests to ban the Chief. Though protesters were often small in number and participation often faded with the end of a crisis, such issues galvanized students. As Exum stated, as long as Black students remain alienated on campus and experience racism and discrimination, activism remains a possibility.[13]

Black students at UIUC from 1965 to 1975 were part of a tradition of resistance. Without previous liberation efforts, neither the Black Power Movement nor the Black student movement would have been possible. Black students followed in this path of resistance and took on the task of making their universities more representative and responsive to a diversifying student population. At UIUC, the Black Power era students provided a benchmark for change. They forced the university to reevaluate enrollment and admission policies, cultural diversity, and the nature of education. Also, their efforts brought long-lasting changes in university policies, programs, and institutions. The students created a space for dialogue with the university on Black student issues and concerns--thereby helping to create such space for other groups. By forcing the university to reckon with them and their notions of a "proper" education, they opened lines of communication between administrators, faculty, and students. As then Dean, now Vice Chancellor Shelley stated, "I think the legacy is about the possibilities"--the possibilities for change, the possibilities for compromise, and the possibilities for growth.

[1] United States Senate, Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans. *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1976), 42-56, 81-184, 785-226; VanDeburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 294.

[2] Michael Ussem, *Conscription, Protest, and Social Conflict* (New York: Wiley, 1973), 25, cited in Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 157.

[3] Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 179; Exum also discusses the effects of resource management, movement continuity, control efforts on the part of the university, and weariness as factors in the decline of the Black student movement at University College.

[4] Colon, *A Critical Review*, 10.

[5] Chris Benson, "Black Activism Deactivates," *Illio*, 1975, 26-29; Patricia Gurin and Edgar Epps discuss the relationship between individual achievement goals, traditional achievement motivation, and racial ideology in their book, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement*.

[6] Her then-husband, Cecil Cheatom, refused to report for duty after being drafted to fight in the Vietnam War. His letter to the draft board, which Ms. Cheatom (Holtz) wrote, was published in the Black Champaign community newspaper, *The Plain Truth*.

[7] Exum discusses the concept of weariness and battle fatigue and attributes such sentiments to continued movement failure and the high, heroic expectations of members that cannot be satisfied (*Paradoxes or Protest*, 174-176). The concept of weariness and battle fatigue are relevant for UIUC, but the reasons for such sentiment may or may not coincide with Exum's explanation.

[8] Vivian Henderson is one such critic. According to Henderson, "Campus radicalism was oriented toward winning battles, but not the war" (Vivian W. Henderson, "Blacks and Change in Higher Education," *Daedalus* 103 [Fall 1974]: 78).

[9] Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 197-199; VanDeburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 80-81, quoting Charles G. Hurst, Jr., "Malcolm X: A Community College With a New Perspective," *Negro Digest* 19 (March 1970): 33, 36.

[10] Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs, "Underrepresented Groups at the University of Illinois: A Report on Participation and Success," December 1996, Report obtained from the Office of Minority Student Affairs.

[11] James A. Banks, "The African American Roots of Multicultural Education," in *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by James A. Banks (New York: Teachers College, 1996), 30-45.

[12] Latino/a student demands in regard to the Latino/a cultural center paralleled those of Black students of the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the early 1990s, Latino/a students called for the resignation of the cultural center's director after accusing her of undermining the center's central purposes, demanded that their choice of director be instated, requested more autonomy in cultural center affairs, and accused the university of underbudgeting center programs. Like the Black students before them, not all Latino/a students protested. But, those who did, created a "space" for discussion to occur between themselves and the university (for articles on Latino/a student protest, see, *The Daily Illini*, March-May, 1992); Alan Colon discusses the link between the demand for Black Studies Programs and other ethnic and women's studies programs in his dissertation, *A Critical Review*.

[13] For a discussion of such themes, see, *The Daily Illini*, September 1989 to December 1990.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWEE BIOGRAPHIES

Addison, David

Mr. Addison grew up in Queens, New York. After graduating high school, he served in the Marine Corps and became the first African American to serve on the White House Guard. He then entered Florida A&M University and received his degree in History and Political Science. While there, he spent a year studying at Harvard University. Next, he attended UIUC for law school from September 1967 to June 1970, and received his degree. While at UIUC, he became President of BSA, helped recruit for the Special Educational Opportunities Program, and was arrested at the Union 9 September 1968. Currently, he is a lawyer, owns a development company, and does consultant work.

Brady, Paul

Mr. Brady grew up in Chicago. He attended UIUC from 1964 to January 1969 (he took a semester off during this time), and received a degree in Psychology with a Chemistry/Math minor. He was the first President of the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. Also, he was arrested in the 9 September 1968 Illini Union demonstration. He then attended the University of Wisconsin where he received his Master's of Business Administration and law degree. He is now a lawyer in Chicago.

Cheatom, Christine (Holtz)[1]

Ms. Holtz grew up in Chicago. After attending Monmouth College in Monmouth, Illinois, for the 1964-1965 academic year, she attended UIUC as an undergraduate from 1965 to 1967, and received her degree in Philosophy. She was very involved with the Black Students Association, was Vice-Chairman of the organization for a short period, and wrote for the organization's newspaper. She attended UIUC law school from 1970 to 1973, and received her degree. She is now a judge in Chicago.

Cullers, Terry

Mr. Cullers grew up in Chicago. He attended UIUC from 1965 to 1970, and received his degree in Political Science. He was very involved with the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Black Students Association, was voted BSA Vice-President in 1967, wrote for the BSA newspaper, helped recruit students for the Special Educational Opportunities Program, and served on the Committee on Afro-American Life and Culture. He now works in a family owned advertising agency--one of if not the oldest Black advertising agency in the nation--and is involved in the theater as both an actor and director.

Dixon, Dan

Mr. Dixon grew up in Chicago. He attended UIUC as an undergraduate from 1963 to 1967, and received his degree in the Teaching of Social Studies. Also, he was the first President of the Black Students Association and a member of the Greek-letter organization, Kappa Alpha Psi. He later returned and received his Masters and Doctorate in Educational Administration. He now works at the Illinois State Board of Education and does work with the world wide web. At one time, he was Assistant Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools.

[1] All the women are listed by the names with which they were known while attending UIUC followed by their current names.

Eggleston, James

Mr. Eggleston grew up in Chicago. He attended Roosevelt University as a part-time student for one year before enrolling at UIUC from 1965 to 1970. He received his degree in Sociology with a minor in History and Math. He was very involved with the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality the Black Students Association, wrote for the BSA newspaper and for the *Daily Illini,* and helped recruit students for the Special Educational Opportunities Program. Also, he was arrested in the 9 September 1968 Illini Union demonstration. In 1994, he received his Master's of Business Administration. Currently, he is a high school Math teacher and is pursuing a Doctorate. at a local university.

Hammond, Rodney

Dr. Hammond grew up in Chicago. He attended UIUC from 1964 to 1968, and received his degree in Psychology with a minor in Biology and Education. He was very involved in the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and became the temporary Chairman of the Black Students Association from its inception until the first official elections. Also, he is a member of the Greek-letter organization, Kappa Alpha Psi. After leaving UIUC, he attended Florida State University and received his Doctorate in Psychology in 1974. Currently, he works for the Centers for Disease Control as Director of the Division of Violence Prevention.

