

Brothers and Sisters:

Documents of Struggle in Tennessee  
Save Black Schools Conference April 1973  
Peoples College

These are the documents prepared especially for this  
SAVE BLACK SCHOOLS CONFERENCE (April 6-8, Greensboro, North  
Carolina) by Peoples College. We consider these draft documents,  
and we need your criticisms to revise them. When we have com-  
piled similar documents from all Black Schools, and Black Student  
Unions at white schools, then we will publish a book on Black  
Higher Education in Tennessee. We hope to distribute this book in  
September of 1973. We encourage all other states to do a similar  
analysis.

Enclosed in this package are the following documents:

1. Political Education of Black Youth: Aspects of Ideological Development for Black Students
2. State of Tennessee a Profile
3. Map of Higher Education in Tennessee
4. Public Colleges in Tennessee: A Statistical Profile
5. History of Tennessee State University
6. History of Student Struggle at Tennessee State University
7. The Tennessee State Court Case: An Analysis
8. Contemporary Report of TSU Struggle
9. Fisk University History
10. Meharry Medical College History

THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF BLACK YOUTH

1. ASPECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOR BLACK STUDENTS

1973  
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Facism can become the dominant political force in the U. S. A.. The government is becoming a police state, allowing genocidal murder of all revolutionary leadership (among countless other, Medgar Evers, Malik Shabazz, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, Ralph Featherstone, and George Jackson). Moreover, it is also clear that in educational institutions the reactionary forces have mobilized and are prepared to keep under surveillance and purge, all progressive teachers and students. This emergency requires Black people to make a new analysis in order to survive repression, to organize a successful movement for revolutionary change.

And to accomplish this, we must deal with two major questions:

1. What educational alternatives are there for Black people in the USA today?
2. With these alternatives, what must be done by Black students in order to further the revolution rather than retard it?

We are concerned with working out a methodology of education for Black youth. We are concerned with developing a methodology that will work under the most rigid and oppressive forms of fascist militarism. Because whatever the level of repression, the movement must continue to struggle, to endure, to grow in strength, to rise victorious. Our education must be political education based on the concrete experience of our peoples struggle for liberation.

#### CURRENT EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES

The primary function of education in any society is either to uphold and reinforce the status quo, or to generate change in the existing social order. All education that aims to foster revolutionary social change is open to suppression by the ruling class in order that they can maintain their rule unchallenged. So the overwhelming character of most Black education is one of support for the status quo, because most of the education is directly or indirectly controlled by the ruling class establishment.

Until recently, Black educational programs have fit one of two social forms, formal legitimate institutions or mass communication-associations. All are controlled by the same forces in the society, although how well they control education depends on who is involved, what skill/ideas are being communicated, and the structure and process of the educational program. Our oppression is maintained by having a specific educational program for each task the ruling class needs done, for mobilization and pacification, for production and consumption, for peace and war, for work and welfare. Most educational programs have an institutional aspect and a mass aspect in order to reach the maximum number of people/students.

Legitimate institutions are licensed by the government to train-educate specific people in specific subject-skills. There are four major types of institutions within which Black youth are educated; training for a job, basic training in the military, the public schools, and religious instruction. The government is also involved with these institutions because (a) it grants contracts for these training programs, negotiates tax credits for business concerns provides police guards to protect the property used by the programs, (b) it runs the military, (c) it runs the public schools, (d) and controls the possible non-profit tax exempt status of churches and all private school.

# PATTERNS OF U. S. A. EDUCATION FOR BLACK YOUTH

<u>Social Form</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Example</u>
1. Legitimate Institution	a. Church	a. National Baptist Convention
	b. School	b. Public School System
	c. Prison	c. Attica State Prison
	d. Military	d. United States Army
	e. Plant	e. Ford Motor Company
2. Mass Communications Associations	a. Popular Culture	a. Motown Productions
	b. Electronic Media	b. Television-Radio
	c. Community Centers	c. YWCA, Boys Club, etc.
	d. Youth Associations	d. Black P. Stone Nation
	e. Print Media	e. Jet Magazine
3. New Black Community Institutions	a. New Schools	
	1. Ideological Program	1. Peoples College
	2. Technical School	2. Malcolm X Liberation University
	b. Mass Media	
	1. Publishing	1. Peoples College Press
	2. Distribution	2. Timbuktu Bookstore

The Church: The most grass roots institution in the Black community is the church, the most basic social form consisting of the minister and his congregation. The influence of the church with Black youth demonstrates the strength of a Black institution, including the administrative skills of traditional Black leadership (the minister). The traditional church has been the social basis for the recent civil rights movements, and for recent programs to develop Black business. It has yet to prove its potential to breed revolutionary youth like the priests of Bolivia and the Islam of Zanzibar. The church is more important in the rural areas, with poor (working class-welfare) Black peoples, and older people. It has promoted the ideas of non-violence and other worldly concern for justice.

The School: The most universal educational experience for Black youth is the school, and normally a school run by the federal, state or local government the 1969 school enrollemnt of Black People:

<u>Age group</u>	<u>% in School</u>
14-15	98.1
16-17	89.7
18-19	50.2
20-24	23.0
25-29	7.9
30-34	4.8

It is evident that school is the basic educational experience for Teenagers, as contrasted by an earlier influence of the church, and later influence of the military, prison, and plant.

Those few who go continue to college were distributed in the following pattern in 1970:

1970 BLACK ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

TYPE OF COLLEGE			NUMBER	ENROLLMENT	% OF TOTAL
Traditional Black Institutions	Private	Senior	51	53,050	11.3%
	Private	Two-year	11	2,950	0.6
	Public	Senior	34	102,025	21.7
	Public	Two-year	4	1,975	0.4
TOTAL			100	160,000	34.0
Traditional White Institutions	Private	Senior	1,150	35,000	7.5
	Private	Two-year	250	2,000	0.4
	Public	Senior	400	2,000	26.0
	Public	Two-year	700	151,000	32.1
TOTAL			2,5000	310,000	66.0
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>			2,6000	470,000	100.0%

\*Includes all Black public schools like Malcom X College in Chicago.

This table breaks the myth of the dominant function of the traditional Black institution. Most Black college students are found in either the urban community two year junior college, or the traditionally white or Black public college (79.8%).

The main purpose of any school supported by the government is the continued support of the society as it is currently structured. If education functions to keep things the way they are, then it is "legitimate" to the government. But if the education results in movements for change to radically alter the structure of the society, then the government will use the military to stop it. So most schools are indoctrination centers, even though the rhetoric is often of academic freedom and intellectual development.

The Prison: In the midst of a police state it is normal for an oppressed people to anticipate being arrested and brutalized in jail and the court. This gets dramatic when the experience of young urban Blacks is analysed for the degree and frequency of contact with police. The "pigs" are literally everywhere. But there is a difference between spending musance time in jail, and "doing time", although both should be avoided. The average daily number of actual inmates inside of the so-called correctional institutions was 425,673. Here is the 1960 data for Black inmates:

1960 BLACK PRISON POPULATION

<u>AGE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Under 15	324
15-19	11,197
20-24	24,019
25-39	67,469
Total	133,249



(This has of course gone up during the turbulent 60's particularly in the per centage of inmates who fall in the younger age catagories.)

The prison breeds a warriors curse inside a man, a course when coupled with political ideology can be the force behind revolutionary armed struggle. Recent struggles inside of the prisons throughout the country e.g. in San Quentin, Soledad, and Attica state prisons) have demonstrated the impact of a younger inmate population with the consciousness of their generation in extreme confrontation with the system on a 24 hour basis.

The Military: Between the ages of 18 and 26 young Black men have been drafted into the military. They are forced to learn about and wage war against whoever the ruling class views as an enemy. The military codes of conduct and its authoritarian decision making structure are the basis for the most total pattern of discipline any Black youth is required to follow.

#### BLACKS IN U. S. A. ARMED FORCES

	Officer	Enlisted	Total
Army	5,392 (3.4%)	143,926 (13.5%)	149,318 (12.1%)
Navy	511 (0.7)	30,425 (5.4)	30,936 (4.8)
Marine Corps	296 (1.3)	23,294 (11.2)	23,590 (10.2)
Air Force	<u>2,202 (1.7)</u>	<u>73,227 (11.7)</u>	<u>75,429 (10.0)</u>
total	8,401 (2.)	270,872 (11.1)	279,273 (9.8)

The Plant: The knowledge and skills required to hold most jobs available for Black Youth today are provided though "the Plant", on the job training. The major reason for this is the degree of control demanded by the corporation over who they train and for what, especially making sure that the surplus labor of the unemployed is not educated to the point of being self-conscious about their marketable labor. Working class education is tied directly to the company, and more often than not is focused on specific jobs. This requires periodic retraining programs, another mechanism of control whereby a portion of the work force is made obsolete by not allowing them to acquire the new skills necessary for the new jobs.

An intended result of this type of education is the discipline required to do productive work. So working class youth are given the basic discipline of revolutionary work in the process of being exploited by the industrial capitalists. The development of working class consciousness and discipline for Black youth is one of the most basic class to support for revolutionary change.

A summary about these institutions should be based on the fact that as the contradiction heightens within any type it will become more like a prison. This is currently happening in the urban high schools, in military posts in the U. S., Germany, and Vietnam, and in major industrial complexes like auto and steel. This is the process of institutional development that matures with the advent of facism. The violent rule of military forces is the only way the ruling class will be able to function to keep capitalism, to read super profits.

It is also important to focus-on the institutional forces at work on the different age groups. The importance of this becomes clear when it is realized that people in their early twenties are a generation who have experienced extreme institutional contact. This means that this age group has experienced the contradictions at the very point of maximum contact with the institutions. From the church and civil rights, to school and Black studies, to work and Black capitalism,

to prison and Attica, to military and Vietnam.

The total coverage of the public schools (and private colleges mainly supported with federal funds) means that we must understand Black Community mass education as supplementary for most young Black people. However, it is of primary importance for those people who stop going to school, either because they finish or they quit. This is about 70% of blacks 18-20. The main educational tools are records, radio-stations, cultural programs, bookstores and publishers. The existence of more than a radio station (and the 2 or 3 National Black television programs) is mainly in cities, particularly in the north with large Black populations.

These community educational activities are directed by white ownership and control. The Black oriented shows on television and radio are paid for by white business sponsorship and oriented toward either cultural nationalism or assimilationism as long as it does not reflect a challenge to the power structures from a revolutionary mass following, (just check out the coexistence of Black Journal, Mod Squad, Soul Train and most of the Black popular music programs on the radio). Less than 15 Black oriented radio station in the USA are owned and managed by Black people, and no television time is controlled by Black people.

With the development of Motown and Stax Recording companies, Black people have the capacity to produce records on a large scale, although their access to the market of Black consumers is still controlled by white agencies. So, it is with the community based cultural and political programs that we find the smallest area of direct white intervention. With these community programs the situation is more akin to neo-colonialism in that there is no direct control (like having a white news director of a radio station), but only economic control (like a white owner). Most community based programs have up til this point been existing on funds from white agencies (government, foundations, churches and businesses). Cultural community programs have easy access to most institutions (schools, prisons, churches) although political community programs are fairly limited to churches and local community facilities.

Singing and dancing is alright, but political analysis is often not allowed.

The development of new Black educational institutions is recent, and results from contradictions within the established institutions. After the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King, there was a rapid increase in the number of black students admitted to colleges. However, this was shortlived and began to be cutback during the recessions of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The failure of colleges and public schools was forced by the rising consciousness of the growing masses of Black students, who quickly discovered the limitations of "liberals." At the height of the struggles, vanguard elements pulled out of their educational (and often Black Studies) programs to form independent programs. The struggles at Duke University led to Malcolm X Liberation University, at University of Chicago and Chicago public schools led to Malik Shabazz Communiversity, at Fisk University, Tennessee State University and Meharry Medical College led to Peoples College. (One must also include here the 40 or so nationalist-oriented programs for the pre-school and primary grades.)

