Daybreak In Alabama--reflections And Observations On The Black Academic Experience: Alabama State University.

DAYBREAK IN ALABAMA-- REFLECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE BLACK ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE: ALABAMA STATE UNIVERSITY

by

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When I get to be a composer
I'm gonna write me some music about
Daybreak in Alabama
And I'm gonna put the purtiest songs in it
Rising out of the ground like a swamp mist
And falling out of heaven like soft dew.
I'm gonna put some tall trees in it
And the scent of pine needles
And the smell of red clay after rain
And poppy colored faces
And big brown arms
And the field of daisy eyes
Of black and white black white black people
And I'm gonna put white hands
And black hands and brown and yellow hands
And red clay earth hands in it
Touching everybody with kind fingers
And touching each other natural as dew
In that dawn of music when I
Get to be a composer
And write about daybreak
In Alabama.

Langston Hughes

from Selected Poems (1948)

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INTRODUCTION

In December, 1974, I was afforded the opportunity to join the faculty of Alabama State University, a predominantly black institution in Montgomery, as an assistant professor of political science. With the exception of white, mostly Northern missionaries who dominated the teaching staffs of many Southern colleges for blacks until shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, white educators had been proscribed by law and/or custom from occupying positions at such schools until little more than a decade ago. Consequently, very few non-black educators have been exposed to the black academic experience. As minority opportunities in higher education have accelerated and increased numbers of black educators filled positions at predominantly white institutions traditionally closed to them, a market for non-black faculty has been created at many black colleges. This potential for intercultural contact has brought about the conditions necessary for an exchange of observations and knowledge about black academia which for so long had been severely limited due to cultural isolation and majority apathy.

Daybreak in Alabama: Reflections and Observations on the Black Academic Experience-- Alabama State University is offered as a Doctor of Arts report in the Department of Government. In accord with the purposes of the Doctor of Arts program, it combines a fundamental pedagogical

orientation with special attentiveness to the cultural, political, and socio-economic character of the university community and the larger environment whose social relations were instrumental in producing such institutions.

The major purpose of this report is to communicate my reactions, as a white, middle-class, New Englander, to the inner universe of the black, state-supported Southern university which I have had the fortune to traverse. Although the core of this account of my experiential project is based upon a personal account which I maintained during 1975 as a participant-observer of the black academic process (including interviews with faculty, administrators, and townspeople; student questionnaires and analyses of a variety of institutional data), attention was also fixed upon the historical development of the university and the educational consequences of the mobilization of bias against blacks by the dominant political structure.

Chapter I establishes the cultural setting of the project and traces the historical development of Alabama State University as a predominantly black institution. The following chapter reflects upon my initial reactions to my minority status on campus-- socially as well as academically. Chapter III concentrates on the effects of black sub-citizen status, in a traditionally segregated environment, upon the education, income level, and psyche of blacks, and its impact upon Alabama State University students today. In

Chapter IV the focus is on my teaching experiences at Alabama State University and the scope of classroom problems, procedural and substantive, arising during the course of the 1975 academic year. The role of the university community during the Civil Rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's, contrasted to its present day political activity, is examined in Chapter V. Administrative power is the central theme of Chapter VI, wherein Alabama State University is viewed as a socio-political community in which the allocation of power and authority fix the relationships of the component parts of the community to each other, set the modus operandi of the university, and influence the educational orientation of the institution. The final chapter considers the university as part of its larger environment and presents an impressionist reflection of the attitudes of various Montgomerians towards blacks in general and Alabama State University in particular.

Throughout my year's service at Alabama State University, my duties and research have brought me into contact with a great number of people, on and off campus, who aided this project by their co-operation, enthusiasm, and in just being themselves. I would like to single out Dr. Norman Walton, Chairman of the History and Political Science Department, for his faith in the Doctor of Arts concept and his endeavors to facilitate my adjustment to the university community, and Dr. Rogers Newman, Dean of the College of

Sciences and Humanities, for launching a determined emphasis upon academic excellence.

No doubt, there will be those from the university community who will regard much of what I present (even the project itself) as a betrayal of the institution-- a white, revisionist overview of black academia. In reality, however, both the process of education and the uses and misuses of power-- two central themes in this report-- transcend racial perspectives. It is people who transform these concerns into perversions of the ideal, and it is people who attempt to approach the ideal. My year at Alabama State University has made me ever so more conscious of the aspirations and needs of students. It is they who most gain or lose from the academic environment to which they are exposed-- whose minds are aroused or locked by the educational process. It is they to whom this project is dedicated.

ABSTRACT

This project is experiential and reflective in orientation. Its central purpose is to analyze and describe the black academic experience as perceived at a black state university in the Deep South (from January to September, 1975) by a non-black assistant professor of political science. Major emphases in this study are placed upon the educational institution; student academic attitudes, values, and behavior; student political expressions; administrative authoritarianism; and the urban environment vis-à-vis the university. Treatment of the major themes is developed within the framework of a social, economic, political and cultural perspective.

Alabama State University was founded over one hundred years ago as an institution for the education of the "colored race." Initially reflecting the missionary ideals of its white teachers and presidents, the school did not develop a strong black leadership base until after the turn of the twentieth century. Today, approximately three-quarters of the faculty and over ninety-nine percent of the student body are black.

The traditional condition of blacks in the South, as well as the continuous mobilization of bias against them by the dominant white society, has had a great impact upon their higher education. At Alabama State University, many students are ill-prepared academically and/or emotionally

for college level work. In addition to commonplace difficulties with oral and written communication of ideas and student apathy, problems involving classroom order, refusal to purchase required texts, cheating on tests, and plagiarism of papers commonly arise. More elementary and secondary public school teachers in Alabama have graduated from Alabama State University than from any other institution in the state. Yet, judged by recent standardized tests, such as the National Teacher Examination, prospective teachers at Alabama State ranked at the bottom of the list in scores for twenty-two state institutions. Oral examinations for senior history and political science majors reveal very low levels of academic preparation. A cycle of miseducation exists which is cumulatively destructive of quality education.

Student political dialog, once quite regular during the Civil Rights period of the 1950's and 1960's has greatly diminished. The administration seldom acts to promote and stimulate political involvement, and has often responded to stifle such activity. What little political awareness that is articulated is usually concerned with the black experience with discrimination and racism, and is expressed most often through poetry published in the student newspaper.

Alabama State University is characterized by a high degree of institutional favoritism and nepotism in regard to administrative and faculty appointments. Black male alumni dominate the administrative hierarchy. Presidential power

is authoritarian and highly centralized-- penetrating into vital aspects of academic life (e.g., hiring, firing, promotions, salaries, travel grants to individual faculty, student affairs).

Although there has been attitudinal change in Montgomery, decreasing the potential for renewed racial violence, Alabama State University still exists as an isolated black academic ghetto in a hostile, majority white environment. Despite the many cultural programs offered to townspeople by the university, interracial contact and exchanges are scarce. The institution is still referred to by many whites as the college for "niggers."

CHAPTER I

BEING AND BECOMING

Most of the thirty-four black, four-year public colleges in the United States today were founded between 1867-1900, primarily to furnish an education for recently emancipated slaves-- a task formerly almost exclusively undertaken by the United States Freedman's Bureau, the American Missionary Association, and a variety of other religious and philanthropic organizations.[1] These colleges now exist in nineteen states, predominantly in the Southern and border areas of the country. The oldest, and only black public college which predates the Civil War era, however, is Cheyney State, established in 1837, in Pennsylvania. By 1970, these public institutions enrolled approximately one hundred thousand students (one-third of the total number of black students in higher education)-- ninety percent of whom were residents of the states in which the colleges were located.[2] Elementary and Secondary Education still remain the favored degree programs among students in black colleges at both the baccalaureate and the master's level, although this preference for education is slowly eroding.[3] Statistics for 1970 disclosed that black public colleges collectively employed over five-thousand full-time faculty, and possessed library holdings totaling 3.4 million volumes (within the same range as the University of California at Berkeley, but less than half of the accumulations of Yale or Harvard).[4]

Alabama State University, the oldest black college in the state, was officially founded in 1874, in Marion, at the site of the Lincoln Normal school which had been utilized, since 1866, as a private educational institution for Negroes. The school was initially organized by local Baptist and Presbyterian pastors, at the prompting of J.M.L. Curry, the white president of Howard College (now Samford University) and land speculator for railroad interests. Two years later, in 1868, the building and grounds of the school were leased to the American Missionary Association in exchange for its financing the institutional operation. The Freedman's Bureau contributed funds to the school alsc. In 1873, the State Board of Education, in concert with the Reconstruction state legislature, authorized the establishment of a "State Normal School and University for Colored Students and Teachers," in order "to provide for the liberal education of the colored [race] in the same manner as is already provided for the education of the white race in our universities and colleges."[5] When the proposed budget for the institution was halved to two thousand dollars, the title "university" was granted by the Alabama legislature, in order to appease Negroes for the temporary cut. It was wryly noted by Negro officials, however, that the appropriations for the University of Alabama were six times higher. By 1875, the faculty of the State Normal School and University consisted of three white men.[6] Twelve years later the school was discontinued

at Marion, at a time when it enrolled four hundred students and received an annual appropriation of six thousand dollars from the state legislature.[7]

Although official records do not supply an explanation of the authentic reason behind the discontinuation of the school at Marion, institutional revelation does provide it. After a black student struck a white townsperson in a fight initiated by the insults of the latter, a crowd of townspeople flocked to State Normal School to demand that the young Negro be handed over to be flogged. William Burns Paterson, the second president of the institution (and second white president), refused to surrender the student. Shortly thereafter he was informed that the school was unwelcome in Marion.[8] It was then moved to Montgomery (by consent of the state legislature) under adverse circumstances.

The racial climate in the Montgomery of 1877 was not favorable to the establishment of a Negro college there. One month before the "Alabama Colored Peoples University" was to be established, the editor of the Montgomery Herald, a Negro newspaper, caused a furor among the white community by suggesting that the roots of the currently strained Negro-White relations in the city resided in white, male jealousy of the new respect which some white women were according educated Negro males. Nearly all the prominent Negro community leaders disassociated themselves from this

viewpoint, and claimed that such statements did not accurately reflect the opinions of their race. Nevertheless, many whites petitioned the Governor to halt the establishment of the Negro college, fearing that such an institution would stimulate the ideas of the black editor.[9] The view of the Montgomery business community finally prevailed. It generally favored the new school-- mindful of the increased economic potential which usually accompanied such projects.

Alabama Colored Peoples University opened in Montgomery, in October, 1887, with four-hundred students, a faculty of nine, and a six thousand dollar appropriation from the state legislature. However, the first academic year was severly handicapped when, several months later, the Alabama Supreme Court ruled that public school funds could not be utilized to operate a "university."[10] In order to survive, the school existed on private donations from the Negro community and several Protestant church denominations. The first registration was held in the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (where Martin Luther King, Jr. would later preach the gospel of non-violence), and the first classes were conducted in Beulah Baptist Church and in surrounding homes. The following year, with the name "university" deleted in order to satisfy legal requirements, the State Normal School for Colored People was re-established on several acres of land.

Although George N. Card was appointed as the first president of the State Normal School and University at

Marion (1874-79), extremely little is known about him. His successor, William Burns Paterson, is today regarded as the "founding father" of Alabama State. Born in Scotland, he was an ardent admirer of fellow countryman David Livingstone's missionary activity in Africa. Paterson established Tullibody Academy in Greensboro, Alabama, in 1871, for the private education of Negroes. Eight years later, he was appointed to the presidency of the State Normal School and University, in Marion. His dedication in this capacity spanned over thirty-seven years-- from Marion to Montgomery. So appreciated are his contributions that on each Founder's Day convocation he is eulogized; his favorite song, "The Blue Bells of Scotland," is sung by the university choir, and his most cherished poem, "I Live for Those Who Love Me," is memorized and recited by a schoolchild.

Under Paterson's administration (1878-1915), the state supported institution for Negroes had been successfully transplanted from Marion to Montgomery. It survived dire financial crises and began to develop as an educational institution. Beginning with an all white teaching staff, the school gradually acquired a predominantly black faculty. By 1915, the last of the early white teachers had departed.

The purpose of this school seemed to reflect the missionary zeal of its white president. The Negro was to receive a moral as well as a liberal education, in order to raise the race up to the level of acceptable white, civilized

standards. The 1911-12 Announcement of the State Normal School for Colored Students (the earliest contained in the university archives) indicates the extent to which students were exposed to a strong dose of the Protestant ethic:

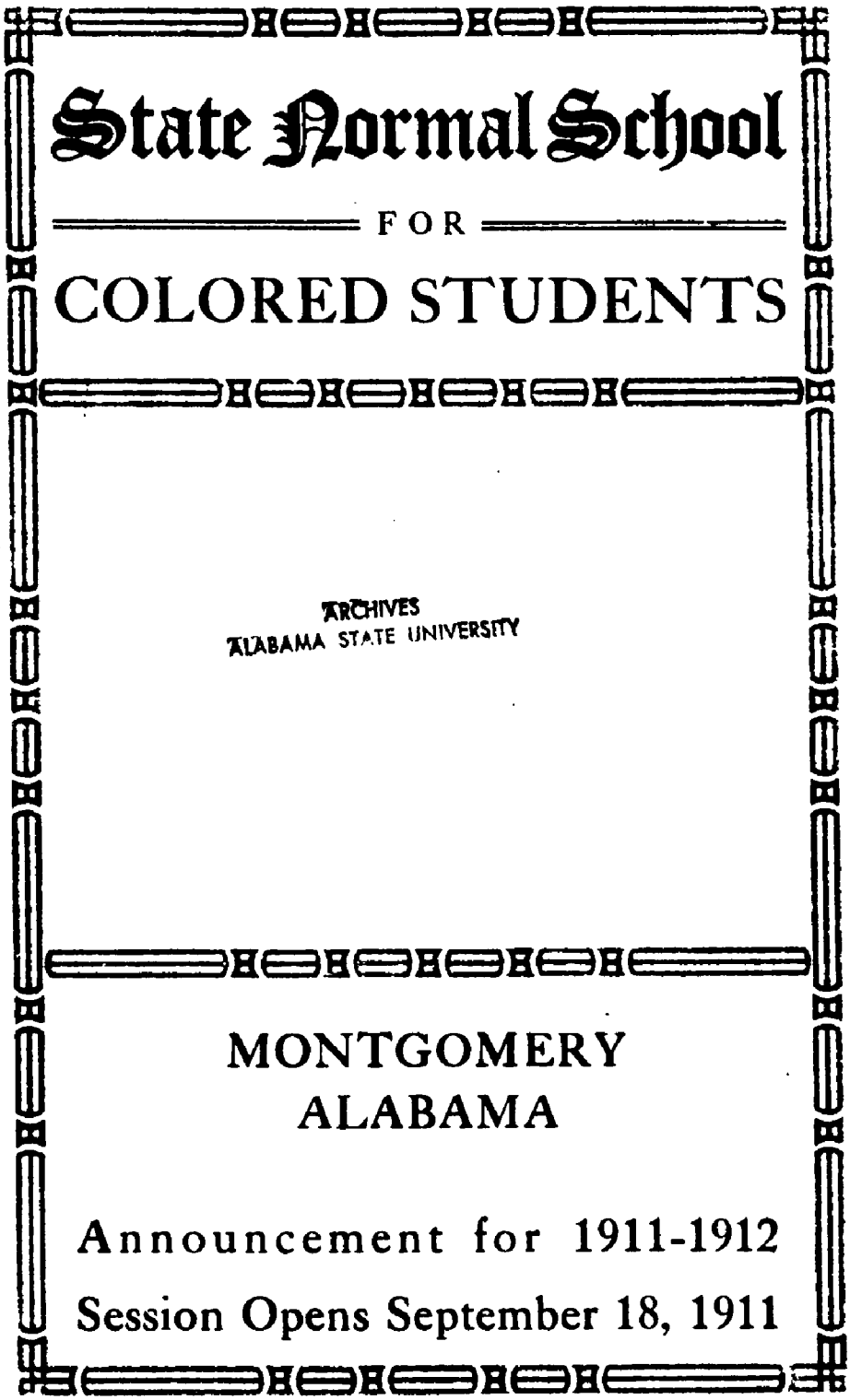
> [We] aim at developing moral principles, improving manners and forming the habits of the pupils...honor and truth...as regulators of conduct...punctuality, regularity, precision.
>
> The value of education [is] to enjoy life and earn a living. The lazy, thriftless...can not enjoy the pleasure of living as the joy of accomplishment.[11]

Without specific permission from the president, students were forbidden to dance or to go to theatrical performances; nor could they take part in literary entertainment or concerts-- except those associated with church or Sunday school activities.