Jarrell, Boyd

Mr. Jarrell grew up in Chicago. He attended UIUC from 1965 to 1969, and received his degree in Finance. He was involved in the Black Students Association, helped recruit students for the Special Educational Opportunities Program, and is a member of the Greek-letter organization, Kappa Alpha Psi. Also, he was arrested in the 9 September 1968 Illini Union demonstration. From 1974 to 1977, he attended the University of Chicago and received his Master's of Business Administration. He currently works in car sales.

Johnson, John Lee

Mr. Johnson grew up and still resides in Champaign. He has been a community activist for decades as well as a member of various community activist organizations. He was involved with the Black Students Association and the development of several programs on the UIUC campus. His current occupation is Project Manager.

Long, Edna (Long-Green)

Ms. Long-Green grew up in Chicago. She attended UIUC as an undergraduate from 1965 to January 1971, and received her degree in Fine Arts and Dance. She was involved in dance and poetry workshops/productions through the campus cultural center and by her own volition and is a member of the Greek-letter organization, Delta Sigma Theta. She received her Master's in Fine Arts from UIUC in August 1971. Later, she received her law degree. She now works at software computer firm as Director of Governmental Relations. In her position, she acts as a lobbyist where she tracks federal funding set aside for educational technology, attends conferences, and conducts workshops.

Norris, Sandra (Phillips)

Ms. Phillips grew up in Louisiana and Chicago. She attended UIUC from 1965 to 1969, and received her degree in the Teaching of Speech. She attributed her growing Black consciousness to her involvement with the Black Students Association. While an undergraduate, she became a member of the Greek-letter organization, Delta Sigma Theta. She served as Assistant Dean of Students at UIUC from August 1970 to June 1978. Later, she received her Master's in the Directing of Theater. She is now self-employed as a Management Consultant.

Parmer, Delores (Woodtor)

Dr. Woodtor grew up in Chicago. She attended UIUC as an undergraduate from 1964 to 1968, and received her degree in Political Science. She was very involved

with the Black Students Association, became BSA secretary in 1967, wrote for the organization's newspaper, and helped recruit students for the Special Educational Opportunities Program. She enrolled as a graduate student at UIUC from 1974 to 1976, but transferred to Northwestern University where she received her Doctorate in Political Science and Comparative Politics in 1986. She is now a writer and independent researcher.

Roberts, Jeffrey

Mr. Roberts grew up in Chicago. He attended UIUC from 1968 to 1972, and received his degree in Communications. He was very involved in the Black Students Association, became President, wrote for the organization's newspaper, was Editor-in-Chief of 1972 edition of the Black Student yearbook, *Irepodun*, and was arrested in the 9 September 1968 Illini Union demonstration. He later received his Master's degree from the University of Illinois Chicago in Public Administration (1988). He now owns his own Allstate Insurance Company.

Shelley, Clarence

Mr. Shelley received his Bachelor's degree in English Literature from Wayne State University and his Master's in English and Educational Psychology from the University of Michigan. After working as a high school teacher and developing a program to recruit Black students for the University of Michigan and Dartmouth College, Mr. Shelley arrived at UIUC 1 July 1968, as Assistant Dean of Students, Director of the Special Educational Opportunities Program, and Assistant to the Vice Chancellor. He is now Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs.

Smith, Yolanda (Williams)

Ms. Williams grew up in Chicago and attended the University of Illinois at Chicago from 1965 to 1968. She entered UIUC in 1968 as a participant in the Special Educational Opportunities Program, and received her degree in Theater Arts in 1970. For a short period of time, she was involved in the Black Students

Association. Also, she was arrested in the 9 September 1968 Illini Union demonstration and is a member of the Greek-letter organization, Sigma Gamma Rho. After completing graduate course work and exams for a degree in Speech Communications in 1971, she left campus but was able to complete the requirements for a Master's degree in Speech Communications in 1975. She now teaches Humanities in a Chicago middle school.

Townsend, Terry

Mr. Townsend grew up in Champaign. He attended UIUC from 1968 to 1972, and received his degree in Leisure Studies and Program Management. He became involved with the Black Students Association during his time as an undergraduate. He received his Master's degree in Human Resource Development from the UIUC College of Education in the middle 1980s. He is now a Leans and Estate Consultant for the State of Illinois. As an internal consultant, he is responsible for any legal action that is taken against people that defraud the state.

Triche, Jacqueline (Atkins)

Ms. Atkins grew up in Chicago. She attended UIUC as an undergraduate from 1965 to 1969, when she received her degree in History and Psychology. During her time as an undergraduate, she helped recruit students for the Special Educational Opportunities Program and became a member of the Greek-letter organization, Delta Sigma Theta. After teaching for a year, she attended UIUC law school from 1970 to 1973, received her degree, and was very involved in the campus Black Law Students Association. She is now Executive Director of The Museums in the Park where she acts as a lobbyist.

Zamora, Tony

Mr. Zamora grew up in Chicago and relocated to Champaign as an adult. With a history as a professional musician and music teacher, he was appointed Director of the Afro-American Cultural Program at UIUC from 1970 to 1971. In 1972, he left

Champaign and became Director of the Purdue Black Cultural Center and Assistant Director of the Purdue Memorial Union at Purdue University. He is now retired from that position but continues his professional music career.

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

Cox, Delano

Assistant Dean in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences; Director of the Afro-American Studies Program, 1970-1972

Eubanks, Robert

Professor of Civil Engineering; Chairman of the Faculty-Student Commission on Afro-American Life and Culture, 1969-1970; Interim Director of the Afro-American Studies Commission, 1971-1972

Henry, David

President of the University

Peltason, Jack

Chancellor of the University

Ray, Robert

Instructor in the Department of Music; Director of the Afro-American Cultural Program, 1971-1973

Rogers, Robert

Dean in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

Shelden, Miriam

Dean of Women; Dean of Student Personnel

Shelley, Clarence

Director of Special Educational Opportunities Program; Assistant Dean of Student Personnel; Assistant to the Chancellor

Strong, Walter

Assistant Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs; Instructor of Political Science; Director of the Afro-American Studies Program, 1972-1973

Waller, Robert

Associate Dean in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

Ward, Val Gray

Director of the Afro-American Cultural Program, 1969-1970

Williams, William K.

Ombudsman in the Office of the Chancellor; Chairman of the Hearing Panel on Black-White Relationships, 1970

Zamora, Antonio

Director of the Afro-American Cultural Program, 1970-1971, Instructor of Music

APPENDIX C

BSA DEMANDS[1]

1. That the administration drop all charges against all Black people who were arrested September 10, 1968.
2. That the University drop all charges against Blacks who have been arrested since September 10th.
3. That the University remove all reprimands of record of Blacks resulting from the September 10th arrest.
4. That the administration immediately recognize BSA by allocating the budget which was requested in September, 1968.
5. That the University immediately begin hiring 50% Blacks in the non-academics job vacancies.
6. That the University waive civil service tests as a requirement for non-academic employment for Blacks of implement a job training program with 75% of regular pay before taking the test.
7. That the University immediately grant a minimum 20% wage increase to all persons working in the janitorial and food service capacities, (Black and white).
8. The immediate establishment of a Black Cultural Center large enough to accommodate all Black people which will be run by the BSA.
9. The immediate establishment of an autonomous Black Studies Department, with major emphasis on Afro-American Studies and African Studies.
10. The hiring of 50 Black dormitory counselors for September 1969.
11. That all Black graduate students who have been recruited by BSA be admitted to graduate school in September 1969.
12. That the Graduate College publicly state its commitment to admitting 15% Black students into the 1969-1972 entering classes.