The significance of these schools is based on several important aspects of their development:

(a) They have been born out of significant educational struggles and must be considered the next (second) generation of these struggles;

(b) Hence, the programs seem to have the historical role of providing continuity from one phase of struggle to the next. While there are relatively few people currently involved in these programs, the participants are some of the most highly motivated people in the struggle. So an advance corps of cadre are likely to develop within these programs.

(c) They have served as cauldrons of ideological ferment, and will likely be the basis of new ideological formations working among the masses of people.

(d) They are experimental programs without substantial resources or "legitimacy," and are the proof of self-reliance, the proof of Black people educating each other.

The new mass media had developed in anticipation of the current contraction of the publishing world away from the "Black titles. During the rise of Black studies every publishing house moved to get several Black authors, but now the trend has reversed. Books will once again go out of print. So, several publishing efforts have been developed. This has been a cultural development, in general but there are at least 4 political publishers. The key problem is distribution.

On the question of distribution, it is important to point out the rapid decline of Black Bookstores. Two roads of development are now possible other than closing up: (1) diversify and sell more than books (e.g. incense, jewelry, cards for all occasions) and (2) based the store on political commitment of sponsors who subsidize the store. Actually, both are necessary because this is a period of walking on two legs of development.

It is important to understand the whole range of activities that serve to educate Black Youth. And here, we use education to include all behavior based wholly or in part on providing knowledge and skills that will enable a person to survive (each a living observe codes of conduct, etc.). So, we have discussed three major types of educational experiences, (a) formal "legitimate" institutions, (b) mass communications and (c) programs of a new type.

The key to changing education from being oppressive (and based on needs to exploit labor at higher skill levels) to liberating is based on struggle. On the eve of the October, Revolution in 1917, Lenin clearly understood this:

"The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary struggle. Only the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will.

## 2. THE EDUCATION OF MALCOLM

One of the ways this struggle for a liberating education can be seen is in the life of Malcolm. A previous generation of Black Youth has given Up From Slavery, the autobiography of Booker T. Washington, as a model. And we are currently being assaulted by romantic criminal or police "heroes." Therefore, it is imperative that we struggle to keep Malcolm's life in the forefront of analysis, and use his autobiography as a model for Black Youth. Malcolm embraced Booker T. and the gangster, but kept developing to a higher stage, a stage of struggle.

# EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS AND THE LIFE OF MALIK SHABAZZ

<u>Context</u>	<u>Stage of Life</u>	<u>Major Educational Experiences*</u>
1. Legitimate USA Institutions	Malcolm Little (age 0-16)	Pleasant Grove School (1)  Lansing West Junior High School (1)  Detention Home (2)  Mason Junior High School (2)
2. "Street Life" Black Community	Detroit Red (age 16-21)	Apprenticeships Shorty (3)  Freddie (3)  Bimbi (10)  Mr. Muhammed (12)
3. Black Community Institutions	Malcolm X  El Hajj Milik  El Shabazz (age 22-40)	Minister (teacher) (13)  Muhammed Speaks (14)  Pilgrimage to Mecca (17)  OAU (19)

\*Number are Chapter references to the Autobiography of Malcolm X

(New York: Grove Press, 1965)

The first 16 years: Malcolm Little had the institutional experience of most young Black people. He went to public schools, was expelled and sent to detention home. However, was allowed to stay in the detention home, and finish Junior High School without being sent on to reform school.

The ages 16-21: Malcolm learned how to be successful in the streets as a hustler. Also, he learned how to escape from the high rate of failure in the streets by serving as an apprentice to men who by their successful experiences had credentials to teach. He was called Detroit Red during this period. This was primarily on an apprenticeship basis learned through practice. After being incarcerated, Malcolm began to learn by reading in the prison library, with particular inspiration from a fellow prisoner named Bimbi, as well as his family and Mr. Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm X: After his conversion to Islam and his appointment as a Minister he began to teach. During this period he continued to learn from Mr. Muhammad, and began to study his enemy. Malcolm X was firmly rooted in the Nation of Islam and helped start many Mosques as well as the National newspaper Muhammad Speaks.

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz: This was the final period of his life. He moved away from the exclusivist religious orientation of the Nation of Islam to a more inclusive political ideology of Black Nationalism. In his words, "its time to put religion in the closet" and for All Black people to come together under the banner of Black Nationalism.

The life of Malik Shabazz moved from the legitimate institutions of USA society, to the creation of a political organization for all Black people-- The Organization of Afro-American Unity. We can view this as the dialectical movement from an alien institutional base to a negation of all so called legitimate institutions, finally moving to a higher level of synthesis by participation in the creating of a new institutional base with a new Black legitimacy.



It is important to understand that Malcolm Little and Detroit Red are different sides of the same coin. Both are functions of this society in a direct manner, one positively-one negatively. Malcolm Little is every brother and sister who believes that they can achieve what they want by following "the normal pattern" laid out in a public school or college. Detroit Red is the opposite of this since he is basing his thing on beating this same system. Often the criminal is tied to the law in much the same way as the judge, only they are on opposite sides.

### 3. WHAT MUST BE DONE BY BLACK STUDENTS

One basic observation is that most Black youth experience educational activities inside public school systems, although cultural and political forces in the community are basic educational forces. A second observation is that both mass experiences and the new institutions only come about in response to the failure of legitimate institutions. In fact they result from the contradictions inherent in oppressive educational institutions.

This last point is very crucial. For the past ten years (since the 1957 integration riots in Little Rock, Arkansas) contradictions have been raised by mass confrontation. This has for the most part advanced our struggle forward. However, each form of confrontation could only be used for a limited period of time, because the authorities would adjust their control mechanisms and be ready to cut it short, or the people would get used to it and it would lose its effectiveness (picketing can become like picnicking). We have passed the stage of seizing and/or burning campus buildings without understanding the basis for such action, as well as lacking a scientific basis for anticipating and dealing with consequences of such action. As the contradictions are heightened, the cost of repression gets very high. So our strategy must also move to a higher level.

So we are concerned with working out a methodology of Education for Black Youth. We are concerned with developing a methodology that will work under the most rigid and oppressive form of fascist militarism so that whatever happens we can continue with the struggle prepared to endure, growing in strength to rise victorious.

The methodology must include two sets of concepts:

1. THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE:

This means summarizing what has been learned from past activities into clear ideas (theory), with concrete action that is being guided by these ideas (practice). We need theory because ideas that represent existing knowledge (truth) must be used to guide our action; and we need practice because only through practical application of an idea to a new situation can you gain any new knowledge.

2. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMUNITY AND SELF

We must understand the importance of every person being recognized as an individual with all of the uniqueness of his or her personality and life. But we must also stress that correct political motivations are as selfless as possible, and based on the needs of the Black community, as we fight for every flower to bloom, we must understand that none can until they all can.

This protects us from the dangers of intellectual irrelevance, and mindless action, from loss of self as well as self-centeredness. The methodology must be dynamic and capable of constant use over and over as the situation of the world changes, and we move from place to place. It must be change oriented, and help us to deal with objective reality in terms of conflict and changes.

By focusing on the above two contradictions, it is possible to understand ideological development in a very clear way. And when one actually experiences it, it is clear that the development is not completely evolutionary but revolutionary as well. It demonstrates that sustained consistent activity in one stage leads to the next one and so on until another level is reached (quantitative change leads to qualitative change).

The four stages of development indicate the concrete involvement necessary for all key participants in any program for change. Everyone who is on the central committee, staff, or board of a program ought to systematically share the collective experience of all four stages. With such an ideologically framework to guide the development of a group, it is more possible to insure even ideological developments.

The four stages do not occur in a simple sequential order but often develop simultaneously.

STAGES OF IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOCUS OF STRUGGLE

Kind of Struggle	Theory (analysis)	BLACK COMMUNITY	SELF
		(1) <u>STAGE ONE</u> analyse concrete conditions of all educational alternatives with in geographical units of political work (institution, city, country, state, region)	(2) <u>STAGE TWO</u> A. Locate self in analysis of Existing Problems  B. Project self in analysis of proposed solution
	Practice (Action)	(3) <u>STAGE THREE</u> Independent basic changes in individual levels of commitment and program work based on new analysis of concrete conditions	(4) <u>STAGE FOUR</u> Organize new educational programs in Black community to continue process of heinting the contradictions to promote basic strategies of change.

Stage One: As we have suggested above, it is necessary to have a total analysis of all educational alternatives being use by Black people. This enables one to have an overview of all that is happening. The only way to accomplish this is to read newspapers, magazines and journals that contain relevant information.

1. Rulling Class Publications:
  - a. Fortune (monthly)
  - b. Foreign Affairs (Quarterly)
  - c. New York Times (Daily, esp. Sunday)
  - d. Wall Street Journal (Daily)
2. Revolutionary Publications:
  - a. Tricontinental (Bi-Monthly)
  - b. Guardian (Weekly)
  - c. Monthly Review (Monthly)
3. Black Liberation
  - a. African World (Bi-Weekly)
  - b. Muhammad Speaks (weekly)

It is also necessary to become acquainted with government publications and statistics. The oppressors information must be used as a tool for our liberation just as much as it is used against us. Send a post card asking to be placed on the mailing list for "Selected U. S. A. government Publications":

Superintendent of Documents  
 Attn: "S. L." mail list  
 Government Printing Office  
 Washington, D. C. 20402  
 U. S. A.

And equally as important as this reading material is the vital experiential information that one gets by traveling to different places to examine a program first hand. And when we can't travel we have to use the telephone (call on weekends or at night for the cheapest rate) and the mails (get a P. O. Box for continuity). Most programs have some material that they will send to interested brothers and sisters.

This analysis must take into consideration both educational problems that face Black people, and the solutions that Black people are using to deal with these problems.

All analysis must be primarily concerned with the struggle of class interests. The important issue is to clearly understand how Black liberation struggle is a part of the socialist Revolution in the U. S. A. The Black Man has been and is a mass exploited working man, whose condition is the objective basis for revolution in the U. S. A. So we must have a clear conception of the contradictions of class and race.

It is necessary (as it is enevitable) that the masses of Black rural and urban workers will develop class consciousness and become a conscious part of working class struggle. Two problems exist:

- (a) how to overcome racist attitudes and feelings among white workers?
- (b) how to transform the Black middle class (as much as possible into an ally of the Black masses?

It is in the interest of the ruling class to maintain these problems. Only by successfully dealing with these problems can we have a revolutionary movement.

STEP TWO: This involves using the total analysis in order to better understand ones self. This can either refer to an individual or to a small group of people. The first step is to locate yourself within the total analysis, and specify the particular characteristics of your situation. Once you have objectively located yourself the way you are now, then you will be able to clearly state what is in your class interest. By this we mean every group of people found in the analysis has a class position relative to the total society and this position has "normal" behavior associated with it. A capitalist has the "normal" interest of making money, exploiting someone to make money. A "normal" hustler will exploit people even to the point of prostituting women stealing etc. So you must identify what your objective interests are under these so called "normal" terms, to exploit or to be exploited.

Once you have focused in on the way things are, then you can project the way things must be, the way they ought to be. This means that you have clearly defined the objective interests of every group of Black people, and are choosing the objective interests of all your people to end exploitation, rather than the interests of one specific group of people and allow exploitation of others to continue.