Upon Paterson's death in 1915, John W. Beverly became the third president of the institution, serving from 1915 to 1920. Born into slavery, he studied under Paterson at the "university" in Marion and became the first Negro teacher at that institution following his graduation in 1882. Beverly was followed in presidential succession by George Washington Trenholm (1920-25), Harper Councill Trenholm (1925-62), and Levi Watkins (1962-).[12]

Under the administrative leadership of the father and son Trenholms (1920-62), the first four-year and graduate degree programs were initiated and campus facilities were greatly expanded. The B.S. in Education was first offered

Fig. 1.--Cover design of the Announcement for 1911-12.



in 1929; the M.Ed. and the non-Education B.S., in 1940; the pre-professional and Liberal Arts baccalaureates, in 1947. Despite the varied curricula, however, it was not until 1966 that Alabama State College was granted accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.[13] Accreditation was the main goal of Levi Watkins when he assumed the presidency of the school in 1962. Two years later, Alabama State College was one of only four black colleges (public and private) not accredited by the Southern Association. Among the reasons cited in concluding that the institution did not meet the minimal standards for accreditation at that time, were: (1) inadequate expenditures for instruction; (2) insufficient percentage of faculty with earned doctorates; (3) unsatisfactory laboratory and housing facilities; (4) deficient library resources; (5) unsatisfactory communication of academic information to students (although mimeographed college orientation booklets had been distributed on a regular basis, there had not been an official college catalog printed between 1937-38 and 1962-63); and (6) too many courses offered, resulting in over-extension of services (e.g., need to eliminate the Junior College in Mobile).[14]

During the early years of the school in Montgomery, females comprised well over a majority of the faculty (see Table 1). Males, however, possessed the bulk of advanced degrees. As late as the 1937-38 academic year, for example,

60% (18 of 30) of the female faculty held bachelors degrees or less, whereas 65% (13 of 20) of the male faculty held masters degrees or doctorates (there were only two doctorates).[15]

TABLE 1

Females as Total and Percentage of the Alabama State Faculty, Academic Years-- 1887-88, 1907-08, 1924-1925, and 1937-38*

Academic Year	Total Faculty	Female Faculty	Percent Female
1887-88	9	6	66.7%
1907-08	25	17	68.0%
1924-25	36	22	61.1%
1937-38	50	30	60.0%

*Statistics for 1887-88 and 1907-08 are cited in the semi-centennial souvenir edition of the State Normal Courier (student newspaper), February 7, 1924, pp. 7,8. Other data was compiled from the State Normal School Record for 1924-25 (the latest years available in the library archives for catalogs of the 1920's), and the State Teachers College Catalog for 1937-38.

As additional degree programs were formulated, and advanced credentials became increasingly in demand, the sex ratio of the faculty began to shift. By 1963, 68% of the Alabama State Faculty were males, although the percentage of earned doctorates held by each sex was in approximate balance (20.6% of the male faculty and 18.8% of the female faculty held earned doctorates). In the years following accreditation-- especially after the achievement of university

status in 1969-- doctoral degree percentages, by sex, were significantly altered. During the 1973-74 academic year, 51.5% of the males (who comprised 73.3% of the faculty) held earned doctorates, in contrast to only 10.2% of the females. Only in the 1974-75 academic year has the percentage of female doctorates approximated the level for female faculty during the 1960's (see Table 2). Since accreditation was granted in 1966, the percentage of earned doctorates of the full-time faculty has doubled, currently standing at 43.6%.[16]

A combination of societal pressure and state law prohibited non-black educators from teaching at "colored" institutions in the South. After the turn of the twentieth century very few whites were teaching at Alabama State. Prior to this time nearly all of the white faculty were Northerners. From 1915 to 1965, no non-black served on the faculty. As a result of the Equal Opportunity provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, however, non-blacks were able to secure positions in historically black colleges. Virtually all of the non-black faculty who came to Alabama State in the mid-1960's were of Chinese, Indian, and Philippine heritage. Some initially met with hostility only because they were associated with a Negro school. But they were more accepted than American whites would have been at that time, because they were foreigners. Today over one-third of the non-black faculty are from Asiatic backgrounds.

TABLE 2

Number and Percentage of Earned Doctorates, by Sex and Combined, Alabama State, Academic Years-- 1937-38, 1963-64, 1968-69, 1973-74, and 1974-75*

Academic Year	Total Faculty	Male Faculty	Male Doctors	Percent Doctors	Female Faculty	Female Doctors	Percent Doctors	Combined Percent
1937-38	50	20	2	10.0%	30	0	0.0%	4.0%
1963-64	100	68	14	20.6%	32	6	18.8%	20.0%
1968-69	88	56	14	25.0%	32	6	18.8%	22.7%
1973-74	150	101	52	51.5%	49	5	10.2%	38.0%
1974-75	149	101	55	54.5%	48	10	20.8%	43.6%

*Statistics were compiled from the State Teacher's College Catalog for 1937-38; the Alabama State College Catalog for 1963-64 and 1968-69; the Alabama State University Catalog for 1973-74; and the 1974-75 Alabama State University Directory of Personnel.

In the 1974-75 academic year non-blacks comprised 26.7% (27 of 101) of the full-time male faculty and 14.6% (7 of 48) of the full-time female faculty.[17]

Since 1966, a M.S. degree in Biology and in Liberal Arts, and a Sixth Year Specialist program in Education have been added to the Alabama State offerings. A M.S. degree in Business Administration is currently being planned. The university is presently organized into the following divisions: (1) College of the Arts; (2) College of Business Administration; (3) College of Sciences and Humanities (formerly named College of Arts and Sciences); (4) University College; and (5) School of Graduate Studies.

Statistics for 1974-75 disclosed that the university consisted of thirty-one major buildings located on seventy-eight urban acres-- valued at over 29 million dollars. Library holdings total over 140 thousand volumes.[18] Nearly three-quarters (2,312 of 3,158) of the student body were undergraduates, more than 99% of whom were black.[19]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]For a comprehensive study of the role of governmental, religious, and philanthropic organizations in aiding the establishment of black educational institutions during the nineteenth century, see Dwight Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Columbia University Bureau of Publications, 1934).

[2]Harry A. Ploski and Ernest Kaiser (eds.), The Negro Almanac (New York: Belwether Co., 1971), p. 528. Approximately three-fifths of students enrolled in black colleges attended black public colleges. According to Frank Bowles and Frank De Costa, Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), Table 11, p. 83, undergraduate enrollment figures for 1967-68 indicated that 50.1% of all black college students in the United States attended black Southern colleges (public and private).

[3]Ploski and Kaiser, Chart 50, "Black Students in Higher Education Today," p. 529, reported that in the 1955-56 academic year, 66.2% of all degrees awarded by black colleges in the United States were in various fields of Education. By the 1967-68 academic year, this figure had decreased to 47.1%.

[4]Ibid., p. 529. See also, George E. Delury (ed.), The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1974 (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1973), p. 319.

[5]Norman Walton, "A Brief History of Alabama State University" (Privately printed essay, Department of History and Political Science, Alabama State University, 1970), p. 3, citing Enactment No. 54 of the Alabama Board of Education, December 15, 1873. The motion to establish a "colored peoples" institution was first introduced by Peyton Finley, a Negro member of the State Board of Education, in 1870.

[6]One of the teachers (an assistant principal) at State Normal School and University for Colored Students that year was Reverend John Silsby, a Northern missionary who had served the Christian cause in Siam. He returned to the United States most likely as the result of a disciplinary measure for employing slave labor while abroad. Silsby had been a member of the Committee on Education of the 1867 Alabama Constitutional Convention. In true missionary style, he cautioned Negroes not to drink whiskey ("You don't find such men as General Howland... or the martyred Lincoln whiskey drinkers.") and warned against the use of tobacco and vulgar language (e.g., "fool", "liar", "thief", and

"nigger"). Such missionary teachers placed great emphasis on the need to raise the Negro race up to the moral standards of whites. Despite this assumption of white moral superiority, these teachers (mostly Northerners) were vehemently resented by Southern racists and Conservatives for their "fanaticism." American Missionary Association textbooks were printed in the North and emphasized equalitarian principals. Negroes were taught not to be submissive-- as whites expected them to act. By example, the missionaries associated and lived with their black students. This stimulated the worst thoughts of the white racists, who accused them of bad character and spread rumors that the missionaries advocated interracial marriage.

Ironically, J.M.L. Curry, the white educator who stimulated interest among Negro ministers to establish a private school for blacks in Marion, Alabama (the forerunner of Alabama State University), was quite hostile about the methods of missionary teachers. As an agent of the Peabody and the Slater Funds (more than a decade after the establishment of Alabama State Normal School and University in 1874), he was responsible for ascertaining and interpreting the educational needs of Negroes. His appeal to fearful white Alabamians to assume the public support of Negro education was based on "sectarian and sectional prejudice." Curry emphasized the "white man's burden" and the duty "to lead other races as far and as fast as their good and their possibilities will justify." White Southerners would then be responsible for Negro education in Alabama, and would replace the Northern missionary teachers whose "liberal arts" curricula was considered too advanced for the Negro mentality to grasp (Curry preferred schools that taught agricultural and industrial skills rather than those which sought to revolutionize Negroes with the message of social and political equality.). See Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939), chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XIV.

[7]In 1885, the faculty at Alabama State Normal School consisted of nine whites and one black. Since its establishment as a public school, in 1874, Alabama State has undergone seven changes in name: State Normal School and University for Colored People (1874-87); Alabama Colored Peoples University (1887-89); State Normal School for Colored Students (1889-1929); State Teachers College (1929-1946); Alabama State College for Negroes (1946-54); Alabama State College (1954-69); and Alabama State University (1969-).

[8]This information is based upon a personal interview

with President Levi Watkins, Alabama State University, March 4, 1975.

[9]Walton, pp. 5-6, citing the Montgomery Advertiser, August 17, 1887 and August 18, 1887. Over four-hundred whites signed the petition, which read: "Whereas recent utterances of the Herald, a newspaper edited by Negroes in the city of Montgomery and is exponent of the sentiment of the colored people of the city, have shamelessly perpetrated an outrageous publication upon the most sacred sensibilities of white citizens of the city of Montgomery, and whereas we consider the establishment in the city or county of a colored university will encourage and develop this sentiment, we hereby protest against the establishment of a colored university in our city or county."

[10]Bond, p. 109.

[11]State Normal School for Colored Students Announcement for 1911-12, p. 13.

[12]For additional information on the lives and careers of W.B. Paterson, J.W. Beverly, G.W. Trenholm, and H.C. Trenholm, see Charles N. Brown (ed.), Biographical Sketches of Presidents of the Alabama State Teachers Association (Montgomery, Alabama State Teachers Association Press, 1967).

[13]In 1943, during the administration of Harper Councill Trenholm, the college received class A accreditation from the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, a separate agency for the recognition of Negro colleges and high schools.

[14]Advertiser-Journal (Montgomery), February 23, 1964, section D, p. 2. Ray Jenkins, "Progress Report on Alabama State College."

[15]Calculated from the Alabama State Teachers College Catalog for 1937-38.

[16]According to calculations from the Alabama State University Catalog for 1973-74 (no catalog was published during the 1974-75 academic year), 70.2% (40 of 57) of the earned doctorates were Ph.D's.

Describing black educational institutions of the past generation, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), p. 425, commented: "... the Negro college of the 1950's was usually an ill-financed, ill-staffed caricature of white education-- which was, after all, easy enough to caricature.

Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the Negro college served as a living reminder of how bad most white colleges in an earlier era had been-- and a few still are."

[17]Calculated from the 1974-75 Alabama State University Directory of Personnel. Information on race and nationality was supplied by several colleagues.

Of the thirty-four non-black faculty during the academic year 1974-75, twelve are originally from China, India, Korea, and the Philippines. According to President Watkins, the first non-black on the faculty since 1915 was from the Philippines. She joined Alabama State in 1965 and is still on the faculty. The president related a story of how a young white couple, who began teaching here in 1966, was forced to resign from the faculty in mid-year, sell their new home, and return to Mississippi due to the pressure applied by their parents who strenuously objected to their association with a "colored" institution.

[18]Alabama State University General Information Bulletin for 1975-76, I, p. 3.

[19]Student enrollment figures and data on racial background are based on Fall, 1974 statistics supplied by the Director of Records at Alabama State University. Only 0.6% (14 of 2,312) of the undergraduates and 1.2% (10 of 846) of the graduate students were non-black.

CHAPTER II

INSIDE THE GHETTO

In mid-December 1974, while a Doctor of Arts candidate at Lehigh University, I was offered employment as an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Alabama State University. The initial inquiry as to my availability came several months earlier through connections with the College Specialist Bureau, a teachers agency in Memphis, Tennessee. I was, however, already obligated to part-time teaching at Moravian College and had not yet completed my comprehensive examinations at Lehigh. With tongue in cheek I told the Dean of Sciences and Humanities to remember me for January, fully cognizant that in all probability the position would be filled by some other prospect.