---

[1] "We Demand," *The Black Rap*, 18 February 1969.

13. That the University hire 500 Black faculty members over a four-year period beginning by hiring 150 Black faculty members for September 1969.

14. That the Illini Union be autonomously run by a board consisting of students, faculty and Blacks from the community.

15. That the University fulfill its financial commitment to all students who are receiving money for SEOP.

16. That the University make a public statement of its commitment to bring 500 students to the University in September.

17. That the Faculty Senate appoint a special committee on Black Students Affairs, consisting of five Blacks and five white faculty members acceptable to BSA who will act on Black grievances.

18. The retention of William K. Williams as one of the top administrative advisors on Black affairs.

19. An interpretation of the role of the University Planning Commission and a description of the responsibilities of said commission. This committee's budget should be accessible to BSA.

20. Immediate creation of a committee composed of members of the Black community, faculty, and the Department of Architecture to plan future construction, and location of University buildings.

21. Complete access by members of the Black community which are not specifically designated for administrative use.

22. That the University as an institution, or through separate departments, initiate a program designed to increase low-cost housing financed by state or federal funds for Black residents of Champaign.

23. That the University deny any employer in the community access to University buildings which practices discrimination in hiring and promotion.

24. That any information derived from the experimental project at Washington Elementary School, located in Northeast Champaign, or other educationally and economically deprived groups.

25. That the University actively recruit and hire Blacks as firemen and policemen.

26. That the University secure voter registration booths on campus.

27. That the University eliminate the clerical program headed by Loretta Davis or place in immediate employment graduates of the program.

28. Resumption of the Pre-Apprenticeship program operated by the University with a definite commitment from all labor unions who have received or will receive construction contracts on the Urbana campus.

28A. Elimination of the high school diploma as a requirement for employment with such unions.

29. Formation of a committee to assist the non-academic employment department in the administration of said department with the immediate aim of increasing employment of Black residents.

30. That the University provide funds for the establishment and implementation of a Black Cultural Program for residents of Northeast Champaign and to provide bus service for said residents who wish to use the facilities of the proposed Black Cultural Center.

31. The University through BGSA (the Black Graduate Students Association) recruit and enroll 200 Black law students by 1972 and that the Black student enrollment be increased by 500 pursuant to the proposed expansion of the Law School.

32. That the University place in supervisory positions Black persons who are employed in the areas of janitorial, maid, food, and custodial services.

33. That the University exert all pressure necessary on the campus business community to actively recruit and employ Black residents and students. And that additional

pressure be exerted from the various departments of the University to aid in this effort.

34. That the University actively seek and supply adequate off-campus housing for undergraduate and graduate students either through construction of such housing or policy that would prohibit discrimination and price-fixing.

35. That the present available position of Union night-time supervision be filled by Black residents of Northeast Champaign.

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO POSSIBLE INTERVIEWEES

Dear ,

My name is Joy Williamson, and I am a graduate student from the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project on how Black Power was manifest on the University of Illinois campus from 1965 to 1975 and its educational legacy. The focus of the project will be to examine the development of the ideology of Blackness and the politics of Black Power on the University of Illinois campus from 1965 to 1975, to determine the impact of Blackness and Black Power on Black student life and thought--both collectively and individually--and on the campus in general, to examine the Black student political agenda that grew out of Black Power politics, and to determine the extent to which Black Power left a legacy on campus.

I am contacting you because, through my research and talking with Vice Chancellor Clarence Shelley, I have found that you were highly involved with Black students from 1965 to 1975. I would like the chance to talk with you to get some more information about the students, policies, and a general sense of the time. I have reviewed the Black student publications of the era but feel that you could add significantly to my understanding of those years.

I would like to conduct one interview with you lasting approximately one hour. If it is convenient, I am hoping to conduct the interview during the fall semester 1997. The interview, which will be audiotaped, and all other information obtained during this research project will be used in my dissertation. Your participation in the project is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time.

If you have any questions or concerns, please call me. I can be contacted at home: (217) XXX-XXXX. I will be contacting you again in the near future to see if you would

like to participate (or you can call me at home at the above phone number). Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Joy Williamson
360 Education Building
1310 S. Sixth Street
Champaign, IL 61820

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a research project on how Black Power was manifest on the University of Illinois campus from 1965 to 1975 and its educational legacy. This project will be conducted by Professor James D. Anderson and his doctoral advisee Ms. Joy Williamson from the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

In this project, Professor Anderson and Ms. Williamson will focus on how various Black University of Illinois students from 1965 to 1975 defined 'Black', how they sought certain programs and policies in line with their definition, and the influence of the Special Educational Opportunities Program on the student body. Ms. Williamson will conduct one interview with you lasting approximately one hour with the possibility of follow-up interviews. The primary interview will be conducted during the Fall semester 1997. In this interview, and all possible follow-up interviews, you will be audiotaped. The audiotapes and all other information obtained during this research project will **not** be anonymous or confidential unless you otherwise indicate. Your participation in this project is completely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time and for any reason without penalty.

If you have any questions about this research project, please call Dr. James Anderson at (217) XXX-XXXX, or Ms. Joy Williamson at (217) XXX-XXXX.

I have read and understand the above information and voluntarily agree to participate in the research project described above. I have been offered a copy of this consent form.

____

Signature Date

___ I would like any information I provide to remain anonymous and confidential.

APPENDIX F

BSA REGISTERED STUDENT ORGANIZATION FORMS[1]

REQUEST FOR UNIVERSITY RECOGNITION OF A NEW

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT ORGANIZATION NOT MAINTAINING A HOUSE

(All forms and lists must be typewritten
and submitted to 278 Illini Union (S)

1. Name of organization The Black Student's Association
2. Is the organization affiliated with a national organization? No
3. Names, addresses and telephone numbers of officers.
   a. President Rodney Hammond 2010 C Orchard St. 344-7627
   b. Vice-President Christine Chestem 2023 B Orchard St 344-1104
   c. Secretary Delores Parmer 404 E. White #3 359-4275
   d. Treasurer Clifton Maclin 1114 W. Nevada #5 344-0292
4. Attach list of members (a minimum of ten is required or sufficient reasons must be presented to justify recognition of a smaller number).
5. Name of faculty advisor Robert A. Eubanks
6. Initiation Fee none Annual Dues none (If none, write "none")
7. Attach an up-to-date copy of constitution (and bylaws, if any).
   a. A sample and partially completed constitution is attached. The organization's constitution must contain the material included and underlined in this sample constitution.
   b. Membership requirements must be defined in the constitution and may not be in conflict with the following regulation--

      "Active voting membership in recognized undergraduate student organizations shall be limited to regularly registered undergraduate and graduate students and their wives and members of the University staff and their wives."