The revolutionary guideline is THE LAST MUST COME FIRST. This means that the revolutionary choice is to choose the objective interests to those people most exploited in our community as the people whose objective interests you choose to lead your life to serve-the wretched of the earth. Once you project yourself into the objective interests of the most exploited Black people, then and only then are you prepared to make the Revolutionary Act of Class Defection. It is not possible without an understanding of the social structure and dynamic of change within the Black community. And only by choosing the wretched of the earth is it possible to work creatively for all the people.

The objective interests of the exploited Black worker are the concrete conditions of revolution. It is best to be actually experiencing these conditions to change them, because only by direct experience with the concrete conditions of exploitation can one best determine the value of any change. However, all knowledge is not solely based on direct experience, so we can indirectly learn from the experience of others and internalize it as our experience.

What precisely is this Revolutionary Act of Class Defection? Simply put it means you no longer live for the particular interests of what are called normal middle class people. No longer do you want to be a doctor for the money and status, be playboy for the attention and things you get, no longer do you want to be anything the society wants you to be. Rather you use the objective conditions of those Black people most exploited to establish priorities. (Black working class interests). Then you use these priorities to determine what you must do. The change is from what you want to do, to what you must do. Yes, you might still be a doctor, but not because its what your mama wanted (money, status, etc.) Now you will be a doctor because the health needs of your people demand that, if you have the appititude and the inclination, then you must be a doctor. This way of approaching things means that you have to turn your back on what is "normal" for a student-- you must defect from your class inclinations.

In order to understand the full meaning of this you must study the lives of other revolutionaries in order to see how they make the act of defection. Study how both Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon were trained in medicine and both became revolutionaries. How the choice was made by Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Fidel Castro (Cuba), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania). You must become acquainted with the intimate details of their lives so you will understand that all of the seemingly small considerations that are large to you had to be faced by all of these men on their way to revolution.

STEP THREE: Once you have a clear set of priorities with which you will move forward it is time to implement changes in your life. The only correct move under a government headed toward facism is to first change those things that you hvae complete control over and that involves other people as little as possible. The purpose for this must be understood. You never move from a position of weakness, you always avoid confrontation (if you can), until you have mobilized and unified all your resources.

And the easiest way to measure ones committment is to use the objective resources of time and money.

(A.) Time: All of us are trapped in the 24 hour day. And each of us uses that much time every day. A way to check yourself is to keep a diary for a few days or weeks. Then ask yourself about how consistantly you have or have not utilized this time to do relevant things in light of your priorities. Whatever you spend you time doing is what you are committed to.

WE MUST SEIZE THE TIME.

(B.) Money: All of us use money (or one of its forms, e.g., credit). No matter how much it is, it is possible to keep a weekly financial record of every penny and evaluate its use in the same way that you looked at time. We've got to minimize cosmetics, clothers, cars, liquor, house furnishings, excess foods, etc. we've got to maximize consumption of political knowledge. Now is the time to tighten up. WE MUST SAVE OUR MONEY.

These two exercises are indispensible in have an objective criteria to use in changing your life.

The use of time and money in ones life represents an objective approach to getting onesself together. A student must also examine the substance of his student life and implement specific changes there. Most schools present the



student with certain given alternatives, and allow the student to make choices. The basic academic choices involve a major, specific courses, and topics for term papers. Each choice is twofold: a) what are you going to choose? and b) what are you going to do with your choice? Both choices must reflect your new theoretical analysis of your people and yourself. Both choices must be maximized for struggle. You've got to choose your areas of study in a serious manner, then work hard so you can make a contribution to your people.

A major problem with the kind of work that Black students are engaged in is that it is impossible to get yourself together without dealing directly with reality. This is a combination of social practice and social research. Without social practice one cannot possibly understand the dynamics of life and struggle. Without social research a person will never know more than his own experiences, except what he gets vicariously through the experiences of others. And for both practice and research we must go directly to the action itself. We need a basic method for research on the world, not just research on writings that interpret the world. The student must become a scientist using the world as his laboratory.

A final point on how to implement changes in your life concerns environment, both physical and social. You've got to consider both positive and negative influences on you. The first major point is that everything is political, even the air you breathe, the food you eat, the house you live in, and the friends you have. This means that these things are the direct or indirect result of decisions and historical forces reflecting class interests. And the fact is that not much consideration is given to the interests of the wretched of the earth. So as a person now using the interests of our most exploited sisters and brothers as a guide, you must constantly analyse everything in a political manner. Even the most insignificant thing might turn out to be of some political value if you are able to understand it correctly.

In the physical space you have to live in (eat, sleep, study, etc.) you should consider the political content of all your senses, start picking up: What do you see? What do you hear? What do you taste? What do you smell? What do you touch? You must examine all of these things and change them to the same set of priorities you are now using to reorganize your life. This is very important as support since the rest of your life will be encountering negative forces beyond your immediate control. Now I am not so much concerned about the Motown sound (popular Black music) as I am tape collection of important lectures and discussion for your study purposes. I am talking about basically healthy foods and not the excessive storing of expensive health food store items. In sum, your physical environment must have an high utility for what your life is going to be about.

Ones social environment is to be dealt with the same manner as his physical scene, although there is much possibility of creating change. If you are to become a political person, then you must prepare to lead a political life.

This means that when we move to get ourselves together we must spend as much time as possible around people who are doing the same thing. We must understand that it is no longer about what we like, or what has pleased us up to this point. We are now acting as political agents making choices based on their political utility for struggle. So you have a revolutionary responsibility to help your friends move with you, or to cut them loose. Its as simple and as cold as that.

STEP FOUR: Once you have established the political direction for your life, then and only then is it advisable to move to organize a new educational experience. Because only then will you be prepared to deal with even a small study group as a revolutionary undertaking that is vital for the struggle. Because only then will you be able to identify and attract other people who are also political rather than just people who don't quite know what to do with themselves. And because

only then will you be able to perform "acts that will serve as a mobilizing force and an example.

The basis for any new organizing effort is the corps of people who are primarily responsible. You must attempt to have as much rapport as possible. And for this it is necessary to share Steps one, two, and three so that you will be fully aware of where a person is and not make the mistake of taking something for granted that very well may not be true. No assumption is valuable unless you can back it up with evidence. If you are concerned with the peoples survival and triumph then you must understand the limitations of everymans word and require a factual basis for everything. The truth is an objective reality to which everybody must submit his life for judgement.

We have now reached the point of the creation of new institutions based on revolutionary educational principles. The first and most obvious thing is to do a careful study of similar educational programs. This must include some attempts that failed as well as those that succeeded, because only in that way can you figure out what went wrong. This program of Study should not be limited to the Black community in the United States. We must begin to become knowledgeable about the revolutionary educational programs in all progressive countries, all over Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And if at all possible include educational programs from everywhere else as well. (Ignorance is the most dangerous enemy of a revolutionary, and all ideology that keeps a man ignorant is bad and ought to be discussed as bullshit!).

And now that we have discussed some general guidelines to follow it is important that we make clear what are some specific programatic educational alternatives for most Black communities. Here are a list of four community programs.

1. COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA: Every community ought to be informed of what is happening. Although most people get hold of major national news, frequently what is happening in the world as well as in the local

community, goes unreported. We must make our people aware of what is happening. Remember that both Muhammad Speaks and the Black Panther Newspaper were mimeographed handouts before they became national newspapers. And also think about how effective the white radical America. This is an important educational arm of struggle that must be developed before things start happening to us and there is no established way to get things out. In a police state the press of liberation is one of the first targets of repression. We must have an effective communications system so that we can keep the people wise to whats going on. The Peoples News ought to be given away free to the people, or at absolute cost. All cadres who take this task must have an alternative way to make their living unless through advertisement (consistant with the papers policy) it is possible to raise funds.

2. INFORMATION CENTER: The most common form of info-center is the bookstore. We need to have one in every community so that material that is published elsewhere can be distributed to the people from a regular location. In addition to the relevant newspapers, magazines, and journals the information center should have a section on Africans in the West (Afro-Americans), Africa, Revolution, and the Enemy. Again, the store ought to deal in the most inexpensive articles (editions of books) and attempt to keep the overhead costs to a minimum. All questions concerning this program should be made to TIMBUKTU, 887 Hunter Street, Atlanta, Ga.

3. STUDY GROUPS: The formation of study groups must be based on the commitment of each individual involved. The weakest person defines the strength of the group. Material ought to be read for depth and comprehension, rather than to superficially treat alot of material. A few books like, Black Bourgeoise, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Black Awakening in Capitalist America and How Europe Undeveloped Africa can be well studied for an extended time and result in a very useful understanding of exploitation both externally and internally to the Black community. In study groups full participation of everyone must be required, and should include alot of writing, short explanations, description of material from memory (if necessary including the definitions of words), and use of material interpreting personal experiences. When a study group finishes with a book, everyone ought to be able to teach what is in the book and relate it to the concrete realities of the groups political life. The revolutionary saying is "If you don't know study, if you know teach."

4. SCHOOL: The creation of a school involves the highest form of participation because it not only involves several study groups, it is possible (and desirable) to think of a school as at least having the above three programs as parts of it. The last approach has a great many problems associated with it that requires another more lengthy analysis. All that we will say here is that Washington, D. C., Chicago, Greensboro and Nashville have

Black independent schools that deserve much study if such schools are to grow and develop. All questions concerning this area should be mailed to: Peoples College, P. O. Box 5747, Nashville Tennessee.

CONCLUDING NOTE

This paper has attempted to do two things: (1) to describe the current educational alternatives facing Black people today, and (2) to develop a method for Black students (who must be a vital asset for Black Struggle) to move forward in a revolutionary manner. It is hoped that those who read this paper will attempt to use it, will engage in revolutionary social practice.

1970's must be a new decade of struggle for the Black student. The Black student must make the Revolutionary act of Class Defection and move for the interests of his people, the wretched of the earth.

## STATE OF TENNESSEE: A PROFILE

BY

PEOPLES COLLEGE

Tennessee shares its borders on the North with Kentucky and Virginia; on the East with North Carolina; on the South with Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The Mississippi River forms its Western Boundary separating it from Missouri and Arkansas. Its extreme length is 432 miles and its extreme width is 112 miles, encompassing 42,244 sq. miles of which 878 sq. miles are water surface.

Tennessee is nicknamed the "Volunteer State" having established some sort of record in furnishing volunteers in the war of 1812 and the Mexican War. It entered the union in 1796 as the 16th state.

The name "Tennessee" is of Native American origin and is generally believed to be derived from the name of an ancient Cherokee capital.

The mean annual temperature of the state varies from 57 degree F in the East in the high elevations of Unaka Mountains to 60 degree F in the West in the Mississippi River Valley.

The state is divided into three (3) geo-political sections; East, Middle, and West Tennessee.

### FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CENTERS

The components of finance capital (Banks, Manufactories, Insurance Companies, Retail House) in Tennessee are located in Memphis in the West, Nashville in Middle Tennessee, and Knoxville and Chatanooga in the East.

Within these centers are concentrated 1,366,000 (41.6%) of the states 3,283,000 total inhabitants and 396,000 (62.7%) of the 632,000 Black people in the state.

Primarily an agricultural state until the 1930's Tennessee ranks 2nd in the Southeast in manufacturing and has the 3rd largest labor force involved in manufacturing in the region though ranking only 5th in population.

Among leading industries are chemicals, fiber glass production, electrical machinery, wearing apparel, fabricated metals, primary metals, and paper and allied products. Large installations include the aluminum plant at Alcoa (town changed its name when plant moved in); DuPont plants at Kingsport, Old Hickory, and New Johnsonville; Newsprint Mills at Calhoun; Owens-Corning plant in Jackson; Ferro and Genesco plants in Nashville; etc.