It was quite a surprise, then, when the Dean placed a second telephone call to me in November, asking if I was still interested in the teaching appointment. Within a few weeks I flew to Montgomery for an interview. I did not know it at that time, but one of the primary reasons supporting the favorable attitude towards my academic background was that the Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science held a Doctor of Arts degree in History from Carnegie-Mellon University. In addition, he had studied under one of the professors at Wesleyan University who had provided me with a letter of recommendation. The position at Alabama State required the teaching of a broad

range of political science courses at all class levels; and true to the spirit of the Doctor of Arts concept, here was a D.A. who so believed in its efficacy that he was willing to add a D.A. candidate to his Department-- replacing a dismissed Ph.D.

Although the Dean had informed me from the beginning that Alabama State was a predominantly black institution, I scarcely gave thought to the question of whether or not I was psychologically and culturally prepared to make such a rapid transition from teaching and associating with mainly white, middle class, Eastern students and faculty. Much of my time and energy had been absorbed in studying for comprehensive examinations and in teaching on a part-time basis. If I accepted the position, I reasoned, it would mean at least a six-month separation from my family. But it was an extremely lean academic market, as I earlier had discovered after a pleasant but unfruitful journey to Augustana College, in South Dakota. Even though I believed that the experience of teaching at a predominantly black college would be unique and broadening, I did not actively seek out black institutions. Nor did I particularly desire to relocate in the Deep South. The salary offer and academic title were encouraging, and economic need and desire to teach on a full-time basis were forceful incentives. There were no other alternatives. If I declined the offer at Alabama State University, I could not be certain of securing another

position for the following September.

Prior to joining the faculty, my relationships with Negroes had been minimal. While growing-up in a white, middle-class neighborhood in northwestern Connecticut during the 1940's and 1950's, the few Negroes I encountered in my home town were regarded as novelties by our elders-- people with whom whites would politely engage in conversation (or hire as maids and helpers), but not associate with. Throughout elementary school there was not one black child in any of my classes. In my high school graduating class of more than two-hundred students, there were only two blacks. My undergraduate years at Villanova University were devoid of friendhsips with blacks, even though many did attend the institution. It was not until after the mid-1960's, during graduate school at the University of Arizona, that I began to more clearly perceive and empathize with the problems of minorities-- especially American Indians and Mexican-Americans. While a member of the faculty at Ricker College (in northern Maine) from 1968 to 1972, I was elected as an advisor to a small but vocal Afro-American organization, and aided in the presentation of a symposium on Black Studies. Graduate courses on sub-Saharan Africa and the black experience in America, taken at Wesleyan University, encouraged me to devise a general black experiential course at Ricker. During this period I had close, informal relationships with many black students-- most of whom were from

New York City and surrounding metropolitan areas. Much of this interaction was a result of student protest movements which swept through American college campuses during the late 1960's, and united many students and faculty in opposition to American involvement in the Vietnamese war and other dehumanizing governmental policies.

Before arriving at Alabama State for an interview, I was not informed that plans had been made to meet me at the airport. Due to the assumption that I was black, my greeting party neglected my arrival and we crossed paths. Not until the following day, when I met with the Chairman of the History and Political Science Department and the Vice President for Academic Affairs, did I learn of their endeavor. The interview itself entailed little more than meeting with several academic officers (both the President and the Dean of Sciences and Humanities were unable to be on campus that day), and submitting to various questions designed to gauge my general inclinations on political issues in South Africa, Spain and the Deep South. Few questions were asked about the design and purpose of the Doctor of Arts programs. Almost all of those who met me, however, showed some concern about my adjustment to the South. The Chairman of the History and Political Science Department conversed with me in such a manner as if to convince me to join the faculty at Alabama State. He mentioned that a young black Ph.D was recently discouraged from the position because his inter-

departmental degree program had been weak in the number of political science courses. I would be the third political scientist in the department (in addition to seven history and geography teachers). Earlier in the year a black Ph.D candidate from Atlanta University had been hired to teach political science courses. The senior political science professor was a white Ph.D from Notre Dame. Half of the full-time faculty in the Department are presently non-black.

The most striking sensation which I experienced during the two days on campus for my interview and throughout the major portion of the Winter quarter, was the constant awareness that I was a distinct minority in a black micro-universe. The transformation from the predominantly white outer world to the academic ghetto, styled in red colonial brick, was overpowering at times and forced me to be continuously conscious of my color and the fact that I was no longer a part of the majority culture. In my weaker moments I took refuge in the knowledge that I could once again belong to the majority by simply leaving campus boundaries.

Most of the displays on campus were black oriented. In the Social Science building, wall posters emphasized black social thought, black heroes of the Emancipation, and black awareness. Paperbacks treating almost every aspect of the black experience were prominently shown in display cases. Black poetry was also exhibited. One wall poster depicted a handsome, muscular, black man in the process of shedding

his "Negro" (i.e., buffoon-like Uncle Tom) costume which had masked his true identity. In the background middle class blacks, who were illustrated as being "white-like" in physical features and value orientation, looked on in astonishment.

The newness of these experiences forced me to adopt an emotionally defensive posture in which I endeavored to anticipate reactions of the black majority to my presence. Nevertheless, I made positive efforts to confront awkward situations rather than to circumvent them. During the first few days of the Winter quarter, for instance, I went to lunch at the student cafeteria instead of the faculty dining room. Being the only non-black in the place, I felt very conspicuous and uneasy. Most of the students appeared to passively accept my intrusion, but several would cast second and third glances. Very few made any attempt to communicate with me. Before going to join the food line I placed my briefcase at an empty table, but when I returned the table had been occupied by three girls. With some hesitation I asked if I could join them. They nodded and looked beyond me and away from me as if to deny my reality. After I introduced myself as Mr. Smith, the new political science teacher, one of the girls said a few words; but I asked most of the questions and produced the bulk of the conversation.

At times, however, I would observe myself retreating

from confrontation. In one of the most depressing moments of the Winter quarter, when the tiring effects of a new environment and an average teaching load of fifteen hours per week were taking their toll, I entered the following observations in my journal.

> Sometimes several days pass without seeing a single white woman... From my apartment I go to Alabama State and return after four o'clock. Last week I accidentally discovered a Winn-Dixie supermarket in a predominantly white suburban area of Montgomery. Yesterday I shopped there, even though it was as much as three miles further than the Winn-Dixie where I regularly shop and which is patronized mostly by blacks. I wonder if this will continue. Is this prejudice?
>
> Whites and blacks have a way of coping here /Montgomery/ if one notices closely enough. It is manifested in an unconscious blindness to others... a way of looking through, around, and over people. It is not unlike a crowded New York City sidewalk-- or anyplace, for that matter, where people lose touch with the human perspective. It also happens to many on campus-- to me at times. One can easily fall into the shelter of an inner world and become insulated from that which one does not want to acknowledge.[1]

It was only several days later that this mood of pessimism lifted. Slowly, I began to experience a more congenial campus environment where both students and faculty were increasingly recognizing me as a part of the institution. I wrote these lines in the journal:

> I had a good feeling about classes today. The weather is beautiful-- in the 80's. Mockingbirds were loudly singing. More and more of my students are saying hello to me outside of class. There is a friendlier atmosphere now. During the past two days I have lost many inhibitions and much of my self-consciousness about race. In the

> beginning there was an everpresent awareness and defensiveness about being white. Now there are times when I completely forget about color and actually feel like an integral part of the college. Students and faculty have become more welcoming. Students are beginning to come into my office to ask questions and to talk... I hope I am making a contribution to them.[2]

It had taken nearly a month before I began to enjoy my association with Alabama State. Many of my initial difficulties were resultant of a too rapid transition to an entirely new cultural environment which greatly differed from my expectations, especially in regard to student motivation (to which Chapter IV will be devoted) and administrative efficiency. During the Winter quarter (and sometimes in subsequent ones as well) I was perplexed by registration procedures which allowed students to matriculate in my classes as late as two weeks after the beginning of the quarter-- many not coming to class until the last possible day; with book orders that were not filled in time or never arrived at all; with Work/Study students who staffed the library knowing remarkably little about library science, and who managed to misplace most of the books I had placed on reserve; with microfilm machines whose burnt-out bulbs rendered these visual aids useless for long periods of time; and with student aides who consistently failed to come to work.

When a new faculty member arrives on campus it is natural that his peers, who have the advantage of hindsight, endeavor to enlighten him about academic problems which are

likely to be encountered. The senior political scientist was one of the first colleagues to inform me that the quality of student at Alabama State is not that which I might have expected. Most students, he added, were from rural and small town Alabama backgrounds and have trouble reading and writing. They didn't display the political militancy of some blacks from Northern metropolitan ghettos. A doctoral intern in Special Education at Auburn University who had been teaching at Alabama State since September, 1974, told me of his difficulties with students tearing out articles that he had assigned to be read from periodicals. He claimed that many of his students "cheat like fourth graders" on examinations. Although he viewed the average Alabama State student as performing below what he considered normal academic standards, he did observe that a wide distribution of talent existed among the students. It was his belief that there appeared to be a lack of motivation and a misunderstanding of what college work entails. An Assistant Professor of History also related that students did below average work. To bolster his point he showed me several incoherent essays which recently had been written. He too had experienced the tearing out of reading assignments from history journals, and now keeps the favored volumes in his office. A black Instructor of Geography warned me about "slipping to the conversational level of the students," and against "lowering my grammatical standards."

Such were some of the initial comments about the routine which I was about to "discover" as a new faculty member at Alabama State. Before my first class, the Chairman of our Department cautioned me to "take it easy" with the students and not to be too harsh with them. Because most of them were from poor families, he insisted that paperbacks be utilized as texts whenever possible (the Chairman must approve all book lists from his faculty). There were very few courses in the social sciences where more than one book was required to be purchased as a text.

Faculty generally exhibited a pleasant disposition towards my presence at Alabama State. They surrounded me with "hi" and "what's happening" and smiles that eventually faded. Only once during my first eight months here was I ever invited to another colleague's home (a white history professor). A black Dean did encourage me to worship at his church, but even this type of spiritual inducement was memorable for its uniqueness. During the first few months I noticed that the non-black faculty welcomed me with a high level of enthusiasm-- presumably because there were so few non-blacks on campus. Yet this on-campus comradery was rarely extended to off-campus relationships and continues to be most frivolous. Faculty in the Department of History and Political Science did not constitute a close-knit associative group. Each carried on an isolated professional existence day after day.[3] This differed from my experience

on the Ricker College faculty where in just a few months I had developed off-campus friendships with a small circle of colleagues. To my knowledge there is extremely little non-academic association between blacks and non-blacks. Even at the faculty dining room the races tended to congregate together and maintained their table positions throughout the year. At the few integrated tables conversation was usually limited to superficialities or racial issues strained for any depth. Much of the conversation of the non-black faculty centered around discontent with student academic initiative, telling about professional projects in progress, and speculating on administrative intrigues and the impact these might have on their tenuous security at Alabama State.

During the 1974-75 academic year non-blacks comprised 22.8% (34 of 149) of the full-time faculty and held 42.2% (30 of 65) of the earned doctorates.[4] Nearly nine in ten non-black faculty held the doctorate compared to less than three in ten black faculty.[5] In the previous academic year 89.7% (104 of 116) of the black faculty held at least one degree from a predominantly black college.[6] Most interestingly, 39.7% (46 of 116) of the entire black faculty held at least one degree from Alabama State-- 25% (18 of 72) of black males and 63.6% (28 of 44) of black females.[7]

In addition to recruiting nearly one-third of the entire faculty from the pool of former Alabama State graduates,

a similarly disproportionate percentage of faculty couples are also siphoned from old Alma Mater.[8] During the 1974-75 academic year husband and wife teaching teams constituted 14.8% (22 of 149) of the full-time faculty. Of these eleven couples there were four couples where one or both partners had received at least one degree from Alabama State. Six of the twenty-two persons were former alumni.[9] Academic nepotism and institutional favoritism also extend to the hiring of the spouse of a faculty member in a non-teaching capacity. Such positions may be a prestigious as the Executive Secretary to the President or as standard as an administrative clerk. Of the five couples classified as faculty/non-faculty there were three couples where one partner was an Alabama State graduate.[10] In total, during the 1974-75 academic year, there were seven couples, where one or more partners were alumni of Alabama State-- representing 26.5% (9 of 34) of the group. All sixteen couples were black.[11]

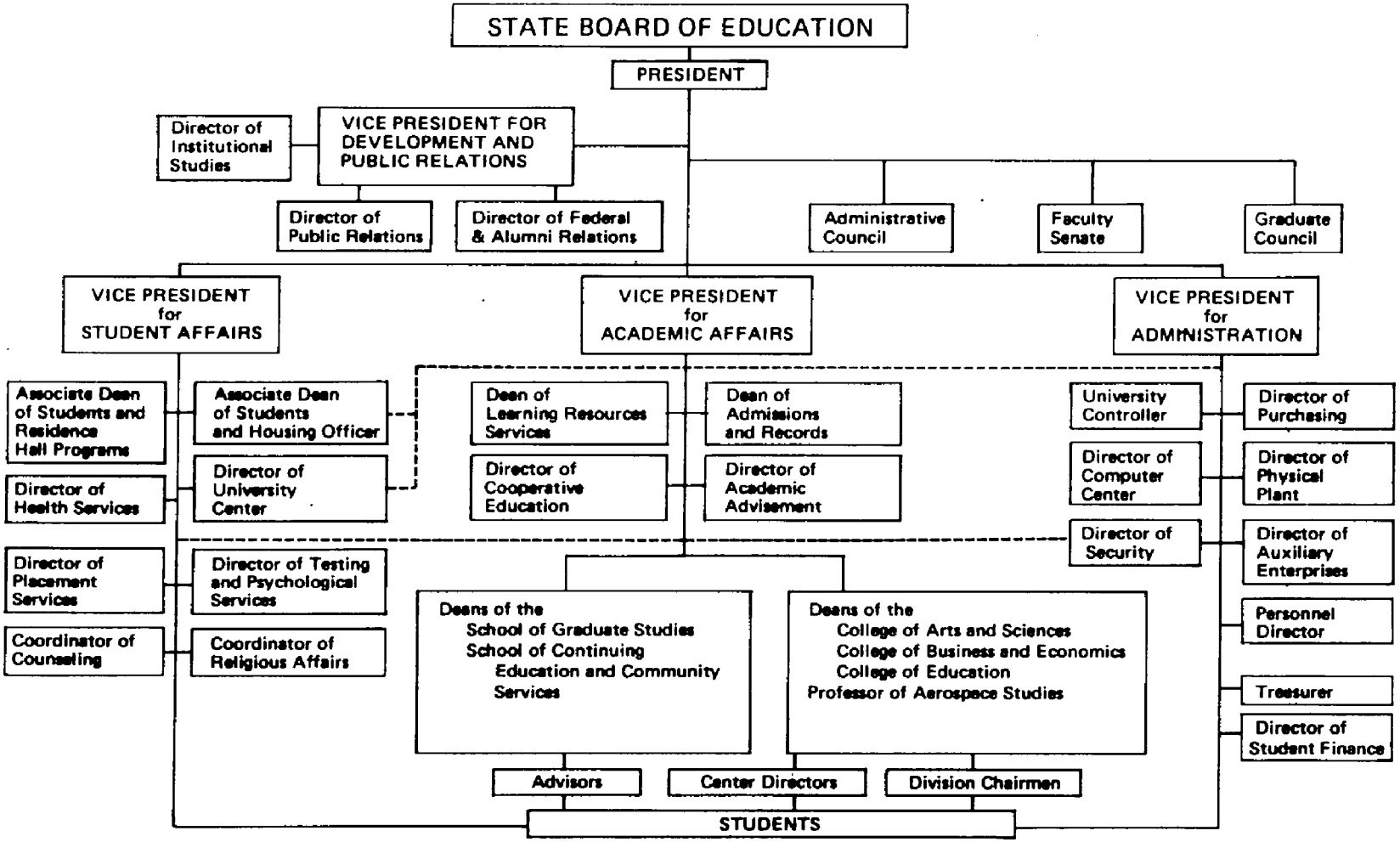
The pattern of nepotism at Alabama State is much more subtle and complex than the mere calculation of husband and wife employment. The aforementioned data does not include such overlapping relationships as active/Emeritus or active/retired couples; or other relationships such as brother/sister and those further removed by blood or marriage. When these too are considered, one is able to perceive a broad web of patronage and institutional loyalty

which pervades hiring practices at Alabama State. This is most clearly exemplified in examining to whom the thirty-four administrative leadership positions, subordinate to the President, were allocated in the 1974-75 academic year.[12] An Administrative Organization chart, contained in the 1972 Alabama State University Handbook for Administrative Staff and Faculty (with revisions), is reproduced in Fig. 2. Degree holders from Alabama State filled 58.8% (20 of 34) of these administrative leadership positions (see Table 3).