      "No new student organization which has a clause restricting active voting membership on the basis of race, religion, or national origin shall be granted University recognition." (See Code on Student Affairs)
8. Recognition of an organization may be refused or, if granted, withdrawn because of policies or practices inimical to education or to the best interests of the University, excessive fees or dues, inactivity, non-compliance with University regulation or with a secret membership.
9. University recognition gives to the organizations the privileges of using University facilities and services; the sponsoring of certain group events such as social, athletic and cultural events; the use of the Student Organizations Fund for a depository, and the right to request financial aid from the Student Senate.
10. Address any questions concerning the enclosed forms or items concerning the formation and function of your organization to Dean of Student Activities, Room 278, Illini Union (S).
11. Signed by President Rodney Hammond Date November 1, 1967
12. Signed by Faculty Advisor Robert A Eubanks Date November 1, 1967

[1] Student Programs and Services, Student Organizations, 1909-1979, File Number 41/2/41, Box 4, UIUC Archives.

STUDENT ORGANIZATION INFORMATION CARD — University of Illinois

TO BE FILLED OUT COMPLETELY BY TREASURER. SIGNED BY ALL PARTIES AND FILED AT 278 ILLINI UNION

ORGANIZATION NAME: BLACK STUDENTS ASSOC.
AVER. MEM.:
DATE FILED: 12/68?

PURPOSE: WORK FOR BETTERMENT OF NEGRO STUDENTS & RESIDENTS

SOURCE OF MEMBERS: NEGRO STUDENTS

DATES FOR ELECTING OFFICERS: TENTATIVE: OCTOBER
INITIATION FEE: —
ANNUAL DUES: —

PINS, KEYS OR OTHER INSIGNIA ARE ☐ INCLUDED IN FEE ☐ OPTIONAL ☐ REQUIRED
APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS:

CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLY: ☐ SOCIAL OR RECREATIONAL ☐ PROFESSIONAL ☒ SERVICE ☐ EDUCATIONAL ☐ RELIGIOUS ☐ SCHOLASTIC HONORARY ☐ ACTIVITY HONORARY

IS ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION? NO

TREASURER'S SIGNATURE: Leslie M. Cooley
ADDRESS: 1902 Orchard Place ~~1102 W. Nevada~~
PHONE: ~~[illegible]~~

TREASURER'S OFFICE TERM EXPIRES: TENTATIVELY OCTOBER, 1968 — 344-4504

ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE: [illegible signature]
ADDRESS: 602 E. STOUGHTON
PHONE: 352-1156

PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE: David Dixon
ADDRESS: 707 S. 3rd
PHONE: 359-2888

3M—11-66—91895

STUDENT ORGANIZATION INFORMATION CARD — University of Illinois

TO BE FILLED OUT COMPLETELY BY TREASURER. SIGNED BY ALL PARTIES AND FILED AT 278 ILLINI UNION

ORGANIZATION NAME: BLACK STUDENTS ASSOCIATION
AVER. MEM.: 700
DATE FILED: 11/11/68

PURPOSE: SERVICE

SOURCE OF MEMBERS: STUDENT BODY

DATES FOR ELECTING OFFICERS: FIRST MEETING IN MAY
INITIATION FEE: -
ANNUAL DUES: -

PINS, KEYS OR OTHER INSIGNIA ARE ☐ INCLUDED IN FEE ☐ OPTIONAL ☐ REQUIRED
APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS:

CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLY: ☐ SOCIAL OR RECREATIONAL ☐ PROFESSIONAL ☒ SERVICE ☐ EDUCATIONAL ☐ RELIGIOUS ☐ SCHOLASTIC HONORARY ☐ ACTIVITY HONORARY

IS ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION? NO

TREASURER'S SIGNATURE: David Atkins
ADDRESS: 282 ILLINI UNION
PHONE: 3332304

TREASURER'S OFFICE TERM EXPIRES: MAY 1969

ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE: Walter E. Massey
ADDRESS: 244 MRL (PHYSICS)
PHONE: 3-0949

PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE: David N. Addison
ADDRESS: 282 ILLINI UNION
PHONE: 333 2304

3M—11-66—91895

STUDENT ORGANIZATION INFORMATION CARD — University of Illinois

TO BE FILLED OUT COMPLETELY BY TREASURER. SIGNED BY ALL PARTIES AND FILED AT 278 ILLINI UNION

ORGANIZATION NAME: BLACK STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION
AVER. MEM.:
DATE FILED:

PURPOSE: SERVE THE INTEREST OF BLACK STUDENTS

SOURCE OF MEMBERS: UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BLACK STUDENTS

DATES FOR ELECTING OFFICERS: MAY 1969
INITIATION FEE: —
ANNUAL DUES: —

PINS, KEYS OR OTHER INSIGNIA ARE ☐ INCLUDED IN FEE ☐ OPTIONAL ☐ REQUIRED — NONE

APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS: UNCERTAIN

CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLY: ☐ SOCIAL OR RECREATIONAL ☐ PROFESSIONAL ☐ SERVICE ☐ EDUCATIONAL ☐ RELIGIOUS ☐ SCHOLASTIC HONORARY ☐ ACTIVITY HONORARY

IS ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION? ______

TREASURER'S SIGNATURE: Albert Gray — ADDRESS: 106 Weston — PHONE: 332-1889

TREASURER'S OFFICE TERM EXPIRES: MAY, 1969 Roger Eubanks

ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE: [illegible] — ADDRESS: 602 E. Stoughton C. — PHONE: 352 1156

PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE: David M. Addison — ADDRESS: 1107 W. Green Apt 221 — PHONE: 344-5966

office phone 3-2304

3M—11-66—91895

STUDENT ORGANIZATION INFORMATION CARD — University of Illinois

TO BE FILLED OUT COMPLETELY BY TREASURER. SIGNED BY ALL PARTIES AND FILED AT 278 ILLINI UNION

ORGANIZATION NAME: Black Student Ass.
AVER. MEM.:
DATE FILED: 4/11/69

PURPOSE: Rep. Black Std. At U. of ILL Champaign, ILL.

SOURCE OF MEMBERS: Black Std. Population A U of Ill.