A resurging phenomenon occurring in the industrial sector is the location of "Run-Away Shops" in Tennessee. Giants of plunder such as Firestone (of Liberian and Indochina Infamy), in attempts to escape the rank- and- file trade union militancy, in their Northern shops are relocating plants in states such as Tennessee, where labor is more unorganized than not and where wages (the cost of labor) is low (the per capita income in Tennessee ranks 43rd in the nation!!)

Firestone is not the only multi-national in Tennessee. Maxey and Franklin Jarman's Genesco Corporation maintains its home offices in Nashville. Genesco is the largest manufacturer of clothing apparel in the world, responsible for retailing most the the commercial footwear in Africa. The Ferro-Corporation, based in Cleveland has one of its three fiber glass production plants in Nashville. Ferro operates in fourteen (14) other countries, including countries in Latin America and in South Africa!!

In the home of the Tennessee Valley Authority Tennessee manufacturies are the largest consumers of hydro-electric power in the Southeast.



## AGRICULTURE

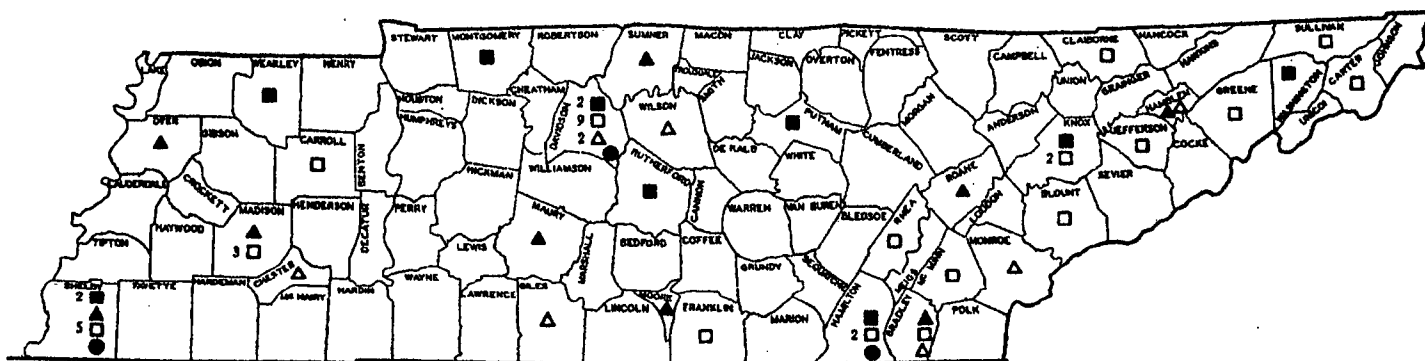
Along with the urbanization and industrialization of the Tennessee populous in general, particularly the Black populous, has been the emergence of Agri-Business. Tennessee agricultural barons averaged more than \$600,000,000 in cash receipts in 1970; more than 60% of this resulting from livestock and their products. Leading crops are tobacco, soy beans, hay, cotton, and corn.

## MINING

Tennessee ranks about 27th in the nation in the value of its mineral products, the principal minerals being are stone, zinc (the nation's largest producer), cement, coal, phosphate rock (third largest producer in the nation), copper, and sand and gravel the strip coal-mining industry in the Eastern part of the state is one of the chief reasons for small farmers from these areas being driven from their land.

Now let us take a look at what impact these things have on our education.

## TENNESSEE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION



### LEGEND

- PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES
- ▲ PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGES
- PUBLIC TECHNICAL INSTITUTES
- PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS
- △ PRIVATE JUNIOR COLLEGES & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL

### BLACK SCHOOLS IN TENN.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Shelby Co.<br/>Madison Co.<br/>Davidson Co.</p> | <p>Lemoyne-Owen<br/>Lane<br/>TSU<br/>American Baptist<br/>Theological<br/>Fisk - Meharry</p> |
| <p>Knox. Co.<br/>Jefferson Co.</p>                 | <p>Knoxville<br/>Morristown Community</p>  |

# Public Colleges in Tennessee

INSTITUTION	LOCATION (CITY)	PRESIDENT	ENROLLMENT (UNDERGRAD)	ENROLLMENT % BLACK	ENROLLMENT # BLACK	LOCATION (COUNTY)	POPULATION % BLACK	POPULATION # BLACK
TSU	NASHVILLE	ANDREW TORRENCE	3,785	99.7	3,774	DAVIDSON	19.9	87,876
APSU	CLARKSVILLE	JOE MORGAN	2,847	6.7	190	MONTGOMERY	17.9	11,227
ETSU	JOHNSON CITY	DELGOS R. CULP	6,320	2.0	120	WASHINGTON	3.7	2,400
MSU	MEMPHIS	CECIL C. HUMPHREYS	11,397	10.3	1,174	SHELBY	38.9**	243,000***
MTSU	MURFREESBORO	M.G. SCARLETT	6,614	3.1	204	RUTHERFORD	12.8	3,618***
TENN. TECH.	COOKVILLE	EVERETT DERRYBERY	5,158	1.5	75	RUTNAM	2.6	851***
UT SYSTEM	—	EDWARD J. BCLIN	25,508	3.2	825	—	—	—
UT NASH.	NASHVILLE	ROY S. NICKS	465	6.9	32	DAVIDSON	19.9	87,876

\* U.S. DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE / OFFICE OF CIVIL RIGHTS "RACIAL AND ETHNIC ENROLLMENT DATA FROM INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, FALL 1970," U.S.G.P.O. WASHINGTON, D.C.

\*\* POPULATION FIGURES FOR MEMPHIS

\*\*\* 1966 POPULATION ESTIMATES / TENNESSEE STATISTICAL ABSTRACT 1969

TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

HISTORY

Tennessee State University-located in Nashville, Tennessee was first established under the name Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes in the General Education Bill of 1909; which was passed by the State Legislature of Tennessee. At the same time, this Bill also established three State Normal Schools located in each of the three Grand Divisions of the State for the education and training of white male and female teachers. These three separate white institutions were East Tennessee State Normal School (now East Tennessee State Univ.) located in Johnson City, Tennessee; Middle Tennessee State Normal School (now Middle Tennessee State University) located in Murfreesboro, Tenn.; and West Tennessee State Normal School (now Memphis State University) located in Memphis Tennessee. Tennessee A & I State Normal School for Negroes began operation in 1912 with an initial regular student enrollment of 369, a faculty of 15 members and a physical plant of three buildings. Its first president was William Jasper Hale who, prior to his selection as president, was principal of St. Elmo High School of Chattanooga and had been involved in efforts to have the Black Normal School located in Chattanooga. Hale served as president until 1943.

Tennessee A & I State Normal School existed for ten years from 1912 to 1922. It was divided into two departments: The Academic and the Normal or Professional. The Academic Department was divided into four sections dealing with: High School Subjects, School Management, History of Education and Methods and Practice of Teaching. This Department was a four year course with each year consisting of 36 weeks. The Normal or

Professional Department consisted of five areas of concentration (1) Agriculture (2) Business (3) Home Economics (4) Industrial Trades and (5) Teaching it had a two year course divided into 36 weeks each. The school motto and the challenge was articulated by Hale during this period. The school motto became "Think, Work, Serve" and the challenge to students was "Enter to Learn, Go Forth to Serve." The General Education Act of 1910 had established the formula by which Tennessee A & I State Normal School and three White Normal Schools were to be funded. Thirteen percent (13%) of the fund was to be appropriated for the four schools with each white school receiving 2/7 of the amount and the Black school receiving 1/7.

In 1922, the school was elevated to a four year degree granting Teacher's College. During the period of its Teacher's College status TSU changed its name three times. In 1924 it became Tennessee A & I State Normal College. In 1927, it changed to Tennessee A & I State Teacher's College, and in 1934 it was again changed to Tennessee A & I State College. During this period the School's first college program involved two terms of Negro History at the junior level. The college consisted of three major departments in Education, Commerce, and English. In 1933, it was admitted into the American Association of Teachers Colleges. The period of the college also saw a general increase in student enrollment and the number of out-of-state students increased steadily. In 1943 W. J. Hale was replaced by Walter Struther Davis as President.

During the presidency of W. S. Davis Tennessee State's experience accelerated growth physically, financially and academically. In 1951 the name of the school was changed to Tennessee A & I State University.

The Air Force ROTC detachment 790 was also formed in the same year. On August 8, 1958 Tennessee State was made a full Land-Grant University. Its academic organization was into five schools (Agriculture & Home Economics, Arts and Sciences, Education, Engineering, and the Graduate School); two divisions (Business and Field Service), and one Department (Air Science).

#### PROFILE

Tennessee State University occupies 50 acres of campus land and 400 acres of farm land. It possesses a physical plant valued at \$35,000,000 and includes thirty-five permanent buildings; twelve of which were completed over the last twelve years. Its academic profile consists of five colleges and schools (Agriculture and Home Economics, Arts and Sciences, Engineering and Technology, Education and the Graduate Schools), the Division of Extension and Continuing Education, and the Department of Aerospace Studies. It offers courses leading to the Bachelor's degree in over thirty areas and the Master's degree in over fifteen areas. It has approximately 300 full-time faculty and administrative officers of which 88 hold doctoral degrees. TSU is a member of and accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, The National Council for accreditation of Teacher Education, and the Teacher's College Association of Extension and Field Services. The University is also a member of the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, the American Alumni Council and the National Association of Schools of Music. Total revenues budgeted for TSU for 1972-73 are \$10,304,365.

Of the 4,400 students enrolled, approximately 20% are non-residents of the State. Over 50% of the Tennessee students are from Shelby, Hamilton and Davidson Counties; which are three of the four large urban areas

of the State. Nearly half of the student body are women. The working class background of the students is indicated by a March 10, 1969 University Testing Bureau Document "A Profile of A & I's 1968 Freshman Class." This profile revealed that 23% of the class came from families earning 13,000 or less and 18% between \$3,000 and \$4,999 and 18% between \$5,000 and 7,499. Twenty-four percent of the student body <sup>receive</sup> financial aid and over half work either on or off campus.

The faculty of Tennessee State in 1972-73 is broken down into 62 Professors, 59 Associate Professors, 92 Assistant Professors and 69 instructors. The average salary for Professors is \$15,200, for Associate Professors \$12,560, for Assistant Professors \$10,937 and for instructors \$8,841. The salaries of the TSU faculty compared with similar categories in the other five State Universities governed by the State Board of Regents are lower. This is also true of course when compared with similar categories of faculty members in the University of Tennessee System.

Tennessee State University is governed by The State Board of Regents which was created July 1, 1972 by the Tennessee General Assembly. The Board of Regents assumed the responsibility from the State Board of Education of governing Tennessee's six State Universities and nine State Community Colleges. The University of Tennessee is a state system which includes UT-Nashville and operated separately under a Board of Trustees. The expressed purpose of the creation of the Board of Regents was to enable the Board of Education to concentrate more efficiently on its remaining duties of overseeing the states primary and secondary schools. The Board of Regents is responsible for direct administrative control and operation of fifteen institutions including Tennessee State. Under the Board of Regents each university and college president is responsible to

the Board through the Chancellor who is chief executive officer of the State University and Community College System. The following is a listing of the members of the Board of Regents:

1. Winfield Dunn, Govenor of Tennessee
2. Ben Kimbrough, 1st Trust and Savings Bank
3. C. N. Berry
4. Benjamin E. Carmichael, Commissioner of Education
5. Dr. Kenneth Ezell
6. Joan K. Folger, Executive Director, Tennessee Higher Education Commission
7. Dale Glover
8. James H. Jones, Jr.
9. George M. Klepper, Jr.
10. JCharles J. Liner
11. Mrs. Johnella H. Martin
12. Miss Ella V. Ross, Board of Directors, Johnson City Foundry and Machine Works
13. J. Frank Taylor
14. Guilford Thornton, Commissioner of Agriculture and HATCOC Chemical and Spray Company
15. J. Howard Warf
16. David White
17. Dr. Carl E. Stimbert, Commission of Education



## HISTORY OF STUDENT STRUGGLE (1960 - 1968)

TSU has a long history of militant student struggle around issues pertaining to both the TSU campus and the Black community in Nashville. Between 1960 and 1968, student struggle passed through two distinct stages:

- 1) The movement for democratic reform (Civil Rights) from 1960 to 1965,
- and 2) the rise of Black Nationalism and the Black Power Movement between 1966 and 1968.