The administrative hierarchy at Alabama State is dominated by black males. During the 1974-75 academic year, females constituted 44.7% (194 of 434) of the total full-time work force of the university, but their representation on the faculty was 32.2% (48 of 149) and their inclusion in key administrative positions was only 17.6% (6 of 34).[13]

Although non-blacks comprised 22.8% (34 of 149) of the full-time faculty, they constituted only 5.9% (2 of 34) of the administrative leadership positions (a male Dean of Education and a male Director of the Physical Plant).[14] All but two of the twenty-five male administrators, who held twenty-eight positions, were black-- fourteen of whom held degrees from Alabama State; all of the six female administrators were black-- three of whom were alumni.[15]

Fig. 2.-- Alabama State University Administrative Organization.



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Alabama State University Administrative Organization

TABLE 3

Alabama State University Alumni as Total and Percentage of Administrative Organizational Categories for Thirty-Four Leadership Positions, 1974-75*

Administrative Categories	Total Positions	Total ASU degree	Percent ASU degree
Academic Affairs	11	4[a]	36.4%
Student Affairs	9	7	77.8%
Business and Administration	10	6[b]	60.0%
Development and Public Relations	4	3[a]	75.0%
TOTAL	34	20	58.8%

*Calculated from the 1974-75 Alabama State University Directory of Personnel; the 1972 Alabama State University Handbook for Administrative Staff and Faculty (with revisions); and information gathered from several administrators.

[a]Includes an alumnus who held the position of Director of Institutional Studies, in the category of Development and Public Relations, as well as the position of Dean of Admissions and Records, in the category of Academic Affairs. His Alabama State University degree is entered once in each of the two categories.

[b]Includes an alumnus who held three positions in this category-- Vice-President for Administration, University Controller, and Treasurer. His Alabama State University degree is recorded three times in the category of Business and Administration.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1]Personal Journal, entry for January 27, 1975. Twenty-three years earlier black novelist Ralph Ellison, The Invisible Man (New York: Random House, Inc., 1952), p. 3, wrote: "I am an invisible man. No I am not a spook... I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fibre and liquids-- and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me... it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination-- indeed everything and anything except me... that invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come into contact... you often wonder if you really exist..."

[2]Ibid., entry for January 30, 1975.

[3]Shortly before I moved to Alabama to begin my teaching duties, the Director of the College Specialist Bureau suggested, via telephone, that I might at first feel like an "outcast" at Alabama State. The previous year the Bureau had placed a teacher there who had initial difficulties in adjusting to the college environment, but who now enjoyed being at Alabama State.

[4]Calculated from the 1974-75 Alabama State University Directory of Personnel. Information on race was supplied by several colleagues. Non-black males held 43.6% (24 of 55) of male faculty doctorates; non-black females held 60% (6 of 10) of the female faculty doctorates.

[5]Ibid. Of the non-black faculty, 88.2% (30 of 34) possessed doctorates-- 88.9% (24 of 27) of the males and 85.7% (6 of 7) of the females. Of the black faculty 30.4% (35 of 115) held doctorates-- 41.9% (31 of 74) of the males and 9.8% (4 of 41) of the females.

[6]Calculated from the Alabama State University Catalog for 1973-74 (No catalog for 1974-75 was published). During the 1973-74 academic year, 88.9% (64 of 72) of the black male faculty and 90.9% (40 of 44) of the black female faculty received at least one degree from a predominantly black college.

[7]Ibid.

[8]In each academic year since 1967-68 the percentage of the entire faculty who were alumni of Alabama State has been

in excess of 30%. The mean percentage of Alabama State alumni on the faculty from 1967-68 to 1973-74 (inclusive) was 31.9% (Calculated from Alabama State catalogs, 1967-68 to 1973-74).

[9]Calculated from the 1974-75 Alabama State University Directory of Personnel and the Alabama State University Catalog for 1973-74.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Information on race was supplied by several colleagues.

[12]In utilizing this positional perspective to illustrate the extent to which administrative leadership is drawn from Alabama State alumni, I am not (at this point) making any reference to the varying degrees of influence that these administrators might exert on the formation of university policies; nor am I suggesting that department chairmen, faculty, and students are unable to influence the policy making process because most are not among the administrative leadership.

[13]Calculated from the 1974-75 Alabama State University Directory of Personnel.

[14]Ibid. Information on race was supplied by several colleagues.

[15]During the 1974-75 academic year, Alabama State alumni occupied the following administrative leadership positions: Academic Affairs-- Vice-President for Academic Affairs; Dean of Admissions and Records; Dean of Graduate Studies; Director of Co-operative Education; Student Affairs-- Associate Dean of Students and Residence Hall Program; Associate Dean of Students and Housing Officer; Director of the Health Center; Director of Placement Services; Director of the University Center; Coordinator of Counseling; Coordinator of Religious Affairs; Business and Administration-- Vice-President for Administration; University Controller; Treasurer; Director of Personnel; Director of the Computer Center; Director of Security; Development and Public Relations-- Director of Institutional Studies; Director of Federal and Alumni Relations; Director of Public Relations.

The six administrative leadership positions held by females were: Vice-President for Student Affairs; Associate Dean of Students and Residence Hall Program; Acting Dean of Learning Resources Services; Director of Academic Advisement; Director of Health Services; and Coordinator of Counseling.

CHAPTER III

WHO GETS WHAT, WHEN, AND HOW

Nearly a decade ago a study by the United States Commission on Civil Rights revealed that by the twelfth grade the average black student lagged more than two years behind the average white student-- judged by standardized tests of achievement.[1] Black students had twice the drop-out rate and a lower self-esteem than white students. The Commission utilized data from a report by James S. Coleman (authorized by Congress under the Civil Rights Act of 1964) entitled Equality of Educational Opportunity, published in 1966.[2]

Aside from the obvious cultural bias of such standardized tests, the continuous allocation of disadvantages to blacks has been one of the mores of Southern society since Reconstruction. Segregation and racism became entrenched in the institutional structure of states and localities, and blacks remained social, economic, political, and cultural inferiors. Many white Southerners firmly believed that it was not essential to provide emancipated blacks with a formal education, since all that was expected of them was routine performance of menial tasks.[3] In 1900, for instance, only eight-thousand Negroes attended public high schools throughout the South.[4] As late as the 1930's, the average annual public school term for blacks in Alabama's "Black Belt" was less than five months, and only 5.8% of Negro children of high school age attended school.[5] There were

no public supported high schools for Negroes in twenty-six counties where blacks constituted more than 12.5% of the population-- including Montgomery, the capital city.[6] Rural elementary schools for Negroes in Montgomery County, which bore such peculiar names as Abraham's Vineyard, Antioch, Jericho, Klondike, and Little Zion, were seldom more than dilapidated one room shacks.[7]

During the 1939-40 school year, per pupil elementary and secondary instructional expenditures for public Negro schools in Alabama were 36.3% of per pupil expenditures for white public schools (the allocation of instructional funds was even more disproportionate in Louisiana and Mississippi).[8] Per pupil elementary and secondary instructional expenditures for white public schools in Alabama, however, were only 54.8% of the national average for that year.[9] Although Negro public school per pupil instructional expenditures had risen to 93.8% of those for white public schools by 1953-54, per pupil instructional expenditures for Alabama's white public schools were only 63.1% of the national average for public schools.[10] By 1971-72, Alabama's per pupil instructional expenditures for elementary and secondary schools were only 58.4% of the national average-- the lowest of any state in the country.[11]

The average monthly salaries of white and Negro public school teachers were also disproportionate. Whereas the salaries of white teachers more than doubled from 1876 to 1909, the income of Negro teachers remained virtually the

same.[12] By 1928-29, the white teachers in Alabama's public schools averaged $117.18 monthly, compared to $54.46 for the Negro teachers.[13]

Despite the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education (Topeka, Kansas) U.S. Supreme Court decision, which struck down public school segregation as being violative of the equal protection of the laws provision of the Fourteenth Amendment, as late as 1968 over 90% of Alabama's public schools remained segregated.[14] Since this time much progress has been made in changing the educational patterns of de jure segregation throughout the South (with much prompting from the Federal government). By 1970, southern public schools were more integrated than their northern counterpart. In Alabama, 61.1% of black students attended integrated public schools.[15]

Very few of today's Alabama State students were enrolled in public schools at the time of the Brown v. Board of Education decision, but most of them have experienced segregated classrooms and have lived with racial discrimination. Several of my political science majors discussed what it was like to be black during their formative years in Alabama. A student from Anniston told of segregation at a movie theatre. The white section boasted contoured padded seats, but the black section had hard wooden chairs. This student realized early in his life that the process of white over black in a segregated society was humiliating, and he instinctively rebelled against the system without, at the time, under-

standing why. Once he went into a restaurant without knowing if he would be welcome (a constant worry). He was eventually served but was directed to eat in another wing of the establishment where he would be hidden from the white patrons. He didn't want to go into hiding in order to eat, and felt an inner frustration-- but he was forced to become invisible.

Another student, from Montgomery, recalled her very first experience with discrimination. She was sent to a grocery store to purchase a loaf of bread for her mother. After paying for the bread, she became startled when the female clerk slammed the loaf onto the counter, along with her change. Not only was the bread squashed, but the woman had a hateful look on her face. Sometimes when whites would come into the store long after she arrived, they would be given immediate attention. She would have to wait until they left in order to be served.

One girl remembered her first encounter with whites in junior high school. At that time, Montgomery had a "freedom of choice" system whereby parents could select the school that they desired their children to attend. Her parents wanted her and her sister to enroll in a predominantly white school (only seven other blacks went to the school). On the first day of classes some white students repeatedly tried to pull her chair from under her. They laughed and mocked her race. As time passed, a few white students began to talk with her. One of these female "friends" once told her:

"Don't feel badly if I don't speak to you in public, when I'm with my mother." In high school, where there were more blacks, she was treated better.

I asked if she ever thought of attending another college. She replied that she wanted to go to Tuskegee Institute (a private, black college in Alabama), but her father, an Alabama State University alumnus (recently one of the four black council members elected to office in Montgomery-- the first time ever for minority participation in government at this level) wanted her to remain in the city. When I inquired if she ever considered going to local branches of Auburn or Troy State (predominantly white universities), she answered that in light of her past experiences with whites, her father would not have allowed her to go to a "white" college.

Another student told of going into a Montgomery clothing store when he was nine or ten years old. The owner glared at him and continued to "eye" his movements. The young boy sensed that the woman thought he was going to steal a coat that he was admiring. He noticed that the white customers weren't treated in the same manner. For the first time, he became aware of the "hate stare." The student also recalled the anguish of his tenant farmer grandfather, who wanted so much to own a plot of land. He had wonderful ideas about what to do with the land, but they never materialized. He couldn't obtain a small loan to buy the land and to fulfill his dreams.

The price paid for the dual society in which one group subjugates the other by denying equal access to the social and political system-- even the rudiments of human decency-- is the perpetuation of severe inequality in a broad scope of societal relationships. The distribution of advantages and disadvantages has been a cumulative process, and historical denial of Negro rights has had a profound impact upon the distribution of economic benefits to black Americans. This, in turn, has renewed the cycle of disadvantages from generation to generation. For example, in 1968, only 19% of Southern black families had an annual income exceeding $8,000 -- the median family income of Southern whites.[16] Median family income of Southern blacks was only 53.7% of the median family income of Southern whites.[17] Whereas, in 1969, 31% of all black Americans were listed by the federal government as living below the "poverty line," the corresponding percentage for black families in the Montgomery Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) was 44.9%.[18] Mean income, that year, for black families in Montgomery County ($4,885) was only 50.8% of the mean for the county ($9,624), 58.1% of the mean for the state ($8,412), and 46.2% of the national mean ($10,577).[19]

Like most other black colleges (public and private) traditionally oriented towards elementary and secondary educational training, females outnumber males in enrollment at Alabama State. During the decade of the 1960's,

female matriculation constituted more than two-thirds of both undergraduate and graduate students.[20] In the 1974-1975 academic year, females comprised 57.3% of the total student body.[21] Over 99% of Alabama State students were black, 95% of whom were state residents.[22] According to figures for the Fall quarter, 1971, a much higher percentage of males entered Alabama State (as freshmen) at the age of twenty-one or older, than the national average for male college freshmen.[23]

In the Fall quarter of 1970, 50.9% of Alabama State freshmen were drawn from predominantly rural areas of the state.[24] Although this percentage has somewhat decreased in the past several years, a near majority of students still come from rural backgrounds. The authentic economic hardships of most of these students are revealed in the fact that during the 1974-75 academic year over 90% received some type of financial aid-- usually in the form of College Work/Study assistance. American Council of Educational data, for Fall, 1973, disclosed that 65.1% of the Alabama State freshman class came from families whose annual income was estimated at less than $6,000;[25] where 55.9% of their fathers and 43.2% of their mothers lacked a high school diploma; where scarcely one parent in nine held a college degree (see Table 4).