DATES FOR ELECTING OFFICERS: Optional
INITIATION FEE: —
ANNUAL DUES: —

PINS, KEYS OR OTHER INSIGNIA ARE ☐ INCLUDED IN FEE ☐ OPTIONAL ☐ REQUIRED

APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS:

CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLY: ☐ SOCIAL OR RECREATIONAL ☐ PROFESSIONAL ☐ ~~SERVICE~~ Political ☐ EDUCATIONAL ☐ RELIGIOUS ☐ SCHOLASTIC HONORARY ☐ ACTIVITY HONORARY

IS ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION? ______

TREASURER'S SIGNATURE: Jeffery Roberts — ADDRESS: ~~426 Garner Hall~~ 284 Illini Union — PHONE: ~~332-0315~~ 3-2304

TREASURER'S OFFICE TERM EXPIRES: ______

ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE: Walter E. Maney — ADDRESS: 1713A Valley Rd C. — PHONE: 356-2689

PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE: Clarence L. Cotten — ADDRESS: ~~241 Sherman Hall~~ — PHONE: ~~332-4789~~

CLARENCE L. COTTEN 913 S. 3rd #505-C

3M—11-66—91895

STUDENT ORGANIZATION INFORMATION CARD — University of Illinois

TO BE FILLED OUT AND SIGNED BY EACH NEWLY ELECTED TREASURER, SIGNED BY THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT, AND FILED AT 278 ILLINI UNION WITHIN TWO WEEKS AFTER TAKING OFFICE

ORGANIZATION NAME: Black Student Association — AVER. MEM.: 12 — DATE FILED: 12-8-70

PURPOSE: Black Awareness + Education

ORGANIZATION OFFICE ADDRESS (IF ANY): 294 Union — OFFICE PHONE (IF ANY): 333-2304

CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLY: ☑ SOCIAL OR RECREATIONAL ☐ PROFESSIONAL ☐ SERVICE ☐ FOREIGN STUDENTS ☐ RELIGIOUS ☐ ACTIVITY HONORARY ☐ SCHOLASTIC HONORARY ☑ OTHER ☐ STUDENT GOVERNMENT ☑ POLITICAL

NAME OF NEWLY ELECTED TREASURER (PRINT OR TYPE): Johnnie Harris — DATE TERM EXPIRES: ? June 1971

THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THAT THE FOLLOWING ARE THE NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS OF THE ABOVE NAMED ORGANIZATION

NEWLY ELECTED TREASURER'S SIGNATURE: Johnnie Harris / Johnnie Harris — ADDRESS: 252 Weston — PHONE: 332-1996

NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE: Allen Smith — ADDRESS: 294 Illini Union — PHONE: 3-2304

ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE: [illegible signatures] — ADDRESS — PHONE

2M—7-70—15187

STUDENT ORGANIZATION INFORMATION CARD — University of Illinois

TO BE FILLED OUT AND SIGNED BY EACH NEWLY ELECTED TREASURER, SIGNED BY THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT, AND FILED AT 278 ILLINI UNION WITHIN TWO WEEKS AFTER TAKING OFFICE

ORGANIZATION NAME: Black Students Association — AVER. MEM.: 1000 persons — DATE FILED: 7-21-71

PURPOSE: Social Service and welfare

ORGANIZATION OFFICE ADDRESS (IF ANY): 295 Illini Union — OFFICE PHONE (IF ANY): 333-2304

CHECK WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING APPLY: ☑ SOCIAL OR RECREATIONAL ☑ PROFESSIONAL ☑ SERVICE ☑ FOREIGN STUDENTS ☐ RELIGIOUS ☐ ACTIVITY HONORARY ☐ SCHOLASTIC HONORARY ☑ OTHER ☐ STUDENT GOVERNMENT ☑ POLITICAL

NAME OF NEWLY ELECTED TREASURER (PRINT OR TYPE): RoNald Winley Allen Smith — DATE TERM EXPIRES: 6-72

THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THAT THE FOLLOWING ARE THE NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS OF THE ABOVE NAMED ORGANIZATION

NEWLY ELECTED TREASURER'S SIGNATURE: Allen Smith / Ronald Winley — ADDRESS: 50½ W. California — PHONE: 367 4371

NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE: Ronald Winley — Wensley — ADDRESS: 2103 Hazelwood — PHONE: 344-2977

ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE: Walter Strong — ADDRESS: 130 Student Service — PHONE: 3-0854

WALTER STRONG

2M—7-70—15187

PRESS FIRMLY
You Are Making 5 Copies

APPLICATION FOR REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
For Period July 1, 1972 to October 1, 1973

TO: Office of Organizations
110 Student Services Building

Date 10/19/72

In accordance with the requirements stated on the reverse side of this form, application is made for Registered Status at the University of Illinois. The undersigned persons certify that the organization satisfied the requirements stated on the reverse side and agree that they are the authorized and responsible agents for the organization.

1. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE
2. Is membership limited to staff and/or faculty and their spouses? [ ] yes [✓] no
3. Is the organization incorporated? [ ] yes [ ] no If yes, where? ______
4. Purpose of Organization TO SERVE AS A CATALYST FOR THE ENTIRE BLACK STUDENT POPULATION
5. Does the organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organizations Fund? [✓] yes [ ] no
6. Organization Office Address (if any) 295 Illini Union Phone 3-2304

Check which of the following apply: [ ] social or recreational [ ] political [ ] foreign student [ ] student government [ ] activity honorary [✓] service [ ] scholastic honorary [ ] professional [ ] religious [ ] other

Male Amusa

7. Officers (print or type): Name of Organization Coalition of Afrikan People

	Name	Address	Phone No.
~~President~~ —	NO PRES. but A COUNCIL		
Treasurer —	G. MEEKS, M. SHIELDS, S. GAINES		
Advisor (optional) —			

8. Authorized and Responsible Agents:

Signature	Name	Address	Phone No.
[signature]	Wale Amusa	SCJ, S. Stoughton	352-9751
Glenn Meeks	GLENN MEEKS	105 N. WRIGHT	333-2304

(Please do not write below this line.)

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:

______________________ Date ________

(For Office of Organizations)

PRESS FIRMLY
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APPLICATION FOR REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
For Period July 1, 1972 to October 1, 1973

TO: Office of Organizations
110 Student Services Building

Date DEC 15, 1972

In accordance with the requirements stated on the reverse side of this form, application is made for Registered Status at the University of Illinois. The undersigned persons certify that the organization satisfied the requirements stated on the reverse side and agree that they are the authorized and responsible agents for the organization.

1. Name of Organization Coalition of AFRIKAN People
2. Is membership limited to staff and/or faculty and their spouses? [ ] yes [X] no
3. Is the organization incorporated? [ ] yes [ ] no If yes, where? ______
4. Purpose of Organization serve as a catalyst for the Black Students here at U of I, pol., soc. Econ.
5. Does the organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organizations Fund? [X] yes [ ] no
6. Organization Office Address (if any) 295 Illini Union Phone 3-2304

Check which of the following apply: [ ] social or recreational [ ] political [ ] foreign student [ ] student government [ ] activity honorary [X] service [ ] scholastic honorary [ ] professional [ ] religious [ ] other

7. Officers (print or type): Name of Organization C.A.P.

	Name	Address	Phone No.
President --	PATRICIA TURNER	122 Paddock Dr (C)	359-6081
Treasurer --			
Advisor (optional) --			

8. Authorized and Responsible Agents:

Signature	Name	Address	Phone No.
Rupert Graham	RUPERT GRAHAM	2065 C. ORCHARD ST	344-4256
Glenn Meeks		103 N. WRIGHT Champaign	
Stanley Wooden		117 Paddock Dr Champaign	352-7130
Michael [illegible]		604 W. [illegible] Champaign	35[illegible]1991
Wale Amusa		50[illegible] E. [illegible] Champaign	
Patricia Turner		122 Paddock Dr Champaign	359-6081

(Please do not write below this line.)