The Civil Rights movement in Nashville was a mass movement involving all classes in the Black community and led by the Black middle class. TSU students, along with Black students from Fisk University, American Baptist Theological Seminary, and Meharry Medical College, were the shock troops of the sit-in movement and spearheaded the attack on racial segregation and discrimination in public facilities. The strategy and tactics of this movement revolved around the use of non-violent direct action as the method of defeating racism. It was recognized that Black people in Nashville, and especially its large Black student population, as consumers, contributed to the economic life of the large white retail stores and restaurants, but that these same businesses practiced policies of racial discrimination in its public eating places as well as in employment. It was also recognized that while Blacks constituted one-third (1/3) of the total Nashville population, they represented only 12% of the wealth. This struggle brought the Black students and Black community to a direct confrontation with the police power of the local government which sought to protect the interests of white businesses.

Large numbers of TSU students participated in this movement and as a result found themselves and their actions opposed by the TSU administration which expelled nearly 100 students in connection with sit-in arrests.

Despite these repressive measures the Civil Rights movement in Nashville achieved its purpose of ending racial segregation in public facilities.

The second stage of student struggle at TSU was a response to the concept of Black Power as articulated by SNCC during the Meredith march in Mississippi in the summer of 1966. During this stage, Black Nationalism arose as the dominant trend among students at TSU. This struggle took two forms, one being nationalist demands for changes in the campus and academic lives of students and the other being the demand that TSU link with and support the Black community's attempt to rid itself of white control. These student militants sought to organize a TSU FRIENDS OF SNCC on campus.

The campus and academic demands of the students were in part refinements of demands made earlier during the 1965-66 student government led mass student meetings. Ten basic demands were made throughout the school year, 1967-68.

- 1) Addition of courses devoted to the study of African people in the U.S. and Africa.
- 2) The elimination of incompetent faculty and inefficient administration.
- 3) the elimination of compulsory Air Force R.O.T.C. courses for freshman and sophomore students.
- 4) Elimination of the practice of in loco parentis especially with regard to women students.
- 5) Improved quality of cafeteria food.
- 6) Higher standards with regard to the quality and safety of university approved off-campus housing.
- 7) The rights of students to organize themselves into independent campus political organizations.
- 8) Academic freedom, especially the right of students to have controversial speakers on campus
- 9) That TSU should have as its purpose the training of Black students for service in the liberation of the Black community from

- white political, economic and social control.
- 10) The broadening of student representative government through the creation of a student general assembly.

These demands were progressive demands and students understood in a general way the neo-colonial status of TSU in that white control was exercised through a Black administration. However, the main attack in support of these demands were directed at the university's administration and not at the State Board of Education, the Government of Tennessee or the white industrial-financial elite which controlled the state. The vast majority of the student body supported these demands as was demonstrated through mass marches on campus, picketing and mass meetings. The leadership of the movement was composed of cultural nationalists. It is significant that only a few of the demands raised were ever totally achieved. This failure can be traced in part to the fact that students did not direct their attacks at the real power, which was the state of Tennessee.

The spring of 1976 saw the demand for the right of controversial figures to speak on campus reach its highest level. It was learned that SNCC chairman, Stokley Carmichael had accepted an invitation to speak at Vanderbilt University's "Impact Series." Student militants at TSU immediately pressured the student government and university administration to invite him to speak at TSU also. At the same time, the State Legislature of Tennessee passed a resolution denouncing Carmichael as an advocate of racial violence and sought to ban him from speaking anywhere in the state. This brought Vanderbilt briefly into conflict with the state government

over the right of free speech and academic freedom. Although Vanderbilt emerged victorious, the Legislature's resolution contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of crisis within the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department. The TSU administration refused to grant the student request for Carmichael to speak and students resolved that he would speak on campus with or without official sanction

On Tuesday, April 4, 1967, Carmichael arrived in Nashville and was escorted by students to TSU. Unable to speak inside any campus building because the administration had locked all doors to campus buildings, Carmichael addressed a crowd of 1,000 students on the steps of the Student Union Building.

This response of the student body to Carmichael's appearance and the successful effort of student militants to present the administration with a petition signed by over 2,000 students pressured the administration into allowing Carmichael to speak at TSU. On April 7, Carmichael spoke at TSU and on April 8, spoke at the Vanderbilt University "Impact Series." This was the first real victory for TSU students.

However, the crisis mentality that had developed in the Metro Police Department soon resulted in police over-reaction to a small incident between the Black owner of a local restaurant and a Black Fisk student. Police arriving to investigate the disturbance attracted a small crowd of Black people. Almost immediately, 100 battle-ready Metro Police in riot gear appeared on the scene. Black people, already sensitive to police as a result of a long history of police oppression and brutality, refused to be bullied. And when the police moved in to disperse the crowd, they responded with bricks and bottles. Thus began the first battle of Nashville.

The TSU campus was surrounded and at points, the police fired point-

blank into a crowd of unarmed students. The police broke into apartments near campus in which students lived, beat and even arrested some of the occupants. Police rode onto the campus of TSU and fired live rounds into one of the men's dormitories.

While police fought students at TSU, similar battles were fought at Fisk and Meharry. At a certain point in the police riot, the working people of the Black community actively joined in support of the students and the rebellion spread to some sections of the Black working community of North Nashville. The Black middle class of Nashville, especially businessmen and clergy, denounced the students and working people until some of them found that their "positions" and status meant nothing to the mad, racist police. They then sought to re-establish leadership of the community by attempting to articulate demands in the name of the Black community. Black student militants were not able to direct the rebellion nor were they able to greatly influence the direction that the Black middle class "spokesmen" were taking. The single outstanding demand raised was the demand for an end to police brutalization of Black people.

During the 1966-67 student movement, the real character of the student government was bared. Up to this time, the student government was seen as the means through which a few individual students could increase their prestige and catapult themselves into law school. The student government consisted of a thirteen member council plus the president and the vice-president. Its advisor was the Dean of Students. The Men's and Women's Senates served as arms of the student council whose functions primarily revolved around questions of discipline. In the student movement, the student government as a whole served as the instrument of the University administration under the directorship of the Dean. On every issue, the student government followed the dictates of the administration and opposed

the student body.

The fraternities and sororities also opposed the student movement, since the student government was dominated by these groups and the fraternity and sorority leaders were also student government leaders. A few fraternity people, however, openly broke with their organizations to participate in the student movement. A few stopped paying dues and ended their memberships. One fraternity even groomed one of its members to become student council president and became known within the student body as the administration candidate. This candidate became the leader of a student informer group called the AD Hoc Committee of Concerned Students. For his work in behalf of the administration, the candidate was presented a full four-year scholarship to Harvard Law School. In the Student Council election of 1968, the candidate's fraternity formed an administration's student coalition with a sorority and a small group of independent students. This coalition helped to win the election for its candidate and with his victory, the administration began to implement a policy of repression.

The first measure of repression outlawed all meetings of non-administration/student government approved organizations. A second measure banned the distribution of leaflets and other literature, including petitions, on campus. A third measure, perhaps the most repressive, was the creation of an administration controlled ad-hoc committee of students whose purpose was to spy upon students and report any word or action that in any way challenged the administration's authority or existing campus conditions. In effect, this last measure made freedom of expression a crime on campus. Because many of those students on this committee were secret members, fear and distrust was rampant throughout the student body. Thus, while militant student leadership was denied the right to function on campus, the administration created divisions within the student body. These tactics

effectively helped to achieved the administration's goal of student movement repression.

However, these measures were only holding actions by the administration. The major administrative act occurred during August of 1967 . This act was the blanket expulsion of 70 students in an effort to purge the campus of student militants. Students who were actively involved in the movement were expelled along with those who were not.

The administration also developed a plan to cut the number of out-of-state students admitted to TSU. The rationale for this move was based upon the fact that most student activists were out-of-state students.

By the Winter quarter of the year 1967-68, all but three of the seventy students had been readmitted and the administration announced that it was placing emphasis on recruiting Tennessee students. Only select out-of-state students would be admitted. The basis for selection was never made clear, but 90% of the 68-69 Freshman class were Tennesseans. Thus, the administration felt it had prevented the reoccurrence of student movements.

The school year, 67-68 , was relatively calm. The administration, in addition to repressive measures, also attempted to ease pressure by implementing some campus reforms. A student general assembly was created composed of representation from all official campus organizations. The administration allowed the creation of an Afro-American Heritage Society. Two courses on African history were added to the curriculum and were taught by Stanlake Samkange from Zimbabwe.

The student General Assembly created only the illusion of student opinion being fairly represented. Being composed of representatives from fraternities, sororities, honor societies, department clubs, and other similar organization, it did not represent the majority of students who were excluded from or who had no interest in joining these organizations. Also

these organizations historically had opposed or been indifferent to student demands and tended to act along established line laid down by the administration. The principle leaders of the general assembly also had been active in the pro-administration ad-hoc Committee of Concerned Students. Consequently, the general Assembly was firmly dominated by the administration and its student stooges.

The Afro-American Heritage Society was also weak in that it was composed of students who had little political consciousness and no history of struggle on campus.

The two African history courses were also part of the window dressing and were never expanded into a full program of Black Studies.

Since fear had been instilled into the student body, these repressive and reform measures went unchallenged.

With the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in April, '68, two things were clearly demonstrated at TSU. One was the degree to which the policy of repression had affected the student body and the other was the efficient manner in which the local police and state National Guard was able to isolate TSU. Except for sporadic events on campus, students were generally passive. The Metro police and National Guard surrounded TSU and established check points at all entrances to the campus. These check points were supported by National Guard tanks and helicopters kept the entire area under surveillance.

Out of these two stages of student struggle, six things can be observed.

- 1) The role of the Black middle class in relation to student-community struggle.
- 2) The role of the Black working class community in student struggle.
- 3) The role of the university administration as the tool of Tennessee's white political-economic forces.
- 4) The role of the military/police as the instrument of white political economic control.
- 5) The opposing role of the student government in student movement.
- 6) The need for student and community struggles to be guided by scientific analysis and theory.



GEIER VS. DUNN: THE TENNESSEE STATE COURT CASE--A CONTEMPORARY  
ANALYSIS

For the past five years Tennessee State University has been involved in legal action as a method to combat the University of Tennessee at Nashville's encroachment upon TSU's educational domain.

The suit began in 1968, when the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees, who administered three full university campuses and two extension centers at that time, announced plans to construct a five million dollar facility to house its Nashville extension center. The Nashville Extension center had been established in 1947. This night school allowed white adults to avoid attending Tennessee State University thus, blocking one potential source of TSU funds.

The move by U.T. to expand its night school came at a period when TSU was beginning a severe economic crisis. The State Board of Education had slapped a 15% ceiling on all out-of-state students at public supported colleges in 1967. Therefore TSU had begun an enrollment drop from its 1966 peak of 5,6000 students since 43% of the Tennessee State students came from outside Tennessee.