Like other students enrolled in black colleges throughout the South, the great majority of students at Alabama

TABLE 4

Educational Background of Parents Whose Sons and Daughters Entered College as Freshmen, Alabama State and National (Four-Year), Fall, 1973*

Education	Alabama State		National	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Grammar School or less	10.0%	20.4%	3.8%	6.5%
Some High School	33.2%	35.5%	10.5%	12.4%
NO HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA	43.2%	55.9%	14.3%	18.9%
High School Diploma Only	29.1%	27.5%	39.9%	25.5%
Post Secondary Other than College	3.0%	0.4%	7.6%	4.9%
Some College	11.0%	7.4%	15.6%	15.2%
NO COLLEGE DEGREE	86.3%	91.2%	77.4%	64.5%
College Degree Only	9.2%	5.0%	15.0%	18.2%
Some Graduate School	1.8%	0.5%	2.5%	2.8%
NO GRADUATE SCHOOL	97.3%	96.7%	94.9%	85.5%
Graduate Degree	2.7%	3.3%	5.1%	14.5%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*American Council on Education, Office of Research, Summary of Data on Entering Freshmen, Alabama State University, Fall, 1973, p. 1.

State had been confined to segregated public schools during most of their primary education. These institutions not only possessed inferior teaching resources, but their very existence as separate entities was designed to insulate white society from the special needs and problems of minorities. One result of this cultural isolation (within the broader framework of social, political and economic exclusion) has been, and still is, the poor performance of incoming freshmen at predominantly black colleges on standardized national tests.[26] The combined mean Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, in 1971, for such predominantly white, middle class freshmen at Moravian College, Auburn University, and Lehigh University were in the 500's and 600's, but the corresponding mean for freshmen at black colleges (those that publicized them) was in the 300's. That same year, the mean American College Test (ACT) composite score of freshmen enrolled in four-year colleges in the United States was 19, while the mean for freshmen at predominantly black colleges (those that publicized them) was 14.[27]

The mean ACT composite score for the Fall, 1971, freshman class at Alabama State was 11.[28] In comparison to the 1971 ACT composite scores of freshmen at other state-supported four-year colleges and universities, the contrast is startling. Only 10% of Alabama State University freshmen scored 21 or above, an accomplishment of 74% of the freshmen

at Auburn University, 66% at the University of Alabama (Huntsville campus), and 48% at the University of South Alabama (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

Mean ACT Composite Scores and Their Distribution Among Entering Freshmen at State-Supported Four-Year Colleges and Universities in Alabama, Fall, 1971*

Institution	$\bar{X}$ ACT Score	Distribution 1-15	16-20	21-25	26+
Alabama A&M**	----------				
Alabama State**	11[a]	79%	11%	10%	0%
Auburn University	23	2%	24%	50%	24%
Florence State	22	----------			
Jacksonville State	19	----------			
Livingston Univ.	----------				
Troy State	----------				
Univ. of Alabama (Birmingham)	23	----------			
Univ. of Alabama (Huntsville)	23	6%	28%	43%	23%
Univ. of Montevallo	21	----------			
Univ. of South Alabama	21	11%	41%	40%	8%

*Calculated from data contained in Gene R. Hawes and Peter N. Novalis, The New American Guide to Colleges (4th ed.; New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 1-9.

**Predominantly black institutions.

[a]ACT score supplied by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission from the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Alabama State University.

In 1974, the ACT composite mean for Fall quarter freshmen at Alabama State University was still 11. The distribution of scores, however, had altered somewhat. There was an improvement of scores in the lower distributions, but a decline in the higher distributions (see Table 6). Less than 2% of the scores fell between 19 and 20, the borders of the national mean for freshmen at four-year colleges.[29] Much of the decline in the percentage of scores in the higher distributions (e.g., 21-25) was most likely the result of increased competition between colleges and universities for the better students. With increased alternatives available, bright students no longer flock to Alabama State as they used to. Many are able to obtain scholarships elsewhere.

TABLE 6

Distribution of ACT Composite Scores of Entering Freshmen, Alabama State University, Fall, 1971 and Fall, 1974*

Year	$\bar{X}$ ACT Score	1-15	16-20	21-25	26+
1971	11	79%	11%	10%	0%
1974	11	87%	12%	1%	0%

*Data for 1971 was contained in Gene R. Hawes and Peter Novalis, The New American Guide to Colleges (4th ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 1. Data for 1974 was contained in American College Testing Program, Class Profile Report: Alabama State University, Fall, 1974. This information was verbally supplied by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission from the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Alabama State University.

It is to the effects on college education which the traditional mobilization of bias against blacks has fostered that will next be examined from the perspective of the educational experience at Alabama State University.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1]U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).

[2]James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

[3]Before he delivered the commencement address to the graduating class of Tuskegee Institute in 1894, Governor William C. Oates of Alabama declared: "I want to give you niggers a few words of plain talk and advice... You might as well understand that this is a white man's country, so far as the South is concerned, and we are going to make you keep your place. Understand that" (Quoted in Horace Mann Bond, "The Influence of Personalities on the Public Education of Negroes in Alabama," II, Journal of Negro Education, VI [April, 1937], p. 174, cited by Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," Daedalus, C [Summer, 1971], p. 683).

Delegate J.T. Heflin of Chambers County (later to become "Cotton" Tom Heflin, arch-segregationist governor of Alabama) voiced the following sentiments at the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1901: "I believe as truly as I am standing here that God Almighty intended the Negro to be the servant of the white man... I am not the enemy of the Negro; I am a friend to him in his place... I like to think of the Negro from the old-fashioned Southern standpoint. I like to tell him you do this or you do that, John, and here is a quarter; you black my shoes, or catch my horse, and you do this and that, and all is well; ... a man goes out and buys a section of land... and builds a magnificent home, and there he rears a family, and along comes a Negro and builds himself a little house out in the woods and becomes the servant of the white man and looks after his horse, and stands at the door with his hat off and asks, 'Boss, you want your shoes shined?' And all is well. He stays in the kitchen where he belongs" (Quoted in Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel [Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939], pp. 173-74).

[4]Rebecca B. Gruver, An American History (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1972), II, p. 722.

[5]Clifton H. Johnson, "Powerful Little School," Crisis, LXXIX (May, 1972), p. 158.

[6]Ibid. Where public schools did exist, the average

yearly sessions varied in length for each race. During the 1909-10 Alabama school year, the average public educational session for black children was more than eight school weeks (five days per week) shorter than for white children-- 90 days for blacks and 131 days for whites. Next to Arkansas, Alabama's school term for blacks was the least in total days allowed for Negro education in the Southern states. In actuality, this gap was often larger because of the tradition of "prompting" Negro students to work in the fields during school time. By the 1928-29 school year, the average public session for black children was still six school weeks less than for white children (see Henry Allen Bullock, History of Negro Education in the South [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967], p. 177).

[7]Photographs of these pathetic looking structures where students from Alabama State Teachers College interned, are contained in the Booklet, Alabama State Teachers College in 1937-38.

[8]U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare statistics, cited by Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: New American Library, 1963), Appendix III, "Expenditures for Instruction Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance in White and Negro Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, U.S., and Selected States, School Years, 1939-40 and 1953-54," p. 296. Cost of instruction included teachers salaries, school books, library books, teaching supplies, and instructional supplies and expenses.

[9]Per pupil instructional expenditures for Negro public schools in Alabama were 16.3% of per pupil expenditures for white public schools in 1914-15; 19.1% in 1929-30; and 36.3% in 1939-40. During the 1939-40 school term, $12.68 was spent by the state on each Negro student, while $34.90 was expended on each white student. The per pupil mean for the United States that year was $63.66 (see Bullock, p. 180 and Lomax, Appendix III, p. 296).

[10]Lomax, Appendix III, p. 296. Per pupil instructional expenditures in elementary and secondary schools in Alabama for 1953-54 were $111.99 for whites and $105.02 for Negroes. The per pupil mean for the United States that year was $177.52.

[11]U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare statistics, cited in George E. Delury (ed.), The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1974 (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1973), p. 315. Per pupil instructional expenditures in Alabama averaged $545 in 1971-72; the mean for the United States was $934.

[12]Bullock, pp. 87, 181. In 1886-87, the average monthly salary of Negro public school teachers (elementary and secondary) in Alabama was $23, compared to $40 for white public school teachers. By 1909-10, the corresponding salaries were $24.57 for Negro teachers and $53.76 for white teachers.

[13]Ibid., p. 181.

[14]U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. HEW News Release, June 18, 1971, cited by Thomas R. Dye, Politics in States and Communities (2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), Table 13-2, "Racial Isolation in Northern and Southern States, 1968 and 1970," pp. 398-99.

[15]U.S., Office of Education data, cited by Dye, Table 13-1, "Public School Desegregation, Southern and Border States, 1964-70," p. 380. Integration percentages for 1970 were calculated on the basis of blacks enrolled in schools that were not 95-100 percent minority schools. In earlier years percentages were based upon blacks who were not enrolled in all-black schools.

[16]U.S., Bureau of the Census data, cited by Harry A. Ploski and Ernest Kaiser (eds.), The Negro Almanac (New York: Belwether Co., 1971), Table 63, "Percentage of Families with Incomes of $8,000 Dollars or More, 1947-68," p. 454.

[17]Ibid., Table 59, "Median Family Income in 1968 and Negro Family Income as Percentage of White, by Regions," p. 453.

[18]Data for black Americans was derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, "The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States," Current Population Report Series No. 29, p. 23, updated, cited by Dye, Table 13-5, "Change in Black-White Life Chances," p. 414.

Data for the Montgomery SMSA was derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Alabama (1970 Census of Population), Table 95, "Poverty Status in 1969 of Negro Families and Persons, for Areas and Places," 2-268. In 1969, 46% of black Alabamian families lived in poverty (i.e., incomes less than $3,000) compared to 13% of white families.

[19]Data for Montgomery County was calculated from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Alabama (1970 Census of Population), Table 128, "Income and Poverty Status in 1969 of Negro Population, for

Counties," 2-402; and Table 124, "Income and Poverty Status in 1969, for Counties," 2-378.

Data for the state of Alabama and the United States were based on U.S. Bureau of the Census statistics (1970 Census of Population), cited in Neal G. Lineback (ed.), Atlas of Alabama (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1973), p. 53.

[20]Calculated from Alabama State college catalogs from 1963-64 to 1969-70.

[21]Calculated from the brochure, Alabama State University: Facts and Figures, 1974-75.

[22]Student enrollment figures and data on racial background were based on Fall, 1974 statistics supplied by the director of Records at Alabama State University. Only 0.6% (14 of 2,312) of the undergraduates and 1.2% (10 of 846) of the graduate students were non-black.

According to the Alabama State University General Information Bulletin for 1975-76, I, p. 3, of the 3,158 students enrolled during Fall, 1974, 3,030 were from Alabama.

[23]American Council on Education, Office of Research, Summary of Data on Entering Freshmen: Alabama State University, Fall, 1971, pp. 1,2. Data was provided by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission from the Vice-President for Student Affairs at Alabama State University. Of the entering freshmen in Fall, 1971, 11.9% of the males and 2.0% of the females were twenty-one years or older by December 31, 1971. The corresponding national norm for freshmen at four-year colleges was 3.6% of the males and 1.3% of the females. 7.5% of Alabama State male freshmen had served the U.S. military in Southeast Asia compared to 1.6% of male college freshmen nationally.

[24]American Council on Education/University of California (Los Angeles campus), Cooperative Institutional Research Program, Student Information Form: Alabama State University, Fall, 1970. Information was verbally conveyed by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission of the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Alabama State University.

[25]American Council on Education, Office of Research, Summary of Data on Entering Freshmen: Alabama State University, Fall, 1973, p. 1. Information was verbally conveyed by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission of the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Alabama

State University.

According to the Summary of Data on Entering Freshmen: Alabama State University, Fall, 1971, p. 1, 63.5% of estimated annual parental income of entering freshmen fell below $6,000; 41.5% was under $4,000.

[26]James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966) contended that children from disadvantaged backgrounds, regardless of race, significantly improve in motivation and achievement when they are placed in learning environments with a majority of advantaged children. Coleman placed major emphasis upon family background and school integration with children learning from each other, rather than the influence of educational imputs (e.g., libraries, teacher-pupil ratios, instructional materials, etc.) in improving motivation and achievement. Several faculty members who I have talked with at Alabama State believe that the quality of student has improved within the past five years because of the increasing number of black students who have been exposed to integrated education on the secondary school level. Other faculty members, who have been teaching at Alabama State for more than a decade, do not deny that there has been a short-term improvement. However, they believe that integration has resulted in a trade-off as far as Alabama State is concerned. The quality of education is improving, but the better students are leaving the integrated high schools and going elsewhere. Many attend college at predominantly white institutions because they are able to obtain full scholarships. Several black educators at Alabama State are bitter over the fact that the top black students no longer come here as they used to. Integration and increased opportunities for blacks in higher education have resulted in a competitive struggle to attract scholarly students to Alabama State, who, during the years of segregation, would have normally flocked here.

[27]The mean combined SAT score for black colleges that publicized this data was calculated from scores of three public and ten private four-year institutions; the mean ACT composite score for black colleges was calculated from scores of six public and six private colleges that publicized this data in Gene R. Hawes and Peter N. Novalis, The New American Guide to Colleges (4th ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1972). SAT combined scores for Moravian College, Auburn University, and Lehigh University were also contained in the above volume. A complete listing of black colleges (88 of 114 are four-year degree-granting institutions) is contained in Harry A. Ploski and Ernest Kaiser, The Negro Almanac (New York: Belwether Co., 1971), pp. 531-39.

Henry Allen Bullock, "The Black College and the New Black Awareness," Daedalus, C (Summer, 1971), Table 4, "Averages for Colleges for Black and White People as Based Upon Selected Characteristics of Entering Students," p. 585, reported identical findings (based upon seventeen and twenty-three colleges in his samples) with the exception of the ACT composite mean for black colleges, which was 11--lower than my calculations from data presented in the Hawes and Novalis volume. For information on scores for such tests achieved in black colleges during the late 1960's, see Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), pp. 428-432. The authors asserted: "One finds that the verbal and mathematical aptitude scores at most Negro colleges are lower than at even the worst white colleges in the same state."

The mean national ACT score for entering college freshmen, 1971-72 academic year, was supplied by the American College Testing Program in a letter of July 21, 1975 from Ms. Lee Wimpey, Assistant Director of Research Services (Iowa City, Iowa).

[28]American College Testing Program, Class Profile Report: Alabama State University, Fall, 1971. Data was verbally provided by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission from the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Alabama State University.

According to 1971 data, cited in Hawes and Novalis, black colleges such as Rust, in Mississippi, and Paul Quinn, in Texas, had mean freshmen ACT composite scores of 10; Texas Southern University, a black state institution, had a mean freshmen ACT composite score of 11.