2140

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:

[signature] Date 12-18-72
(For Office of Organizations)

PRESS FIRMLY
You Are Making 5 Copies

APPLICATION FOR REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
For Period July 1, 1972 to October 1, 1973

TO: Office of Organizations
110 Student Services Building

Date 3/12/73

In accordance with the requirements stated on the reverse side of this form, application is made for Registered Status at the University of Illinois. The undersigned persons certify that the organization satisfied the requirements stated on the reverse side and agree that they are the authorized and responsible agents for the organization.

1. Name of Organization Coalition of Afrikan People
2. Is membership limited to staff and/or faculty and their spouses? [ ] yes [X] no
3. Is the organization incorporated? [X] yes [ ] no If yes, where? U of I
4. Purpose of Organization Service organization for Blacks affiliated with the
5. Does the organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organizations Fund? [X] yes [ ] no
6. Organization Office Address (if any) 295 Illini Union Phone 333-2304

Check which of the following apply: [ ] social or recreational [ ] political [ ] foreign student [ ] student government [ ] activity honorary [X] service [ ] scholastic honorary [ ] professional [ ] religious [ ] other

295 IU 3-2304

7. Officers (print or type): Name of Organization Coalition of Afrikan People

	Name	Address	Phone No.
~~President~~	OZEAN EDWARDS	901 So. FIRST	359-0028
Treasurer --	ROLAND BROWN	295 GARNER	332-0712
Advisor (optional) --			

8. Authorized and Responsible Agents:

Signature	Name	Address	Phone No.
Christopher Benson		907 W. Hill St.	344-0151
Ozean Edwards		901 S. First	359-0028
Roland Brown		295 Garner	332-0712
Rupert Evelyn Jr.		2065 C. Orchard St	344-4256
[illegible]		295 Illini Union	3-2304

(Please do not write below this line.)

2140

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:

[signature] Date 3-12-73
(For Office of Organizations)

PRESS FIRMLY
You Are Making 4 Copies

APPLICATION FOR REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
For Period July 1, 1973 to October 1, 1974

Oct. 31, 1973

TO: Office of Organizations
110 Student Services Building

Date ~~Sept 30 1973~~

In accordance with the requirements stated on the reverse side of this form, application is made for Registered Status at the University of Illinois. The undersigned persons certify that the organization satisfied the requirements stated on the reverse side and agree that they are the authorized and responsible agents for the organization.

1. Name of Organization Coalition of AfriKan People
2. Is membership limited to staff and/or faculty and their spouses? [ ] yes [X] no
3. Is the organization incorporated? [X] no [ ] yes If yes, where? ______
4. Purpose of Organization To Foster Black Unity, Cooperative Economics (Ujamaa), ~~and~~ Ujima, and Uhuru
5. Does the organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organizations Fund? [X] yes [ ] no Organization Account Number 2140
6. Check which of the following apply: [X] social or recreational [ ] professional [ ] activity honorary [ ] scholastic honorary [ ] foreign student [ ] religious [X] political [X] student government [X] service [ ] other ______

7. Name of Organization Coalition of AfriKan People
Organization Office Address (if any) 295 Illini Union Phone 32304
8. Au~~thorized and~~ Responsible Agents:

Signature	Name (please print)	Address	Phone No.
President--			
Angela McKenzie	Angela McKenzie	143 Busey Hall	332-2588
~~Treasurer~~--			
Roland Brown	Roland Brown	56 E Daniel	356-[illegible]
Advisor (optional)--			
E. Keith Wingate			
Wale, Amusa	[illegible]	295 Illini Union	2-2304
[illegible]	Raleigh Taylor Jr.	214 [illegible]	2-3490
Chris Benson		462 Townsend	2-4218

(Please do not write below this line.)

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:

[signature] (For Office of Organizations) Date 11-1-73

re-regis
petty cash ck

PRESS FIRMLY
You Are Making 4 Copies

APPLICATION FOR REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
For Period July 1, 1974 to October 1, 1975

TO: Office of Organizations
110 Student Services Building

Date 10/8/74

In accordance with the requirements stated on the reverse side of this form, application is made for Registered Status at the University of Illinois. The undersigned persons certify that the organization satisfies the requirements stated on the reverse side and agree that they are the authorized and responsible agents for the organization.

1. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE.
2. Is membership limited to staff and/or faculty and their spouses? [ ] yes [X] no
3. Is the organization incorporated? [X] no [ ] yes If yes, where? ________
4. Purpose of Organization ________
5. Does the organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organizations Fund? [X] yes [ ] no Organization Account Number 2140
6. Check which of the following apply: [ ] social or recreational [ ] professional [ ] activity honorary [ ] scholastic honorary [ ] foreign student [ ] religious [X] political [X] student government [X] service [ ] other ________

7. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE.
Organization Office Address (if any) 295 I. UNION Phone 332-2304
8. Authorized and Responsible Agents:

Signature	Name (please print)	Address	Phone No.
President [signature]	Henry Perkins	810½ Oak [illegible]	351-4985
Treasurer [signature]	Roland Brown	P.O. BOX 2491	
Advisor (optional)—			

(Please do not write below this line.)

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:
[signature]
(For Office of Organizations)

Date 10/23/74

PRESS FIRMLY
You Are Making 4 Copies

re-reg's
petty cash ck

APPLICATION FOR REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
For Period July 1, 1974 to October 1, 1975

TO: Office of Organizations
110 Student Services Building

Date 3/17/75

In accordance with the requirements stated on the reverse side of this form, application is made for Registered Status at the University of Illinois. The undersigned persons certify that the organization satisfies the requirements stated on the reverse side and agree that they are the authorized and responsible agents for the organization.

1. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN People
2. Is membership limited to staff and/or faculty and their spouses? [ ] yes [✓] no
3. Is the organization incorporated? [✓] no [ ] yes If yes, where? ____
4. Purpose of Organization ____
5. Does the organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organizations Fund? [✓] yes [ ] no Organization Account Number 2140
6. Check which of the following apply: [ ] social or recreational [ ] professional [ ] activity honorary [ ] scholastic honorary [ ] foreign student [ ] religious [✓] political [✓] student government [✓] service [ ] other ____

7. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN People
Organization Office Address (if any) 295 I. Union Phone 333-2304
8. Authorized and Responsible Agents:

Signature	Name (please print)	Address	Phone No.
President— Henry Perkins	Henry Perkins	810½ OAK	351-4945
Treasurer— Lurnie Washington	Washington Lurnie	507 W. Oregon	333-2304
Advisor (optional)—			

(Please do not write below this line.)

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:

Stanley W. Baker Date 3/18/75
(For Office of Organizations)

Return to:
Office of Organizations
110 Student Services

APPLICATION
REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
July 1, 1975 to October 1, 1976

Office Use Only:
Re-regis ✓ New
Petty Cash RR

PRESS FIRMLY-
4 copies being made

Date 1/ /76

COMMITMENT- The undersigned persons certify that this organization satisfies all of the requirements stated on the reverse side of this application and that they are the authorized and responsible registered agents for this organization. Submitting this form constitutes an application for status as a Registered Organization in accordance with University regulations pertaining to such organizations.

1. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE

2. Check the appropriate square as to type of membership: /__/ U. of I. students only; /✓/ U. of I. students, staff, faculty; /__/ U. of I. staff, faculty, and spouses only.