Rita Sanders, a Black TSU faculty member, filed a class action suit in May 1968, to prevent construction of the U.T. facility. She was joined in this action by a Black high school & TSU students as well as a white faculty member & student from the U. T. Nashville Center.

The Sanders suit argued that U.T. expansion would cause unnecessary duplication of current TSU programs, thus perpetuating a "dual system of higher education."

The Sanders group sued as "defendants" the members of all the major educational boards and governing institutions in the State of Tennessee. The group, the State, included the Governor of Tennessee, Buford Ellington, the State Board of Education headed by J. H. Warf, the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees, headed by Andrew Holt, the Tennessee Higher Education.

Commission, headed by Dr. John Foldger, and Tennessee State University, whose president at that time was Dr. Walter Davis. Although the United States of America was initially cited as a member of the State, in July 1968, it switched to the Sanders side. The early name of this civil action is called Sanders vs. Ellington and it was filed in Middle Tennessee District Federal Court with Judge Frank Gray presiding. With the switch of the United States to the Sanders group the second stage of demands appears in the Sanders vs. Ellington suit. The United States, while supporting the halt of construction on the Nashville Center, demanded also that a comprehensive desegregation plan for higher education in the State of Tennessee be ordered by the Court. The United States motion represented an upswing for the Sanders group. This motion was countered by Judge Gray in his August, 1968, decision in Sanders vs. Ellington.

Gray stated that the evidence presented by the Sanders group did not prove that the new center would "necessarily" perpetuate a dual system of higher education. The motion to halt U.T. construction was denied, however, in deference to the United States, Gray ordered the State to present by April, 1969 a comprehensive "plan designed to effect such desegregation of the higher education institutions of Tennessee with particular regard to Tennessee State University as to the dismantling of the dual system now existing." Gray ordered the Tennessee Higher Education Commission to file

reports on progress made by the State in discharging its "affirmative duty" to dismantle the only higher educational institution generally accessible to Black working-class youth in Tennessee.

The Gray ruling was applauded by the U. T. Board of Trustees as a perfect compromise. Within two months after filing their April 1970 "progress report" the Board of Trustees decided to make the Nashville extension a full degree granting campus; organized a search for a chancellor; screened candidates, appointed Roy Nicks to the post, and bought him a house -- demonstrating that, at least for the U. T. Board of Trustees, complacency had not dulled their whetted blade of expansion.

In May, 1971, the State Legislature passed a bill elevating the University of Tennessee at Nashville to full campus in the U. T. system authorized to offer programs "primarily at night." This was done over the protests of faculty and students from Tennessee State who marched on the capital to demonstrate resistance to the UTN expansion. Avon Williams, lone Black senator in the State Legislature, introduced a bill to designate TSU as "primary institution" in Nashville. The Williams bill was perfunctorially dismissed by the white legislature.

The third stage of demands by the Sanders group were articulated in February, 1972. At this time, the new Governor of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn, and E. C. Stimbert, new head of the State Board of Education were introduced into the suit. The name of the suit was changed to Geier vs. Dunn, since Sanders had married, and the Geier group asked for UTN to be merged into TSU with Tennessee State University as the dominant institution.

On February 3, 1972, Judge Gray issued an opinion that with the exception of TSU, all other state-supported institutions were proceeding at a "constitutionally permissible" rate of speed toward desegregation. Gray ordered the State to submit a plan for desegregation of TSU and present study on the feasibility of merging the institutions.

On March 27, 1973, the State's Plan was submitted to the court. The plan consisted of seven points:

1. TSU will employ only white faculty to fill all vacancies except where no qualified white can be found for the job or the Black is superior to the best white applicant.
2. TSU and other middle Tennessee institutions implement a faculty exchange program for fall 1972.
3. Add 10 non-Black faculty in areas where a strengthened faculty would be most likely to attract white students.
4. Implement a financial aid program of \$200,000 for white student-aid from TSU & financial aid budget or at least one-third of the total aid budget.
5. Hire a full-time white recruiter to enroll white students at Tennessee State.
6. Improve TSU's Physical appearance.
7. Relocate the UTN School of Social Work from UTN to TSU. "This will bring approximately 100 white students to Tennessee State's Campus, even though they will not be enrolled at TSU."

The U. T. Board of Trustees issued a statement to the Court in which they supported the March 27 Plan and argued that the merger of TSU and UTN was impossible because it would result in the quality of its programs at UTN being lowered. In the U. T. statement the Trustees criticized the reputation of TSU and observed that the merger might provoke "considerable social and political unrest" due to "existing social conditions and attitudes"

of the Black community, faculty students, and alumni of TSU.

President Andrew Torrence, TSU President, objected to points three and four of the States Plan and argued that a merger of UTN into TSU was called for because the existence of UTN thwarted all attempts by TSU to recruit white students.

The TSU faculty senate drafted a critique of the States Plan, the author of the critique is Sterling Adams, a young math professor at Tennessee State. The faculty critique is the only written document by members of the Black community which offers a point-by-point rebuttal of the States Plan. It also represents the basic position which Adams and his group (called Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education) would present to the Court later in a motion to intervene in the case.

The Sanders group sued as "defendants" the members of all the major educational boards and governing institutions in the state of Tennessee. This group, the State; included the Governor of Tennessee, Buford Ellington, the State Board of Education headed by J. H. Warf, the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees headed by Andrew Holt; the Tennessee Higher Education was attending white state higher education institutions with Black students in the UT systems only comprising 4.1% of its total student enrollment.

President Torrence ends his argument by asserting that: (1) despite inadequate financing, TSU offers quality programs, (2) in several areas with both National and Regional accreditation; that TSU has proved its ability to train "high risk" students to excel in all fields; and that a merger of UTN into TSU is the only method to insure desegregation of white schools, expanded educational opportunities for Blacks while white schools are being desegregated, a flexible institution for all types of students, and the continued contribution of TSU to higher education.

THE FACULTY SENATE RESPONSE - TSU CRITIQUE OF THE STATE'S PLANAPRIL 19, 1972

The faculty Senate critique was drafted by Sterling Adams, a young math professor at TSU and subsequent member of Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education, the plaintiff-intervenors of the Geier vs. Dunn case.

The faculty senate response begins by blasting the State's Plan as a "document devoid of wisdom and responsibility. In no way does it represent good faith, compliance with the court order." The faculty senate asserts that the State's Plan was formulated "in an attempt to create an illusion of movement toward the desegregation of higher education while the weight of the evidence shows little progress save the insincere concentration upon desegregating Tennessee State University." "We say again that the plan is devoid of wisdom and is irresponsible - it avoids the major constitutional questions; it lacks equity."

The faculty defended the 1:16 ratio of faculty to students at TSU, as opposed to the average ratio of 1:20 for other white state-supported schools, as being necessary at TSU and point out that State policy of allocating funds on credit-hour production (an idea suggested by Ed Boling of the UT Board of Trustees) worked to make TSU faculty salaries lower than any other institutions.

The Faculty Senate observed that: Point one of the State's plan advocated more white faculty and administration for TSU and alledged TSU had not increased its non-Black faculty. Yet, the faculty points out, TABLE II of the State's Plan indicated a 3.8% increase from 1968 to 1972 in non-Black faculty at TSU which is

larger than any increase in Black faculty at any white institution. On the other hand, Black faculty in the State of Tennessee only constitutes 5.8% of state-wide faculty. Thus, without including Tennessee State University, only 1.3% of the total Black faculty in the state of Tennessee were hired by the combined white state institutions.

Points two and three by calling for a combined expenditure of \$250,000 to increase non-Black faculty at TSU would force TSU to either release these faculty in the event that HEW funds were not forthcoming or reduce over-all maintenance on other university services. The faculty exchange program advocated in the State's plan would only create an "artificial white presence" and would be based on the assumption that "(1) Tennessee State University must have a predominantly white faculty to offer quality education to non-Black students and (2) that a "white presence" in any form will increase the white student enrollment.

In point four the State plan proposed that one-third or about \$200,000 of TSU student aid be reserved for incoming white students. Yet, as the faculty senate critique points out, only one-third of the present Black students who qualify for aid at TSU can be accommodated and proposing that one-third of this money be reserved for whites "adds insult to the injury and burden that Tennessee State University students must bear."

Finally, point seven of the State's plan proposed that UT's school of Social Work which is operated by UT Knoxville and housed on the UTN campus. Thus, UTN can free more space and

facilities "to encroach further upon the educational rights of Tennessee State University in developing other programs."

The faculty senate ends its critique by arguing for:

1. Better educational opportunities for Blacks in higher education in Tennessee.
2. Parity in higher educational employment opportunities, including all levels from faculty to administrators.
3. Eliminating and then proscribing duplication by UTM of existing programs at TSU in the short run.
4. Merger of UTM into TSU in the long run.

On July 31, 1972, Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education, a class action composed of TSU faculty, students, and Black community members whose children attend, or plan to attend public supported higher education in the state of Tennessee, filed as intervening plaintiffs in the Geier vs. Dunn civil action.

On August 3, 1972, George Barret, counsel for the Geier plaintiffs, moved that TJHE be denied opportunity to intervene, arguing that intervention would "undoubtedly cause undue delay" and implied that the Geier plaintiffs had presented everything pertinent to the case previously, including all TJHE demands.

Motion to intervene was, however, granted by Judge Frank Gray. Using the THEC master plan, and referring again to the faculty senate critique of the State's plan, March 27, 1972, TJHE documented tactics on the part of all higher education boards in Tennessee to thwart TSU's institutional development.

Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education argued that:

- (A) Tennessee State Board of Regents, Tennessee Higher Education Commission, the UT Board of Trustees, and the State Board of Education all inadequately represent or are completely absent of Black representation and inter-



locking chairmanships by Gov. Dunn, John Foldger, and others on all these boards constitutes conflict of interest.

- (B) The beneficial aspects of TSU for Blacks would be destroyed by inequitable pressure to desegregate the school while racist hiring and enrollment policies are practiced by all the state-supported institutions of higher education in the state of Tennessee. Also, the Tennessee Higher Education Commission in its master plan, a document projecting institutional development of public-supported higher education in Tennessee, was attempting to expand construction of Shelby State Community College into four campuses, (one campus to be predominantly Black), near Memphis which would injure TSU's ability to enroll that region's students due to duplicated programs. Therefore, TJHE asked for an injunction against building these campuses.
- (C) Argument is made for UTN to be merged into TSU, and Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education be permitted to file a plan "which shall dismantle the dual and discriminatory system of public higher education in Tennessee in accordance with factual matters."

## CONCLUSION

The court case involving Tennessee State is important in that it represents an attempt to defend the institution; albeit, within the framework of integration. What has not clearly emerged in this case or our community organizing is positive act of affirming black institutions based on a critical evaluation of integration as delivered by the racist U. S. ruling class.

The task facing us as we attempt to insure that Black working-class youth can achieve a quality education is that of forming a **broad** based mass struggle for democratic rights.

This can only be done by affirming that the central issue is quality education for Black people; by forming local, state, regional, and national coalitions of all progressive forces around this issue composed of Black youth at predominantly white schools; Black youth at private Black schools; Black youth at state-supported and land-grant institutions; the total Black community which is overwhelmingly working-class.

## CHRONOLOGY OF TSU COURT CASE

May 1968-- Plaintiffs filed action to enjoin construction of new facility for the UTN Center on grounds that it would be duplicative of Tennessee State University courses and services.

July 1968--United States moved to intervene as party plaintiff (no longer listed with the group of defendants) and sought not only an injunction to prevent construction of the new facility, but also asked that the Court Order State defendants to present a plan calculated to produce meaningful desegregation of the public universities of Tennessee.