[29]American College Testing Program, Class Profile Report: Alabama State University, Fall, 1974. Data was verbally supplied by the Director of Testing and Psychological Services, upon permission from the Vice-President for Student Affairs, Alabama State University.

CHAPTER IV

THE CYCLE OF MISEDUCATION

Most students at Alabama State view education as a means to an end of socio-economic mobility. The degree--the accumulation of a specified amount of successfully completed course credits over a span of time-- is what seemingly matters, and not the process of education. The carrot of "success" is constantly waved and paraded before their faces by administrators who often emphasize the glittering, tangible rewards that have been garnered by black lawyers, businessmen, doctors, and even the administrators themselves. Graduation ceremonies usually include one honored guest whose presence on stage is symbolic of the "success" which this black counterpart to Horatio Alger has achieved in the real world. These inducements often encourage students to inflate their goals which may then become too complex for them to accomplish without significant remedial work and diligent effort. It is heartbreaking to see the number of would-be lawyers, doctors, and college professors who still cannot write a coherent paragraph in their senior year. Many end up teaching in the public elementary and secondary school system in Alabama.

My first reactions, as an educator, in relating to my black students were not positive. Never before had I been confronted with problems of discipline and the maintenance of classroom order. It came as a surprise, therefore, to

encounter such procedural difficulties-- usually in the larger classes where political science majors were less numerous. The first problem which emerged was the reluctance or refusal of several students in my classes to purchase the required texts. A common excuse is poverty: "I have to wait until the end of the month to get my Work/Study check," or "The book costs too much. I can't afford it." A few students made attempts to borrow my copy. Some students went for months without a text, and a smaller number never secured one. For the majority who eventually bought one, mere possession was no guarantee that the assigned material would ever be read.

The second problem, which recalled high school days, was the incessant talking and whispering of students during class (especially in the Winter quarter). At times such disruptions had a humorous quality. A student in American Government class, who had been joking, laughing, and acting stupidly, and who would feign seriousness when his eyes contacted mine, approached me later on to "reassure" me that he was not the one who was misbehaving. Some students thought little of coming to class ten or fifteen minutes late. Often other students would wander outside the room and carry on a muted dialog with friends in the class. At times notes passed from hand to hand, resulting in disruptive smiles. At first I harbored thoughts that this unsettling college behavior was prompted by students being

exposed to a white teacher. There was a small percentage of students in my Winter quarter classes who either preferred not to have a non-black teacher or did not know if they desired a black teacher rather than a non-black one.[1] Toward the end of the Winter quarter, however, I arranged for state Congressman Alvin Holmes (D-Montgomery)-- an alumnus of Alabama State-- to address my American Government class. While he spoke, some students still persisted in disruptive conduct. Although I was irritated because he had to admonish the students to quiet down and "give due respect to a public figure," I was relieved to realize that this problem was not a product of racial animosity, but most likely a persistence of earlier patterns of school behavior. In subsequent quarters classroom disorder has abated, mainly due to the higher level political science courses that I have been assigned to teach (with a concomitant decrease in class size and increase in the number of political science majors enrolled in the courses).

Most of the monitions from Alabama State educators about academic motivation of students and classroom practices were validated as existent in my experiences. Nearly every term paper submitted to me, during the Winter quarter, in International Relations and Seminar in Political Science, was plagiarized-- regardless of the academic standing of the student. When I confronted one political science major (recently inducted into an honor fraternity, with a cumula-

tive average in excess of 3.5) with the fact that his paper had been copied word for word, he sheepishly agreed and then reluctantly submitted: "Well, you know I did not have very much time to do the job I wanted to do!"

Such an attitude towards scholarship is not exaggerated. At Alabama State it is real. Education is looked upon by most students as a hurdle-- another obstacle in a long procession of games established for them to start and complete without knowing why. Some teachers encourage this "maze" philosophy of education for no better rationale than they were once made to pass through it themselves. In a perversion of ends which equates the diploma as a means to "success," the process of education as a means to enlighten and stimulate becomes diminished to the status of a cumbersome by-product of the academic factory. In a transvaluation of values, cunning and craft become substitute means for scholarship. Cheating on tests is but a logical extension of student values, and it is rampant. Most of the time it is painfully obvious-- the calling out of answers to other students, copying from another paper, and even going to the extent of opening the text during an evaluation. It is impossible to leave the classroom-- even for a minute -- and expect students to abide by an honor system. Books fly open and conversation begins. A very disappointing incident occurred during the Summer quarter. While giving a make-up exam to a retired army officer, who was one of my

better students, I returned to my office and found him with his notes spread over my desk.

Another practice involves obtaining certain tests from student aides in departmental offices and in the duplication center. Several students have confidentially revealed to me that various tests could be purchased for three or four dollars from some of the students who worked in the duplication office. Other students have told me about a few Work/Study aides, who had access to departmental offices, passing on test questions to friends-- usually at no cost. During the Winter quarter a Professor of Criminal Justice told me that he had given a student money to purchase another instructor's quiz from the exam peddlers. To the surprise of the instructor, the student bought it and gave it to the Professor.

The majority of my students, of course, did not misbehave in class, fail to acquire the necessary texts, or cheat with regularity on examinations. Nevertheless, their motivation was very low. On an average day I could expect at least two-thirds of my students to attend classes, but if there was a fraternity ceremony or a special event in progress at the Student Commons, or if it was a Friday, attendance could fall to less than half.

As standardized national test scores suggest, many Alabama State students have problems in cultural adaptation which white, middle class students seldom encounter. My

students are not used to reading more than four or five pages a day in a given text. My original reading schedule for American Government, during the Winter quarter, had to be sharply curtailed by approximately one-third. Not only do these students have difficulty in reading and understanding basic political science material (thus enhancing the importance of the teacher's role in education), but for many it is a struggle to express themselves with grammatical clarity. In written expression, errors in conjugation and spelling are all too common. Some of the more solecistic examples of these included:

(In answer to an essay topic in which students were asked to compare Plato's "allegory of the cave" to his concept of the best state.)

> The importance to Plato's concept was the dialectic process Plato had on the people. Plato also arives at the justice by saying that there was no Democratie. He was can the anti-democratic man. Therefore he deal with the Real and the Republic conscept. Most time did not agree with the Democratie man.

(In answer to a short reply question asking why the Deep South is usually termed a one-party Democratic region.)

> Because it is all way been slow Democratic is all for the white and the one that have money. there for the will keep Black on poor white it will make thing hard for them and all ways.

An additional student handicap which gradually came to my attention was a very inadequate knowledge of geography. I could not understand why students were finding it so difficult to relate to International Relations. It was not

long before I suspected that most of my students were having difficulty in comprehending the material because they had a distorted perspective of world geography. Soon after, I distributed a map of Europe on which each state's borders were clearly marked, and requested that students place the provided names of twenty countries inside of their proper borders. The mean number of correct answers for the class of eight was only 10.5. In some of the more garbled maps, the Netherlands was nestled in the Caucasus Mountains between southwestern Russia and the Turkish-Iranian border; Greece was in Iraq and Iran; Switzerland was in northern France and Belgium; and Germany was in northern France.[2]

One of my major disappointments of the Winter quarter was discovering the low level of preparation among political science majors. I had planned to utilize the Seminar in Political Science to study Alabama State University as a political system. My four senior students were all majors--the cream, so I assumed. After the first few classes, however, I became convinced that a remedial introductory seminar was more urgently required. There were no problems with class order, but in allowing a less structured learning environment I did not anticipate great difficulty in student attendance-- especially on the day their assignments and papers were due. The names of Robert Dahl, V.O. Key, and Harold Lasswell were as alien to these political science majors as were Albert Camus and Jean Paul Sartre. Despite

the fact that Irish and Prothro was the text used in American Government before I arrived, not one of these students had any familiarity with David Easton's model of the political system. Each had difficulty in identifying the various fields of political science. Perhaps the most discouraging experience to date occurred when the students presented their first "analyses" of journal articles. Each student was asked to become acquainted with the various political science journals and then to choose an article from one to read and analyse.[3] Nearly a week was provided to accomplish this task. The first two reports turned in, however, were nothing more than longhand plagiarizations of the first few paragraphs of each article. One girl, who obviously explored with vigor the Western Political Science Quarterly for the shortest piece available, naively chose a two-page reply to the much larger main article which went unread. Another student was so exacting in his literary appropriations that he even copied the footnote numbers (though discarding the footnotes). Prior to this assignment I had utilized nearly a whole period explaining the process of preparing a report -- including footnoting, bibliography, and the distinction between paraphrasing and plagiarizing. I soon discovered that such student practices were widespread at Alabama State because they have been tolerated, without penalty, by many educators. Some faculty, tired of receiving copied papers, have gone to the other extreme of no longer requiring these

assignments. But this also does nothing to aid the student to achieve an acceptable degree of scholarship and individual responsibility.

In reviewing the cumulative grade point average of each student who has enrolled in my classes during the Winter, Spring, and Summer quarters (1975), I noticed that a full 25% (24 of 96) had averages of 3.0 or above (4.0 represents an A). Although grade point average is, I believe, one of the best general indicators of how a student might fare in my classes, it is apparent that the averages of many of these highly ranked students were bloated.[4] Towards the end of the Winter quarter I interviewed one of the few non-black administrators at Alabama State. He is a minister who was hired by the university as a minority (i.e., non-black) counselor. His son now attends Alabama State after attempting an unsuccessful academic year at the Montgomery campus of Auburn University. According to the counselor, his son now receives A's in courses that he had nearly flunked at Auburn. He confided that there are many faculty at Alabama State who are very easy graders; and though this is not characteristic of the faculty as a whole, the school has acquired a "deserved" reputation for being a "cinch" institution. Many students, he stated, learn of this and come expecting to pass courses just by attending classes. As an admissions administrator, it was his opinion that academic standards had to be raised.

It is true that students have come to expect special treatment from the faculty. Often these presumptions betray their resignation to feelings of subordinate academic capabilities. Most of my students anticipate that some form of curve system will be used to improve their grades. Several complain that Northern white teachers assign too much material, have unreal expectations, and grade too harshly. A few equate such behavior with the "racist" attitudes of the teacher who is out to "get" the black. The assignment of any readings supplementing the basic text is usually countered with extreme apathy. Many students really believe that such material is outside the normal bounds of the course-- contrary to the "rules of the game." Books or articles that I have placed on library reserve have seldom been "legitimized" by student reading. During the Spring quarter, for instance, I set aside various articles by H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Bayard Rustin, and Aaron Wildovsky, the general theme of which was varying concepts of Black Power. Less than one-third of the American Government class read even one of these essays. Of those who did get to the library, most read two or less-- despite knowing that questions from this material would appear on a forthcoming evaluation.

Administrative policy of allowing students to withdraw from courses without penalty, at any point short of the final examination, is a strong ally of this special treat-

ment cycle. It serves to maintain the cumulative grade point average intact, without risk. Faculty are often advised to withdraw a student at the very end, rather than to submit a grade of D or F in the major area (a few political science majors have enrolled in several of my courses without yet completing one).[5] This advice is usually subtle and comes from colleagues or the chairman. At times, the message is made very explicit. For instance, the President, in a special Summer quarter address to the faculty, bemoaned the threatened loss of about 15% of the undergraduates due to their poor academic record, and cautioned that the faculty (collectively and individually) will be held accountable for this "economic" drain.

One encouraging sign that scholarhip is not yet a relic at Alabama State comes from the new Dean of the College of Humanities and Sciences. He is quite anxious to elevate the level of academic performance among both the students and the faculty. Towards the end of the Winter quarter, he informed the faculty of the college about the very low Graduate Record Examination (GRE) scores achieved by Alabama State seniors. In the 1973-74 academic year, the mean national GRE Aptitude score was 532, but for Alabama State students it was 318.[6] The implication of this is alarming to educators. For despite allowances for cultural bias and deprivation, it suggests that college education is not effectively contributing to diminishing the learning gap.

One or two remedial courses in reading and writing are not enough to overcome the cumulative handicaps of the early years. The situation is most likely worse, since one would assume that those students who took the GRE exams were generally more highly motivated to continue their higher education than those who did not.

In order to encourage students and faculty to approach education more seriously, the Dean has instituted a program of comprehensive examinations to be administered at the departmental level. Seniors must satisfactorily pass the exams before graduating. In addition, the Dean conducts random interviews with graduating seniors in order to gain direct feedback not only about student abilities, but student perceptions of various programs and teachers as well. The 1974-75 academic year was the experimental year in which graduating seniors in the College of Sciences and Humanities were required (without penalty) to submit to the oral comprehensives. At the termination of the Spring quarter, the Dean emphasized to his faculty the need to encourage students to read newspapers, magazines, journals, and books. He related that in his conversations with several graduating seniors, not one was able to identify what the Mayaguez Affair was (headline news at that time; e.g., Time cover story for May 26, 1975). Even more incomprehensible to him was the fact that neither of the two graduating seniors with the highest academic averages (both were

over 3.7) could name the American Secretary of State![7]

During the Spring and Summer quarters I participated as a member of the examining committee in evaluating eight history and political science majors. It is only when one sits on such a panel that the need for academic integrity becomes flagrantly essential. Most students did very poorly, although all but one were given passing recommendations. The student who was not passed by the committee was already teaching in the public school system. He stood for twenty-five minutes and could not answer one question put to him. He taught American History, but could not answer what nationalism was, or what contributions John Locke's thought made to the American experience. Another senior who was also teaching history at the high school level had recently taken courses in European Reformation History. He could not identify Martin Luther or John Calvin, nor could he think of one historian or one history journal title. When asked to go to the blackboard and illustrate the geographical location of the continents, he placed the Soviet Union southeast of Africa, Asia in a line directly northward from Africa, and could not remember where Antarctica was situated. Unfortunately, these examples are far from unique. For the student bound for teaching in the public school system, it is just another beginning in the continuing process of what Christopher Jencks and David Riesman termed the "cycle of miseducation and deprivation."[8]

There would be less cause for alarm if Alabama State was not still primarily a training ground for teachers. Not only must there be concern for these students' college training, but there must be consideration for the elementary and secondary public school children who have been, and still are, inadequately prepared by teachers who, in turn, have been miseducated. As late as 1969, the Forward to the Alabama State College Catalog declared: "Alumni of the university hold an estimated 75% of the teaching and administrative positions in public schools presently serving predominantly Negro pupils /in Alabama/." The great majority of more than twenty-five thousand alumni of Alabama State have pursued teaching careers. Today, there are more teachers in the Alabama public school system who have degrees from Alabama State than from any other college or university in the state![9]

In 1971, the Alabama Education Study Commission issued a report which observed: "The average scholastic capabilities of students graduating from Alabama's teachers colleges... are alarmingly deficient for a profession in which proficiency is absolutely vital."[10] According to the Commission report, the roots of this dilemma originated in the public school system. Cited in the report were the results of the National Teachers Examination which was taken on a voluntary basis by prospective teachers who were graduating from twenty-two Alabamian colleges and universities. During

the years 1968, 1969, and 1970, a total of 8,836 students took the exam; the number fluctuated greatly from institution to institution. The Commission disclosed that when the scores were keyed to a rating scale of 1 to 100, only students from seven institutions scored above the national mean.[11] At the botton were students from five black institutions. Alabama State University students achieved a mean score of 3-- the lowest of any of the twenty-two institutions (see Table 7).