3. Is the organization incorporated? /__/ Yes /✓/ No If yes, where?

4. Purpose of organization WATCHDOG STUDENTS OF MINORITY GROUPS RIGHTS & WELFARE

5. Check which of the following apply: /__/ social or recreational /__/ professional /__/ activity honorary /__/ scholastic honorary /__/ political /__/ student government /__/ service /__/ religious /__/ foreign student /__/ other

6. Does this organization wish to deposit its funds in the University Organization Fund? /✓/ Yes /__/ No If yes, organization account number 2140

TITLE IX-OK

7. Name of Organization COALITION OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE
Organization address 295 ILLINI UNION Phone 333-2304

8. Authorized and Responsible Agents:

	Name-PRINT	Name-SIGNATURE	Address	Phone
Pres.	Ethel J. Rice	[signature]	2103 Hazelwood DR	367-0895
V.P.	RONALDO V. JENKINS	[signature]	422 Babcock	332-3830
Sec'y				
*Treas.	RALEIGH TAYLOR JR	[signature]	2012-A ORCHARD	328-1206
Advisor				

Distribution of copies:
A. Office of Organizations
B. Office of Space Utilization
C. Illini Union Reservations
D. Organization President

Please do not write below this line

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:
[signature: Stanley W. Rolin]
(Director of Organizations)

Date 2/3/76

Title IX ok

Office Use Only:
Re-regis ✓ New____
Petty Cash____
Date 09-29-76

Return to:
Office of Organizations
110 Student Services

APPLICATION
REGISTERED ORGANIZATION STATUS
July 1, 1976 to October 1, 1977

INSTRUCTIONS:
Print
Press Firmly (4 copies)

1. Official Name of Organization Coalition of African-Amer. Coalition
   Official Mailing Address 295 Illini Union Phone 3332304

2. Will funds be deposited in the University Organization Fund? ☒ YES ☐ NO If yes, organization account number ____

3. Authorized and Responsible Registered Agents:

	Name-PRINT	Name-SIGNATURE	Address	Phone
Pres.	Ethel Rice	[signature]	2103 Hazelwd. U	3670895
V.P.				
Sec'y				
Treas.	Linda R. Crane	[signature]	914 [illegible]	332-5661
Advisor				

4. Check as to type of membership: ☐ U. of I. students only; ☒ U. of I. students, staff, faculty; ☐ U. of I. staff, faculty, and spouses only.

5. Is the organization incorporated? ☐ Yes ☒ No If yes, where? ____

6. Purpose of organization liason between Black Students and administration, course counseling, social outlet

7. Check as to type: ☐ social or recreational ☐ professional ☐ activity honorary ☐ scholastic honorary ☐ political ☐ student government ☒ service ☐ religious ☐ foreign student ☐ other ____

COMMITMENT - 1) The above signatures certify this organization meets all requirements stated on the reverse side of this application and they are the authorized and responsible registered agents for this organization. 2) Submitting this form constitutes an application for status as a Registered Organization in accordance with University regulations pertaining to such organizations. 3) Maintain a current mailing address at all times.

Distribution of copies:
A. Office of Organizations
B. Office of Space Utilization
C. Illini Union Reservations
D. Organization President

----Please do not write below this line----

ORGANIZATION'S REGISTERED STATUS CONFIRMED BY:

[signature] Date 10/5/76
(Director of Organizations)

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James D. Anderson (Professor)

Jane Loeb (Professor)

Clarence Shelley (Vice Chancellor)

Tony Zamora (Retired Director of the Afro-American Cultural Program)

Afro-American Studies and Research Program

The Daily Illini, 1966-1970

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Joy Ann Williamson

EDUCATION

Ph.D. History of American Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 1998
Dissertation: "'We Hope for Nothing; We Demand Everything.' Black Students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1965-1975."
Dissertation Advisor: Dr. James D. Anderson

A.M. History of American Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, August 1995
Thesis: "Two Theories of Oppression: The Black Panther Party and Cultural Nationalists."
Thesis Advisor: Dr. James D. Anderson

B.S. Psychology and Speech Communications, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 1993

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS:

Teaching Assistant, University of Illinois (Fall 1996-present)

Graduate Administrative Research Assistant, University of Illinois (Summer 1994-Summer 1998)

Research Assistant, University of Illinois (Summers 1994, 1996, 1997)

HONORS AND AWARDS:

Ranked outstanding on "An Incomplete List of Teachers Ranked as Excellent by Their Students Spring 1998 (based on Data Collected Fall 1997)"

Ranked outstanding on "An Incomplete List of Teachers Ranked as Excellent by Their Students Fall 1997 (based on Data Collected Spring 1997)"

Ranked outstanding on "An Incomplete List of Teachers Ranked as Excellent by Their Students Spring 1997 (based on Data Collected Fall 1996)"

Mid-Western Educational Research Association's Charles C. Anderson Jr. Graduate Student Award for paper presented at Mid-Western Educational Research Association Conference (1995)

William Chandler Bagley Fellow, University of Illinois (1994-1995)

Illinois Consortium of Educational Opportunity Program Fellow, State of Illinois (1994-1998)

Minority Academic Partnership Program Fellow, University of Illinois (1993-1994)

Graduated from undergraduate with honors May, 1993: magna cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, with distinction, and University Honors/Bronze Tablet (highest academic award from the University of Illinois)

WORK UNDER REVIEW OR IN PROGRESS:

Williamson, Joy A. "Affirmative Action at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: The 1968 Special Educational Opportunities Program." *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* (forthcoming, May 1998).

Williamson, Joy A. "Black Power on Campus: An Oral History of Black Students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1965-1975." *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* (forthcoming, May 1998).

Williamson, Joy A. "The Black Panther Party's Critique of American Education." (under consideration for a book edited by Dr. William Watkins, University of Illinois at Chicago)

PUBLICATIONS

Williamson, Joy A. "Who is 'Black?' The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1965-1975." *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 24 (1997): 52-56.

PAPER PRESENTATIONS:

Williamson, Joy A. "In Their Own Words: Black Students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1965-1975." American Educational Research Association Conference, San Diego, California, forthcoming, April 1998.

Williamson, Joy A. "Black Power in the Ivory Tower." University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Panel Discussion, Urbana, Illinois, October 1997.

Williamson, Joy A. "Affirmative Action at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: The 1968 Special Educational Opportunities Program." Midwest History of Education Society Conference, Chicago, Illinois, October 1997.

Williamson, Joy A. "Black Power on Campus: An Oral History of Black Students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1965-1975." Midwest History of Education Society Conference, Chicago, Illinois, October 1997.

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Williamson, Joy A. "Political Theory in the Classroom: The Black Panther Party and Cultural Nationalists." Mid-Western Educational Research Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois, October 1995.

Williamson, Joy A. "Translating Theory into Practice: The Black Panther Party and Cultural Nationalists." Seventh Annual National Black Graduate Student Conference, Gainesville, Florida, May 1995.

Williamson, Joy A. "The Civil Rights Movement and Malcolm X as Influences on The Black Panther Party and Cultural Nationalists." Third Annual Eyes on the Mosaic Conference/University of Chicago Minority Graduate Students Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 1995.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Administrative Research Assistant at the Office of Minority Student Affairs, University of Illinois (May 1994-August 1998)

Through this position, I conduct several research studies on the minority population at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I participate in writing the surveys/questionnaires, creating a data set, analyzing the data, and organizing it into proposal/paper format.