August 1968--District Court--Judge Frank Gray, Jr.--held that evidence established that UT sought only to provide center for employed persons of all races who sought education at night and would not necessarily perpetuate dual system of higher education. Relief was denied as to expansion of center, but defendants required to submit plan of desegregation by April 1, 1969--"a plan designed to effect such desegregation of the higher education institutions of Tennessee, with particular attention to Tennessee State University, as to indicate the dismantling of the dual system now existing."

March 1971--University of Tennessee at Nashville was elevated to a campus status and authorized to offer degree programs "primarily in the evening." Prior to this time UTN was an Extension Center in the UT System.

July 1971--Plaintiffs filed recommendations to Court to order defendants to:

1. Submit a plan to merge UTN into TSU within 30 days, merger to be completed by January 1972, and that TSU be designated as the Regional University of Higher Education for Nashville;
2. UTN School of Social Work and Nursing program be transferred to TSU by September, 1971;
3. Primary responsibility for desegregation shall be on Tennessee Board of Trustees of UT, and Tennessee Higher Education Commission. These agencies would also recommend plan for recruiting BLACK students for predominantly white public institutions and providing special counseling etc., for Blacks to assure success in college.

February 1972-- Plaintiffs filed motion to make substitutions among parties in the suit (eg., Dunn for Ellington, Stimbert for Warf, etc.) Motion was granted by the Court. (Rita Sanders had married--now Rita Sanders-Geier--and case was renamed Geier vs. Dunn).

February 1972--Court in reviewing the facts of the case, found that, with the exception of TSU, defendants were proceeding to dismantle their dual

system at a constitutionally permissible rate of speed.

March 1972-- Defendants submitted plan for implementing a "white presence" at Tennessee State University at the beginning of the 1972 academic year.

April 1972-- Plaintiffs filed response to Defendant's Plan of March 1972, indicating that the Court's mandate to dismantle dual system extends to the entire public higher educational system.

## CONTEMPORARY REPORT OF TSU STRUGGLE

This paper is to lend to you some historical facts as to the struggle on the campus of TSU from September 1968 to March 1973.

Tennessee State University sits astride Centennial Boulevard which historically has been a truck route servicing the various plants and warehouses that are located in close proximity to the campus.

To the North-west of the campus are located plants and warehouses of Genesco, Ford Motor Company Glass Plant, Cumberland Oil Company and Stauffer Chemical Company's Industrial Chemical Division Factory. To the East of the campus is the warehouse, Bulk and Asphalt Plant of Humble Oil and Refining Company. The heavy flow of truck traffic has been a serious concern of students who must cross Centennial Boulevard to attend classes, study at the Library or go to their dormitories. This concern heightened in the Spring of 1969 and manifested itself in student protest. Added to this was a television report that white truck drivers would begin arming themselves against TSU students.

In response to this twin danger The Afro-American Heritage Society mobilized students in an effort to prevent these vehicles from passing through the campus. Once again as in 1960, 1967, and 1968 the police power of the state moved to protect the interests of the corporations which meant clearing the truck route. Once again as in 1967 the police,

riding six deep in patrol cars and armed with riot gear, rode into the campus. The students, angered over the fact that the police had been called, reverted to name calling. This angered the police and they started to run after the students. Most of the students were co-eds for this was the side of the campus on which many female students lived. The police had managed to separate the brothers from the sisters using tactics similar to those at Selma Bridge. They fired over the heads of the students grabbed sisters by the hair, hit them with billy clubs, drug them on the ground and finally threw them in to the paddy wagon. Those brothers caught on the sisters side of campus were forced to stay in the women's dorm all night. Even a white news reporter was detained on our side of the campus for a while. There was reportedly gun fire shared between the police and brothers in the men's dormitory.

The brothers and sisters arrested were released the next day without charges, but several brothers were suspended from school.

The re-routing of traffic was a main point stressed by the students since not only had students suffered damage and injury but sisters in particular were subjected to lewd statements coming from the truck drivers as they drove through campus. The administration decided to build an overpass but most students considered this a cop out. The excuse given to students was as soon as an Interstate Highway was built they would reroute the traffic.

In the following fall 1970, a sister was ran down by a speed  
bunny.

happy white man who ran a red light (hit and run). Fortunately the sister suffered only minor bruises. But this again brought TSU students out. They again blocked traffic but this time it was in day light and the police tended not to act in as brutal a manner as they had acted the previous spring. Students protested the building of the overpass and to add insult to injury not only did they proceed the construction of the overpass no Black workers were put on the job. Their excuse they could not find any Black construction workers. Students continued their protest, which forced the construction workers to hire one Black worker. The Dean of Students again consistent with his history of opposing student interests made a statement that any student participating in stopping the construction would be put out of school.

After the fall quarter of "69" with the exception of sporadic activities of individuals and small groups, the struggle on TSU campus had reached an inactive plateau.

However, the 1970-71 school year, brought with it a resurgence of campus militancy. A dialogue began a proposal to merge UT Nashville and Tsu's Engineering Depts. Students and faculty members protested this especially since TSU had the majority of the facilities for the program. In March "71" a bill was introduced into the legislature to change the University of Tennessee Nashville from an extension of UT Knoxville to a full-fledged degree granting institution.

Concern was generated by the students, and a march was initiated on the State Capitol: Included in the march were students and community members. Arriving on the Capitol steps

the marchers found that the legislature would not be in session until 5:00 that afternoon.. But we at least wanted to let them (the ruling class) know we had been there and if necessary would be back. That same afternoon the student-body and alumni co-operated in a joint effort to call their legislature and ask them to vote against the proposal to give UTN: Degree granting status (though few legislatures answered their phones when they found out who was calling and why). Telegrams were also sent. To no avail it was ratified that night unanimously to give UTN a degree granting status.

The administration, faculty, students and community members were able to generate enough enthusiasm to get a Black Senator to introduce a bill in the Senate to give TSU complete control of the down-town UTN branch. Again students, faculty, administrators and community members staged a march, this time to an open session of the legislature. The bill (allowing TSU to take full control of UTN) was introduced but the Senator with an inspiring speech failed to get a second. Later the Black Senator coerced a member of the Senate to second his Bill, but it was tabled indefinitely (and still tabled as of April 73).

During and before the time above a community organization BCC had initiated marches on the down town area every Saturday incorporated with an Economic Boycott. Included on its list of grievances was TSU as the major State supported school in Nashville, poor housing, over-crowded conditions, poor facilities in elementary and secondary schools and other complaints of Black community.



In the fall 1971, individual students would work among themselves to keep the TSU-UTN situation in the minds of students.

The following February "72" Yoruba study group came in to existence. They sought to work on gathering information and educating students as to what really was happening between TSU-UTN. Another organization at this same time came in to existence, primarily to fight for the rights of Tennessee State University. This organization was called Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education. This was primarily a community centered organization but students and faculty members played an active part in the organization.

May 1972 the students initiated a fund raising drive to secure funds for legal defense or any aid that TSU might need.

Spring-quarther 73 Yoruba has been instrumental in pushing the Save Black schools Conference playing an initial part in helping TSU be the central co-ordinating committee for Tennessee.

**TIMBUKTU**  
MARKET OF NEW AFRICA, INC.  
1620 JEFFERSON ST.  
NASHVILLE, TN. 37208

## FISK UNIVERSITY

### HISTORY

Fisk University, as were the other Black centers of (private), higher education in Nashville, emerged in part as a result of the early re-construction programs of the Freedmen's Bureau. General Clinton B. Fisk from whom the school takes its name, was an agent of the Freeman's Bureau of Tennessee. An additional important aspect of the founding of Fisk was the role played by the American Missionary Association (AMA). This organization was integrally involved, not only in the founding of Fisk but also several other Black colleges including Dillard (LA), Huston-Tillison (TX), LeMoyne-Owen, (TN), Tugaloo (MS), and Talladega (AL).

The history of the Jubilee Singers and the names of some of its more noted alumni are the more generally known aspects of the institution. What is not generally known, however is that during different stages of its development, Fisk experienced some student upheaval that General Fisk and his AMA cronies, John Ogden, Erastus Milo Cravath, and E.P. Smith could not have phathomed as they merrily set into motion their plans for a school for the "New Citizens" of the South.

During the 1923-24 academic year a series of events ranging from a protest led by the daughter of W.E.B. DuBois (Himself probably Fisk's greatest alumnus) against lack of responsiveness, by the then president Fayette Avery McKenzie, to the Molestation of Jubilee choir members by wealthy letcherous white business men, to a community-faculty-student movement spawned in response to the

choir members by wealthy lecherous white businessmen, to a community-faculty -student movement spawned in response to the dismissal of several students who manifested dissatisfaction with the lack of "academic freedom." These movements resulted in the resignation of McKenzie the following year, though Fisk was not to have its first Black president until 1947 when Charles S. Purgeon Johnson, the noted sociologist took the reigns, becoming the Institution's sixth chief administrator. Although Johnson was what he was (Black) his politics apparently conformed with the politics of the State. It is alleged that several left students and faculty were purged from the "Fisk Family" during the "Red Scare" instigated by Joe McCarthy in the early 50s.

Johnson mysteriously died on a plane while returning from the Ford Foundation in 1956, and Fisk was guided thru the remainder of, what was then dubbed on American college and University campuses as "The Silent 50s" by Stephen J. Wright, a former administrator at Hampton Institute and Bluefield State College.

The silent 50's quickly gave way to the fighting 60s as the nation's Black Community began to sharply advance its struggle for democratic rights. Nashville and the Nashville sit-ins became one of the focal points of this struggle and Fisk students and some faculty (along with students from Meharry, American Baptist Theological, and Tennessee A & I --- Now Tennessee State) were all up in it. Diane Nash and John Lewis, two of whom historically are recorded as being part of the leadership of this movement, and who later became early members of SNCC (John Lewis becoming National chairman) were students at Fisk at this time.

In 1967 the Fisk Board of Trustees were embroiled in attempts to find a "suitable" president for the Institution. Wright had retired under not fully understood conditions the year before and James R. Lawson a physicist and class of '35 Fisk graduates installed as interim president. How many applicants were solicited for this position is unknown. However, what is known is that some of them had extensive corporate and/or foundation ties and some of them were white. This, of course coincided with resurgent nationalism in our communities, the era of "Black Power." The corporate and foundation ties could be assepted (as a matter of fact welcomed) by most students but a white president.....out of the question. The students (virtually the whole student body) rallied behind a Lawson for permanent head movement. The Board interestingly enough yielded without all of the pressure the student body was seemingly prepared to bring forth. Lawson was in..... But it was an uneasy peace that followed.

Student and community insurrections were the order of the day in the springs of 1967 and 68\*. Martin Luther King's murder crystalized student discontent that the Lawson appointment had only forestalled. The evening following King's death (Friday, April 4) one faculty led over 200 students seized the Fisk administration Building, occupied it through the week-end and forwarded a series of demands to the administration; the first demands ever made in Nashville in the interest of developing a "Black University."

\*See History of Student Struggle at Tennessee State University

Since 1967, Fisk has ingested two (2) centers, two "fact-finding" commissions, and two implementation commissions; all to the tune of some \$450,000 and all in the name(s) of Non-Western-Afro-American-Carribean Studies.

The Center of Afro-American Research had been in operation for a year when the African-Carribean Studies Center was formally introduced to the campus in the fall of 1968. The ACSC was then projected to be the result of the work of the "Committee on Non-Western Studies," in December of 1967 and the concrete actions of its student body parallel, "Students for a Black University."