TABLE 7

Mean Scores of Prospective Teachers on the National Teachers Examination (Voluntarily Taken), for Twenty-Two Alabamian Institutions, for 1968, 1969, 1970 (Combined), Keyed to a Rating Scale of 1 to 100*

Institution	Total Students Taking Exam	Mean Score
Univ. of Alabama (Huntsville)	10	68
Birmingham-Southern College	224	66
Auburn Univ.	749	63
Univ. of Alabama (Tuscaloosa)	1,711	53
Spring Hill College	36	53
Samford Univ.	240	47
Univ. of South Alabama	426	46
Univ. of Montevallo	186	43
Troy State Univ.	330	43

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Institution	Total Students Taking Exam	Mean Score
Florence State Univ.	353	42
Huntingdon College	262	42
Jacksonville State Univ.	422	42
Athens College	13	41
Judson College	69	37
Mobile College	74	30
Livingston State Univ.	530	27
St. Bernard College	247	24
Tuskegee Institute**	505	9
Miles College**	158	6
Stillman College**	233	4
Alabama A&M Univ.**	722	4
Alabama State Univ.**	1,336	3
TOTAL	8,836	

*Compiled from data in the Alabama Journal, June 17, 1971, pp. 1,2. Stan Bailey, "Teacher Grads Said 'Deficient.'" According to the Executive Secretary of the Alabama Education Study Commission, these results did not necessarily represent overall performance of students at the twenty-two institutions because of the voluntary nature of the examination and the sample size, which in several cases is far from representative.

**Predominantly black institutions.

Most students come to Alabama State University because they view it as "their" college. They want its racial character preserved in regard to a predominantly black

faculty and student body. Additional whites are welcome as long as blacks remain in the controlling majority. One of the first questions that I was asked in class was if I considered myself a "missionary." Black students resent the attitudes of a few whites who feel that they are doing blacks a favor by teaching at Alabama State. Every new white teacher is suspect: "What motivated him to come here?" Another student asked me, bewilderingly, "Mr. Smith, you could do most anything you wanted with your education; why did you come to Alabama State where the blacks are? I just can't understand it."

In fairness to the students, it must be pointed out that the leisure time which abounds among many white, middle class college students is not available here in the same plentitude. Most students must work in order to support themselves. Many have more than one job. The student that dozed off in class might have been working a complete night shift only several hours before. Sometimes students brought their children to class and soon I awakened to the fact that a significant proportion of my students were married and/or had families. For example, one-quarter of my Spring quarter students were married. According to the university Registrar, between 15%-20% of the undergraduates, during the 1974-75 academic year, were married.[12]

Suspicion marks the relationship between blacks and whites on campus for some time. It is not easy for a non-

black to shed his cultural perspective when viewing campus actions and attitudes. My initial loneliness and feelings of isolation gradually dissipated, however, as the weeks passed and as more students had come into contact with me. Classroom dialog, which was practically non-existent at first, became quite common. Students began to seek me out after class and during office hours not only to aid them with their academic problems, but just to talk. By the end of the Spring quarter I had been asked to be an advisor for a student organization, a judge at the Pen-Hellenic Council beauty contest, and a special guest to two students who were to be inducted into an honor fraternity.

Students of both sexes visited my office and home for advice on personal problems that they hesitated to discuss with older, black faculty. The teacher-student relationship is much more informal than at most other colleges I have been familiar with. Students want to know about you and your personal life (e.g., if you are married; how many children you have). They want the teacher to care about them; to ask why they did not come to class; to remind them of various tasks needed to be accomplished. In short, students want teachers to be involved in their lives and not be talking gargoyles occupying the front of the classroom. Often, such relationships are quite patronizing-- but they need not be. Indeed, a premium is placed on empathy with students when recruiting and maintaining faculty. In a

paragraph undoubtedly directed towards non-black educators, the 1972 Alabama State University Handbook for Administrative Staff and Faculty (with revisions) reads:

> Faculty members are expected to offer a humane and professional response to the problems of social change and racial understanding. They are expected to have some understanding of the problems of discrimination, unemployment, poverty, and anxiety felt by all persons in the university community. Hopefully, they will develop their teaching activities around the background, achievement, and needs of students who want the kind of teacher who cares about them as people.[13]

I believe that over the first two quarters (Winter and Spring) student conceptions of me, both as a person and a teacher, have improved. I would like to think that much of this headway was due to the increased understanding and respect which mutually developed. At least a portion of these feelings can be supported by student feedback in the form of end-of-the-quarter evaluations (see Table 8).

TABLE 8

Classification and Ranking of Student Descriptions of Mr. Smith, as a Person and as a Teacher, Winter and Spring Quarters, 1975*

Quarter	Mr. Smith as a Person	N Times Mentioned	Mr. Smith as a Teacher	N Times Mentioned
WINTER	good (solid, all-right, nice)	8	good	11
			too professional	3
	slightly prejudiced	4		
			need to change	3
	not prejudiced	3	objective	3
	friendly	3		

TABLE 8 (Continued)

Quarter	Mr. Smith as a Person	N Times Mentioned	Mr. Smith as a Teacher	N Times Mentioned
WINTER	can not evaluate	3	concerned with students	3
	sincere	2	knows material	2
	warm	2	interesting	1
	understanding	1	well-rounded	1
	easy to get along with	1		
SPRING	good (solid, nice, likeable)	7	knows material	8
	objective	5	concerned with students	4
	understanding	2	good	4
	can not evaluate	2	dedicated	2
	attractive	1	not too hard	2
	wonderful	1	impatient	1
	sensible	1	hard	1
	kind	1	humorous	1
	logical	1	lectures too difficult	1
	aware	1	presents challenge	1
	revolutionary	1		
	controversial	1		
	cold	1		

*Compiled from anonymous open-ended student statements solicited at the end of the Winter and Spring quarters from students in all of my classes. Not all students were present. No student completed more than one evaluation per quarter.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1]In response to a questionnaire distributed to my students during the first week of the Winter quarter (most copies were circulated on the first day of classes), 11.4% (5 of 44) of the students answered "yes" to the query: "Would you prefer to have a black teacher for this course?" A total of 6.8% (3 of 44) answered "don't know." No student completed more than one questionnaire.

[2]In a similar exercise for the African continent, students fared much worse, achieving a mean of 3.4 correct answers for forty-one African states. The author confesses that his ability to correctly place the names of these African states inside of their boundaries was also limited.

[3]Although the George Washington Trenholm Learning Resources Center possesses all of the major regional political science journals, its subscription to the American Political Science Review had expired in 1971.

[4]Based on four equally weighted objective evaluations given to students in American Government, during the Winter quarter, 1975, the following non-curved mean percentages of correct answers resulted: seven students who had cumulative grade point averages of 3.0 or higher scored a mean of 77.3%; twenty-two students whose cumulative grade point average fell between 2.50 and 2.99 scored a mean of 70%; and ten students whose cumulative grade point average was between 2.0 and 2.49 scored a mean of 62.8%. Similar results for other classes necessitated grading on a curve system.

[5]The process is occasionally abused by some veterans who enroll in classes that they seldom attend so that they can collect military benefits. Despite the fact that the grades of some veterans fell below the minimum average needed to avoid suspension or dismissal, the administration has allowed many to remain matriculated.

[6]Address to the College of Sciences and Humanities, March 10, 1975.

[7]Address to the College of Sciences and Humanities, June 2, 1975.

[8]Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), p. 460.

[9]Data and information on the educational careers of

Alabama State graduates were supplied by the Dean of Education.

[10]Alabama Education Study Commission, News Release for June 17, 1971, p. 1.

[11]Alabama Journal (Montgomery), June 17, 1971, p. 1. The non-scaled national average was 600. Included in the seven institutions whose students achieved a score above the national average were: University of South Alabama, 601; Samford College, 603; Spring Hill College, 613; University of Alabama (Tuscaloosa), 614; Auburn University, 634; Birmingham-Southern College, 640; and the University of Alabama (Huntsville), 646. In contrast, the score for Alabama State University (the lowest of the twenty-two institutions) was 422.

[12]Percentage figures supplied by the Registrar were estimations for the 1974-75 academic year.

[13]1972 Alabama State University Handbook for Administrative Staff and Faculty (with revisions), III-10,11.

CHAPTER V

THE FALLEN WARRIORS

When Mrs. Rosa Parks, a center-city department store seamstress, refused to vacate her seat in the back half of Montgomery's Cleveland Avenue bus in order to accommodate a white man, little did she realize that her action would become the rallying point for the beginning of the modern Civil Rights movement. Although other blacks rose to make room for on-boarding whites, Rosa Parks remained resolutely seated. Her arrest, in December, 1955, occurred at a time when racial polarization and tension in Montgomery were at their height. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the new, young pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, was soon propelled by black community leaders into being the organizational, as well as spiritual, leader of the successful Montgomery bus boycott.[1]

Faculty and students at Alabama State University have played a significant role in actively aiding the struggle for legal equality in the South. There are several faculty members who worked very closely with Dr. King during these "early years." I have personally talked to one of his "bodyguards" and the Chief of Alternate Transportation (during the boycott period) as well. Both faculty and students suffered the indignities of hostile, often violent reaction to black demands for equality and respect-- including arbitrary arrests, public ridicule, and fire bombings. In

his diary for November 25, 1959, John Howard Griffin, a white who sojourned in the South disguised as a Negro, made the following observation about black determination in Montgomery:

> In Montgomery... I encountered a new atmosphere. The Negro's feeling of utter hopelessness is here replaced by a determined spirit of passive resistance. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.'s influence, like an echo of Ghandi's, prevails. Non-violence and prayerful resistance is the keynote. Here the Negro has committed himself to a definite stand. He will go to jail, suffer any humiliation, but he will not back down. He will take the insults and abuses stoically so that his children will not have to take them in the future.
>
> The white racist is bewildered and angered by such an attitude because the dignity of the Negro's course of action emphasizes the indignity of his own. It is a challenge for him to needle the Negro into acts of a baser nature, into open physical conflict. He will walk up and blow cigarette smoke in the Negro's face hoping the Negro will strike out at him. Then he could repress the Negro violently and claim it was self-defense.[2]

The most celebrated political undertaking ever conducted by Alabama State University students (with the aid of literature and spokesmen from the Congress of Racial Equality /CORE/) was their role in staging the first lunch counter sit-in demonstration in the Deep South, in late February, 1960.[3] Campus rallies and large scale marches to the state Capitol soon followed the arrest of scores of students and the eventual expulsion of nine from Alabama State for their attempts to desegregate public service areas. It was no coincidence that segregated lunch counters at the Montgomery County Courthouse and later at the state Capitol

were chosen by the leadership of the demonstrations. News of the mass arrests and disciplinary actions made national headlines and evoked an outpouring of sympathy and support for the students. At Wheaton College, in Massachusetts, students collected funds for the legal defense of the expelled demonstrators. Students at Occidental College, in California, held a stand-up supper in symbolic recognition of the plight of Negroes in Montgomery. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had recently relocated in Atlanta, returned to Montgomery to address various rallies and to provide spiritual and philosophical inspiration best characterized as the politics of non-violence and passive resistance (spearheaded by his Southern Christian Leadership Conference /SCLC/). Governor John Patterson's reaction to the demonstrations in which Alabama State University students participated was predictably myopic: "The way they /the students/ are spoiling for a fight indicates to me that they are not studying too much and eating too well."[4] In 1961 the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that most of the students were illegally expelled from Alabama State University because constitutional due process required a notice of charges and an opportunity for a hearing.[5] That same year CORE launched the now legendary Freedom Rides throughout the South in order to test the legal foundations for racial discrimination in interstate travel terminals. Ralph Abernathy, a young minister and 1950 graduate of Alabama State,

took an active part in directing the Montgomery segment of the Freedom Rides.[6]

The tense atmosphere produced by the student sit-ins and demonstrations had a predictable effect on Alabama State. Scapegoats had to be found. Just as several years earlier Alabama's attorney general endeavored to intimidate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by demanding its membership lists, and by trying to oust the organization from the state (see the 1958 U.S. Supreme Court decision in National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Alabama), state officials sought to discredit the faculty of Alabama State. In June, 1960, Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Chairman of the Department of History at the college, was publicly accused by Governor Patterson of being a Communist sympathizer and was summarily dismissed from his position at Alabama State upon demand of the State Board of Education-- an act which soon resulted in the censure of Alabama State College (especially directed against Governor Patterson and the State Board of Education of which he was president, and college president Harper Councill Trenholm) by the American Association of University Professors.[7] The Reddick case stimulated a Board of Education investigation of the backgrounds of faculty at Alabama State in order to root out "subversives." President Trenholm's position was threatened by the Governor, who blamed him for not satisfactorily scrutinizing the past political

activities of the faculty.[8] Not long afterwards (in December, 1962), the President of Alabama A&M, the only other black public college in the state, was ousted by the Board of Education because of his inability to prevent racial demonstrations.

Since 1946, when the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in Alabama finally endorsed the open primary (a result of the 1944 U.S. Supreme Court decision in Smith v. Allwright), nearly every legal means to prevent blacks from exercising their constitutional right to vote has been attempted. The Boswell amendment to the state Constitution was passed by the Alabama legislature requiring that candidates for the franchise be able to "understand and interpret the Constitution." In the hands of racist boards of registrars, this clause (upheld as unconstitutional in 1952 by the U.S. Supreme Court) became legal justification for arbitrary discrimination against potential black voters. In 1951, a state-wide referendum was passed which enhanced the discretionary power of county registration boards. In many counties blacks were turned away from registration offices with no explanation given. Often, registrars decided to "close for lunch" when Negroes attempted to become voters. By the late 1950's the Alabama legislature became involved in altering city limits. In 1957, for example, most of the black residents of Tuskegee (in Macon County) were gerrymandered outside of city bounds (declared unconstitutional

in the 1960 U.S. Supreme Court decision of Gomillion v. Lightfoot). That same year Alabama voters approved a referendum which sought to abolish predominantly black Macon County. By 1958, not one Negro was registered to vote in preponderantly black Lowndes County.[9] Nearly three years later only five Negroes were registered in predominantly black Bullock County. This was partly due to a vouching system which required the candidate for the franchise to obtain the signatures of two character witnesses who were voters.[10] As late as 1962, majority black Wilcox County had no registered black voters.[11] Registrars in Montgomery were accused of aiding whites to properly complete their voting applications, while purposely allowing blacks to make errors and thereby invalidate their forms.