Research Assistant, University of Illinois (Summers 1994, 1996, 1997)

With my advisor, Dr. James Anderson, I helped direct several undergraduate students in a summer research program. I read and critiqued written drafts of their research papers and helped them with their individual presentations.

RESEARCH INTEREST/GOALS:

Race, class, ideology and educational reform

The Black Power Movement of the 1960s and its educational legacy

Alternate theories of oppression: class versus race

The issues surrounding independent schooling; specifically African-centered education

The redefinition of education and liberation from 1954 to the present

Notions of critical pedagogy in the history of African American education

TEACHING EXPERIENCE AND PREPARATION:

Teaching Assistant, University of Illinois (Fall 1996-Spring 1998)

As a teaching assistant for "Educational Policy Studies 201: Foundations of American Education," I have complete autonomy in leading my section. I construct my own syllabus, assign reading and writing assignments, and grade all papers and exams. The course seeks to engage students in an historical and critical analysis of key developments in the origins of modern schooling from the Colonial Era to the post-Sputnik reform era as a base for

understanding contemporary educational issues such as ideology, ethnicity, gender, social class, and the control of schooling.

Guest Lecturer, University of Illinois (Spring 1997)

As guest lecturer for "Educational Policy Studies 210: Race and Cultural Diversity in American Life," I instructed the class regarding the catalysts, development, ideologies, and legacy of the Black Power Movement of the late 1960s.

TEACHING INTERESTS OR AREAS:

African American social movements of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s

The educational consequences of the 1960s Black Power Movement

The history of African American education

Oral history as a research tool

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND MEMBERSHIPS:

History of Education Society (1996-present)

Midwest History of Education Society (1996-present)

Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (1996-present)

Association of Black Women Historians (1996-present)

Mid-Western Educational Research Association (1995-present)

National Black Graduate Student Association (1995-present)

Phi Delta Kappa (1995-present)

Phi Delta Pi (1994-present)

American Educational Research Association (1993-present)

Phi Beta Kappa (1993-present)

DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY, AND COMMUNITY SERVICE:

YMCA/YWCA Vis-à-Vis Program, volunteer tutor for two sixth graders in all subjects (Spring 1996-Summer 1996)

Black Graduate Student Association, Vice-President (Fall 1995-Fall 1996)

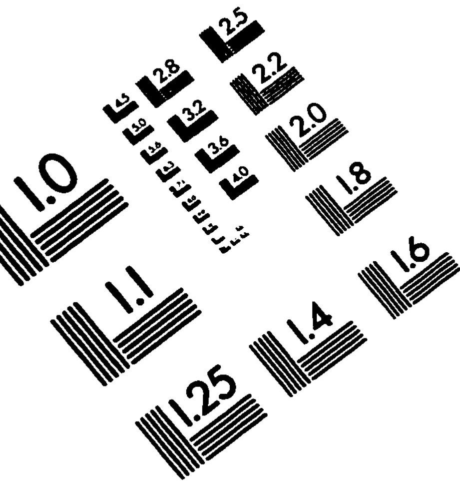
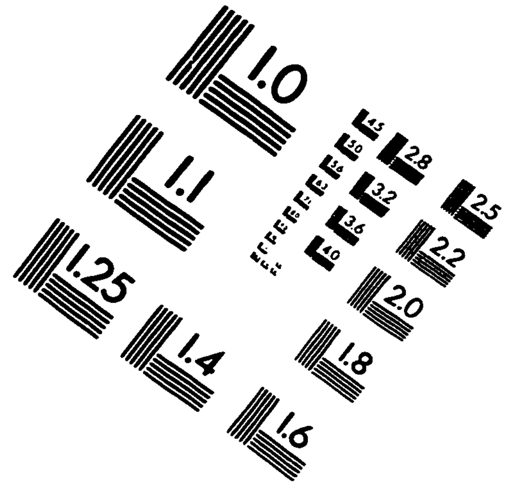
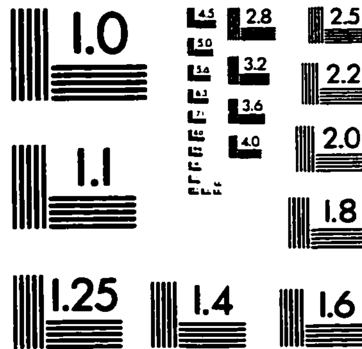
Council of Graduate Students in Education, Department Representative (Fall 1995-Spring 1996)

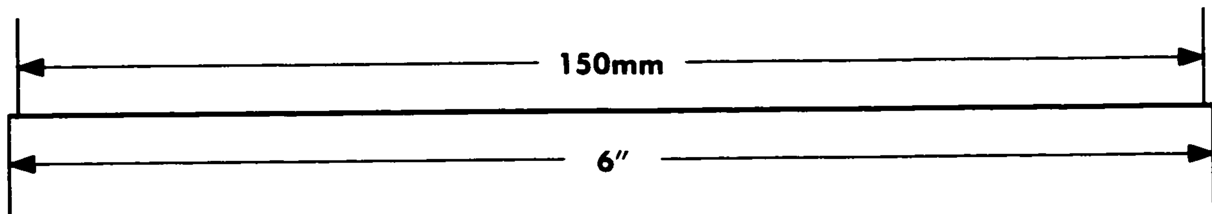
Coalition for Black Graduate Student Development, President and Co-founder (January 1995-May 1995)

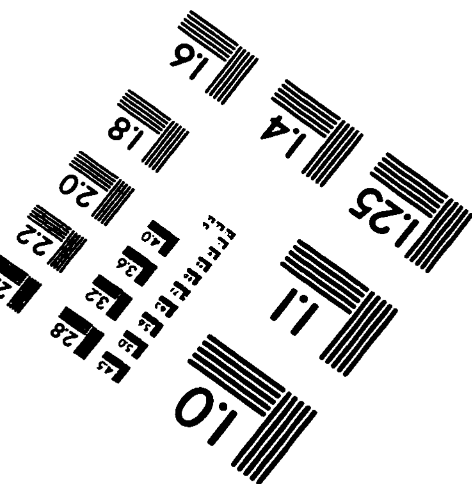
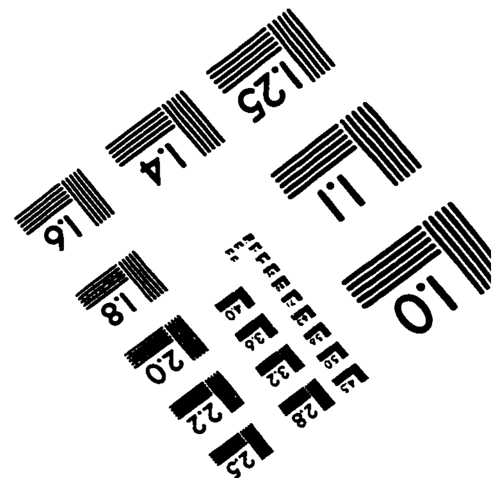
REFERENCES:

Available upon request.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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