At the insistance of several students early in the 1968-69 school year, several meetings were held where interested parties discussed the idea of combining the functions of the two existing centers. It was the belief of these same students that "Black Studies" would have a greater campus-wide impact if the functions of the centers were combined. These attempts were finally thwarted by:

- (1) the director of the AARC claiming his center's autonomy in its relationship with and to the university and
- (2) the failure of these meetings to result in an effective way to combine the functions and personalities of the directorships of the centers.

Thus, the sought after campus-wide impact did not occur as a result of the spring of 1969 the Student Government Association and other student Government Association and other student organizations presented the Educational Policy Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees a proposal for what they projected would bring about true "interdisciplinary Black Studies," a prime criterion of the Black University Concept.

After evaluating the student proposal the EPC of the Board gave

Fisk University President J. R. Lawson the authority, through a mandate, to create the necessary machinery to make Black Studies a reality by the fall at Fisk. Lawson then, through the faculty and the SGA selected six (6) faculty members and nine (9) students to over the coming summer, act on the Board's mandate.

With the \$18,100 this committee, now referred to as the "69 Black Studies Summer Project," received it developed, through interviews and research, a comprehensive interdisciplinary Black Studies Curriculum.

Although the director of the ACSC refused to work with the summer project, he accepted its proposed curricular changes and a \$62,220 grant acquired on the basis of these proposed changes to implement them. Of the 70 or so concrete courses suggested to replace and/or augment the old curriculum less than 30 were on a supplement to the registration bulletin of course offerings for the fall representing a total of only 7% of the total university curriculum.

So students in the fall of 1969 witnessed little for their efforts and few of their hopes for change in the University had materialized yet close to \$100,000 had been or was being spent in the name of Black, and tuitions and fees were on the rise.

Few of the "old guard" students continued to feel that change could be realized at Fisk thus the student leadership that vanguarded the "Week of Reckoning," was of a new type.

Old student frustrations and doubt were indeed rekindled at the Paris Landing Conference for the Study of Purposes and Goals of the University and were later in the year to be translated into various charges leveled at the integrity and the level of sincerity of those charged with the serious task of educating these young minds.

On Nov. 14 and Nov. 21, 1969 "town meetings" were held and planning functions for the "week of reckoning" were established. On Dec. 8 the "week" began and with each passing day the contradictions between the student body and the school administration became more acute. With an increase in manifested student frustration came an increase in administrative reaction. Students through mass frustration mobilized and occupied Park-Johnson Hall and a subsequent heightening of administrative authority was realized in the removal from or denial of twelve (12) students membership in the Fisk student body.

Through all of this the thirst for change was all but quinched. Even before the suspension of those twelve students was official a meeting of the general faculty had selected from its ranks a dozen persons to make up the faculty component of a student-faculty committee on Concerns for a Black University.

This fact finding committee presented a ninety-five (95) page report (98 pages with inclusion of minority report) to the EPC of the Trustee Board the 16th of May 1970. Three days later the faculty adopted this report as a working document and subsequently created a committee to implement these findings during the coming summer.

The work of this implementation committee composed of administrative, faculty, and student personnel was realized in both graduate and under-graduate curriculum revisions and additions in the fall term. However, past mistakes, many of which are sketched out above, were repeated thus inhibiting the level at which these infant programs could begin to operate.

The centers which could and should have been integral coordinators of these segmented yet very much interrelated "movements" on campus were

either at this time shackled by lack of funds with no current access to any (such as the AARC which was in a legal battle with its old director thus severing normal funding conduits) or non-existent (as was the AASC). Also, in accordance with Ford-Carnegie guidelines for "schools in trouble" Fisk had to cut back on faculty positions (terminating upwards to 25% of the then faculty) and to curtail student unrest (upwards to \$20,000 was spent for homecoming activities for the 1970-71 school year).

Thus went the "struggles" at Fisk, flaring up and flaring out during the golden age of Black student democratic movements for curriculum reform, student rights, community relevancy, etc., until the emergence of off-campus formations such as the Peoples College began to provide the context in which developing student cadre, both "old-guard" and new could begin to link the struggles at Fisk to the struggles at Tennessee State to the struggles at Meharry to the struggles of campus workers, with high school students and of Black people in their work centers. These gave birth to new formations and opened broader fronts of struggle, bringing Black youth into the arena of struggle in the 70s.

The Peoples College developed in the aftermath of the struggles of Nashville students generally; at Fisk particularly. The programs that were spawned by this development coincide with the development of heightened militancy not only among students, but also among (and more important) the Nashville working class.

1970-71 was characterized by the Wild Cat strike and organizing drives that as workers began to fight back against the oppression mounting against them. The campuses, as a natural consequence resulting from their relationships with the Nashville ruling class were too quickly involved.



The Fisk maintenance workers in 1971 began a drive to eliminate depressed wages, lousy working conditions, and most importantly to gain the right to collectively bargain for and negotiate a contract. This movement was accurately timed to coincide with the busiest part of the academic year. Students were forced to decide, as the line of demarcation grew sharper, which side they were on.

Whether or not the struggle of local 1410 workers would have been successful had it not been for a progressive student front; the Fisk maintenance spearheaded by the Peoples College lending concrete aid to the workers in their struggle is not answerable, nor is it the most important question to entertain. What is important is that the context in which mass politicization of the student body was made possible within this context and the responsibility was met. The question students had as to why they should be more sensitive to the conditions of the workers were answered. As opposed to becoming upset about toilet paper not being in the dormitory shower room during a work stoppage students were provided a context in which their political consciousness could grow and develop. All students who through this process could be moved to support the effort directly were provided a program in which they could do so. Others were effectively neutralized. The struggle succeeded through this phase.

Similar circumstances developed when Fisk clerical workers struggled for and against similar rights and conditions in the fall as did 1410 in the spring. The experiences gained from adding the maintenance workers were effectively brought to the struggle of the clerical workers, allowing for even broader bases of support than previously achieved. Again the Peoples College was instrumental. Propaganda and student pickets were distributed and martialled. Again, the end result was a victory for workers

and students. The contract that the clerical workers (local 19 A DWA) were able to obtain became the spark that set off similar organizing drives at Meharry Medical College and Vanderbilt University, really creating headaches for the ruling class representatives who maintained interlocking relationships on the Fisk and/or Meharry and/or Vanderbilt boards.

The Peoples College continued (and continues) to be an incubator for progressive youth activity both on and off the campus. The development of several progressive movements in Nashville developed directly from the activities of the Peoples College. A high school student organization and high school newsletter, Youth organizations at both Fisk and Tennessee State and a Black Shop Caucus at a major plant are a few of the results of these activities. Such is and was the struggle at Fisk.

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## SELECTED TRUSTEE PROFILE

J. H. Franklin--Born 1915, Oklahoma; Chairman of Dept. Hist., Univ. of Chicago; Ed. Bds., Journal of Negro Hist, Journal of Am. Hist., Fisk '35; Res. 5805, S. Blackstone, Chicago, Ill. 60637.

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B. J. Bittenwieser-- Born 1900, New York; Dir. Chock Full O'Nuts; Dir. Benrus Watch Co., Dir. Tishman Construction Co., Former Asst. High Commissioner of Germany; Bd. of Trust, Columbia Univ., Partner Kuhn - Loeb & Co., Invst. Bankers; Bd. Mem. Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; Advisor to Uris Const. Co. (Also Columbia Bd. Mem. & Major N. Y. Real Estate Brokerage) Res. 450 E. 52nd St, New York, N. Y.

\*Indicates Fisk Alumni

**TIMBUKTU**  
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NASHVILLE, TN. 37208

## MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE

### HISTORY

Beginning in 1876 as a medical department of Central Tennessee College became the Meharry Medical College of Walden University following the demise of CTC eleven years later. It was one of only 400 medical colleges in the country. On October 13, 1915 Meharry Medical College became an independent institution being organized under a separate corporate charter.

From the opening of its doors through the mid-30's Meharry had graduated over 4,000 students from the schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, and Nursing. During the mid-1960's the composition of the student body at Meharry (and to a lesser degree its sister school Howard University Medical) had become increasingly whitenized (30%-40%). However, pressure from Alumni in particular and the National Black Community in general helped to offset this developing tendency, so that by 1972 Meharry could still make the claim that, "It has graduated approximately 50% of the Negro Physicians and Dentists now practicing in this country."

Meharry has had six (6) presidents, only the last two being Black: Harold D. West and Lloyd C. Elam.

Meharry has historically been an introvert in relationship to involvement in Community Political-Economic struggle. Its administrations have typified this. Building and expanding the endowment and the physical plant has been the dominant concern of Meharry presidents (As of course with most Black college administrators). Lloyd Elam the present prexy has by far been the "Superstar" in this endeavor. Elam succeeded West in 1967 and from '69 to '72 the budget of the institution

alone quadrupled. Today Meharry is in the third phase of a multi-million dollar expansion program..... However, during the two year period between the fall of 1970 and the spring of 1972, the Meharry student body was inspired by the leadership of a progressive Pre-lumini Council (student government). These two years saw many attempts (and some successes) by the student leadership in conjunction with other progressive allies to heighten the political sensitivity of the student body. Brothers and sisters of left persuasion were beginning to appear frequently, in addition to the normal health professionals as participants in the lecture series. Incidents that affected the Black community in direct political and economic terms as well as those issues regarding our health were discussed in organized forums continuously. This progressive atmosphere provided the context in which mass meetings held on different issues (on the Attica Massacre as an example) could leave an indelible impression on the minds of many Meharry students of lesser levels of political consciousness. This of course is extremely important when we consider the swing role that the petty-bourgeoisie, particularly the Black petty-bourgeoisie as a middle strata assumes in a pre-fascist or pre-revolutionary period, being quite capable of supporting the revolution or the reaction.

Among the concrete results of this development were:

- 1) A change in the editorial policy of the school newspaper. It moved from the simple preoccupation with campus news and notes to concern over the national and international implications and manifestations of the oppression of more Black people.

2) Meharry being selected as the host institution for the National Conference of Black Social Welfare.

3) Seminars and lectures on "Medicine in the Peoples Republic of China."

4) The Heightening of propaganda work thru the Medical Committee on Human Rights

So then is Meharry.....

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Selected Trustee Profile

Frances Payne Bolton - Born 1895, Ohio; former U.S. Rep. from Ohio; Bds. of Trust - Tuskegee Inst., Lake Erie Col.: Res. 1800 Richmond Rd. Lynhurst, Ohio 44124

Randolph P. Compton - Born 1892 Missouri; invest. banker, partner Kidder Peabody; Corp. rel. manager rep. aviation 1943-44; res. 53 Brookby Rd. Scarsdale N.Y.

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Jeanette Edris Rockefeller - Born ; immediate past pres. Nat. Assoc. of Mental Health; married Winthrop Rockefeller 1956 who is: form. Gov. of Ark.; assumed family responsibility in Exxon, Chase Man. Bnk., Foreign Prod. Socony Vacuum Oil; Vanderbilt Bd. of trust; res. Win-Rock Farms, Ark.

Andrew B. Benedict - Born 1914 ; banker, pres. & bd. chmn. 1st Am. Nat. Bnk.; pres. United Givers Fund; reg. Adv. Com. on Banking Policy & Practices, U.S. Treas. Dept.; mem. Methodist Pub. Bd.; res. Nashville, Tn.

- \* Paul R. Williams - Born 1896 California, Black; Architect-Banker, v.p. & dir. Broadway Fed. Sav. & Loan Assn.; chmn. Interstate Opportunity Ins. Co.; mem. Pres. Com. on Civil Rights; Cal. Civil Rights Com.; Howard Univ. bd. of trust; res. 1690 S. Victoria Ave. Los Angeles, Ca.