Motivated by black protest and federal government initiative, the struggle for social and political equality accelerated during the early 1960's. Racial animosity in Alabama produced a dangerous climate of white "backlash," prompting Indiana's Governor Matthew Welsch to call Alabama "a police state where thousands are denied the right to vote."[12] Students at Alabama State participated in the Montgomery protests and several were suspended from college for their involvement. Soon after Lyndon Johnson's landslide victory over Barry Goldwater, in November, 1964, Martin Luther King Jr. organized a renewed Southern protest movement against voting discrimination particularly in

Alabama and Mississippi. Students at Alabama State again served an important participant role. Hundreds joined Dr. King's late-March, 1965, rally at the state Capitol (the culminating point of the famed Selma to Montgomery march) and several students were suspended from college for becoming involved in Civil Rights demonstrations. In a pictorial review of Alabama State's social and political activities during the 1960's, the Hornet Tribune (the official student-published newspaper) reprinted two pictures of students filing off campus to eventually meet with thousands of Dr. King's followers.[13]

Political involvement among students at Alabama State University today might well be termed "the politics of apathy." Gone are the earlier periods of activity that marked a key role for students in agitating for Civil Rights. Now there are very few indications on campus of any political involvement at all.

Student grievances against administrative policies and actions are widespread. They are officially articulated through the Student Government Association. But this organ is not independent of the university administration and also is not well supported by the general student body. The administration holds a tight rein on all aspects of student activities. Its attitude concerning demonstrations against university policies is betrayed by the first clause of the "Guidelines for Demonstration," published in The Pilot (the

official student handbook): "In the unlikely event a demonstration is considered necessary... "[14] Campus disruptions have occurred in the past. The most notable one took place in April, 1969, when several hundred students occupied the Commons dining hall and later marched to the state Capitol to demand the resignation of President Levi Watkins. As in most other protests at Alabama State, outside influence was a catalytic factor. In this case, non-student members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were vigorously involved in both the organization of the demonstrations and in the drafting of the claims which were presented to the university administration.[15] In reviewing the complaints of students, as presented for more than a decade in the pages of the Hornet Tribune, the communicative organ of the students, it was ironic to see the same basic demands repeatedly voiced: Better food, cleaner dormitories, longer book store and library hours, more efficient registration procedures. Widespread demands at Alabama State in 1969 (a year filled with major campus eruptions for academic relevance) for a Black Studies Department and the renaming of campus buildings in honor of prominent black leaders, have today completely subsided. Grievances again center upon common campus residence issues, but weak student organization and wholesale indifference prohibit genuine attempts to resolve such discontents in an effective manner. Seldom have more than a quarter of the undergraduates voted in

elections for Student Government Association officers. In the most recent election, held in May, 1975, only 24% of eligible students voted for their representatives in SGA. Slightly more students voted for Miss ASU than for SGA president.[16]

Student attentions today increasingly focus upon social activities. Much space in the student newspaper is provided for calling attention to beauty contests, Greek fraternities and sororities, campus fashion and the chic appearance. If wear and tear are any indication of the circulation of periodicals, then Cosmopolitan is by far the most handled magazine in the library. Little attention is given to politics any more. Almost no mention is made of world affairs or American politics, nor is there any kind of dialog which would suggest that controversial ideas are being aired-- intellectually or otherwise-- or at least enjoying exposure in any student publication. One of the last truly political editorials in the Hornet Tribune appeared in the April, 1966, issue. The editor espoused a very conventional position among Americans at that time in suggesting that elected politicians are better able to judge what is in the best interest of the nation than is the common citizen, and therefore the political leaders should not be subjected to criticism from those who desired to withdraw American troops from Vietnam. Note how the reference to American goals are couched in abstract phraseology (e.g., freedom of man):

> When one nation is struggling for the freedom of mankind, then none of us are free until our fellow nation or brother becomes free... Our society would be better off and greater if we would let our people, whom we have elected to the various positions, practice their duties without interference by the inexperienced... Some of us are too ignorant to read and know why we are in Vietnam and why we can't pull out now.[17]

Six months earlier an opinion poll, published in the Hornet Tribune, revealed that although 90% of the two-hundred fifty students interviewed believed that the United States was "not making progress in Vietnam," 85% favored "increasing our commitment in Vietnam with more manpower and supplies."[18] Significantly, only 40% of the students thought that Martin Luther King, Jr. was "right in questioning the President's /Lyndon Johnson's/ policy of trying to achieve peace in Vietnam."[19] Such supportive attitudes towards the American involvement in the Asian war favorably compare with Gallup Poll percentages, compiled between May and November, 1965, for American college students and Americans under thirty years of age-- the two groups that most favored increased American troop strength in Vietnam. Note the lesser degrees of support among American blacks (especially females) in May and August, 1965 (see Table 9). After American soldiers were sent into active combat, in June, 1965, there emerged a "rally around the flag" effect which peaked in November, 1965, and established the highest level of American support ever recorded for American troop involvement in Vietnam.

TABLE 9

Percentage Levels of Group Support for American Troop Involvement in Vietnam, Nationwide, May, August, November, 1965*

Select Group Nationwide	Percent Supporting Increased Involvement of American Troops in Vietnam		
	May, 1965	August, 1965	November, 1965
College Students	68%	69%	79%
Americans Under 30 Yrs.	61%	76%	75%
Black Males	55%	67%	**
Black Females	31%[a]	37%[a]	**

*Compiled from American Institute of Public Opinion data, cited in John E. Mueller, War, Presidents, and Public Opinion (New York: John Wiley & Son's, Inc., 1973), Table 5-5, p. 143; and Table A-1, pp. 273, 275.

**Levels of support data for black males and females did not appear for November, 1965.

[a]In May, 1965, 51% of black females held no opinion compared to 22% of black males; by August, 1965, 37% of black females and 7% of black males had no opinion.

In reviewing the issues of the Hornet Tribune over more than a decade, and in observing students on campus today, I am struck by the very conventional attitudes exhibited in a broad spectrum of social and political concerns. It is difficult to apply Herbert Marcuse's concept of the "Great Refusal" to these blacks, who perhaps constitute one of the most fringe and "outside" groups in America, many of whom have seldom challenged their religious beliefs or political traditions and cultural ideas. Their "Afro" hair style and

attire have long been emptied of radical undercurrents and drained of synthesis potential. If it is difficult to perceive a new consciousness arising from these students, it is also seemingly futile for liberal reformers to try to forestall the black American rush towards middle class values by pointing out that so very much of this life-style is hollow and manufactured, devoid of the fulfillment of real needs, when the glitter of such values has for so long been dangled in front of them, tantalizing them, and now have come within their purview.

As in most other communities, deviations from the known and tried are usually rejected in social conduct and in politics. Even a rare, but announced and well-promoted Student Government Association-supported address by Stokely Carmichael, in May, 1975, could only muster approximately 15% of the student body at Alabama State.[20] The administration kept a low profile in this case, not desiring to associate itself in the minds of the greater community with such a neo-Marxist who calls for the collapse of capitalism and exposes the "lies" of Christianity. Sexist attitudes have very much been a part of the black experience, and still are today, though to a lesser degree than a decade ago. In the aforementioned poll, which appeared in the October, 1965, Hornet Tribune, 80% of males and 30% of females interviewed believed that women "should not be on an equal level with men" in terms of salary, responsibilities, and job oppor-

tunities; virtually 100% of the males and 98% of the females believed that a wife "should not make more money than her husband."[21] In a more recent issue of the Hornet Tribune (May, 1971), a female student argued that the role of the black woman is to achieve a mean between militancy and complacency in consciousness: "The black woman must complement her man and help him realize his own potential... work at his side... building a strong black nation."[22] A current issue of contention on campus was caused by reopening membership in the university's marching band (the first time in ten years) to women. Male members of the band were practically unanimous in their desire to retain the group as an all male preserve. One member said: "It's like a fraternity. The band is build on pride. We take pride in our organization, and we don't want any women coming in messing it up."[23]

The apathetic response to world affairs and the paucity of political dialog among students at Alabama State makes the academic environment much less stimulating than it should be. There is, however, more attention given to black culture and issues of racism and discrimination. Quite interestingly, student observations of the black experience have, within recent years, been portrayed in the Hornet Tribune almost exclusively from a poetical perspective rather than by journalistic prose. Over more than a decade, both the content and tone of this poetry has undergone a trans-

formation from the trustful belief that education would, de facto, bring about black liberation ("We have passed many obstacles in our race/ but still we are not there/ Till when we shake off all our fears/ and let pure knowledge prevail.../ Till /we/ enter the portals of education..."),[24] and the religious pleas requesting God's direction and blessing for the "oppressed people," to the more recent phase of striking out against white exploitation and racism -- often with bitter and vehement language. The poetry of John Shaver, a gifted Sociology major, exemplifies the latter stage. His work has received prominent display in the showcases of the library and the Social Science building as well as publication in the Hornet Tribune (Selected student poems from 1970 to 1975 are included in Appendix A). One of his more caustic poems is entitled "Amerikkka."

What am I?
Who am I?

Am I the nigger that rob, steal and kill? Or
Am I the negro that says things will get better
If we give them a rest? Or
Am I the black man that says fuck the system
And kill the crackers that started this cold,
Cruel, inhuman mess.

What is Amerikkka?
Who is Amerikkka?

Are you the Pharoah that stands so omnipotently
In the kingdom I built with my sweat and tears.
Are your trees the trees that grew tall and strong
From the richness of my blood? Amerikkka, the great
Melting pot is nothing more than a great toilet bowl
Where black minds are flushed and our souls drained
Of all pride and sense of accomplishment. Pale freaks

High on dope, urinating, defecating and fornicating.
In the public streets, syphilitic, clap infested
Liberals turning potential black revolutionaries
Into castrated maudlins.

Brother,
This is Amerikkka
Love it, Leave it, or
Revolutionize it?[25]

To a greater extent than any other student at Alabama State, Shaver has contributed to the literary expressions of black awareness. Although he is the most publicized student-poet on campus, most of my students did not recognize his name. His potential following is reduced by his radical orientation, not at all representative of the expressed viewpoints of students with whom I have come into contact. Despite the fact that he captures the essence of black frustration and struggle against oppression, his well polished rhetoric is unable to break out of abstractions. It exposes the festering disease, but it cannot medicate or heal. Note, for instance, his definition of black power, which turns into veiled sentiments:

> Black power is the exercise of influence over the forces that have oppressed us for the last four hundred years... helps create an atmosphere of equality (not just equality of opportunity). Black power must be utilized now, in politics, science, economy, and industry. Our pluralistic group must unite on common objectives. We must have liberation, exaltation and freedom, or the hot flame of hell will engulf our soul for a thousandth time. The libertarian princes, King and Malcolm X were assassinated; girls in Birmingham raped of their lives. Act now. We have the know-how... we must utilize it.[26]

At times, the search for black roots and identity metamorphosizes into an exaggerated form of racism, not unlike expressions of Caucasian superiority. It begins with valid observations that white, middle class culture has long neglected the contributions of blacks to society and has overemphasized European thought and perspectives. Sometimes, however, it develops into a type of conspiracy theory in which whites have clandestinely withheld historical facts that, once revealed, would point to the "superiority" of the black race. Isolated examples of great kingdoms of ancient Africa are continuously cited and overplayed. Most of the inventions and ideas which led to "advanced" European civilization were first initiated in black Africa. This was the message, for example, of Stokely Carmichael and his associates, and it was met with mixed reactions among the students who attended his address at Alabama State. In a more traditional tone, one Hornet Tribune article took white historians to task for "writing history to their own advantage," and for masking contributions of blacks who now seek an "independent, new identity." The author wrote glowingly of great African empires which existed before the Golden Age of Egypt. Jesus was black. As proof of this assertion the author cited the Revelations of John (Chapter I, verses 13 through 15). St. Augustine, too, was black.[27]

If I have belabored the political expressions of Alabama State students, it is only because such manifestations

were the exceptions to the norm. Even rest room graffiti lack the rudiments of political cynicism, frustration, or exhilaration.[28] Many of the students in my classes are quite apathetical about gaining access to the political system and have consistently refused to tune-in to the flow of political information which emanates from white-dominated media sources. The overwhelming majority of my students rarely read political editorials or even become aware of national and international issues. Magazines such as Time or Newsweek are "white" magazines, and therefore are avoided in favor of black - oriented magazines such as Ebony. Yet, most of these students are not knowledgeable about black history and politics.

Many of my students have related their feeling that it is very difficult for a black person (especially a black male) to get an "equal shot" in a white-dominated society. They sometimes wonder if conditions are any different in the North. One result of such attitudes is political alienation. During the Winter quarter, over one-fifth (8 of 37) of my American Government students were not registered to vote. After the Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science suggested that faculty should encourage student participation by making it a classroom project, most of the students finally registered (all of the unregistered students were from Alabama). Nevertheless, two female students told me that had it not been for the extra credit

being offered they would have never registered because they never intend to vote. That same quarter, results of a student-conducted survey of 124 male residents of George N. Card Hall (one of four male dormitories on campus) revealed that only 50.9% (58 of 114) of voting age students were registered. Of those not then of age to register, only 50% (5 of 10) intended to vote in the 1976 presidential election, compared to 55% (22 of 40) of the non-registered students between the ages of eighteen through twenty, and 31.3% (5 of 16) of the non-registered students twenty-one years of age and older.[29] According to the student who gathered this data, most non-registered students felt like they would not gain anything by voting. Their vote, in other words, did not seem to make a difference in either their lives or in the outside political world.

In my Winter quarter American Government class, I also discovered that recognition of major political figures was generally low-- especially among the females. In order to ascertain this, I included extra credit questions on two separate quizzes. In the first quiz (February 4) the extra credit questions requested the names of the U.S. Senators from their state and the U.S. Congressman from their congressional district. In the second quiz (February 21) I asked students to identify the names of the Vice-President and the Secretary of State of the United States. The following data represents the results of students from Alabama.

Only 36.1% (13 of 36) correctly identified their U.S. Congressman, and only 50% (18 of 36) could name both U.S. Senators. Senator Allen enjoyed a higher identification level, 72.2% (26 of 36), than did senior Senator Sparkman, 58.3% (21 of 36). Secretary of State Kissinger was recognized by 86.5% (32 of 37) of the students, while Vice-President Rockefeller was known to all. Table 10 presents the results by sex.

TABLE 10

Proportion of American Government Students, by Sex, Able to Correctly Identify Various Politicians*

Figure to be Identified	Males			Females		
	N	CR	%CR	N	CR	%CR
Feb. 21						
Rockefeller	21	21	100.0%	16	16	100.0%
Kissinger	21	18	85.7%	16	14	87.5%
Feb. 4						
Allen	17	15	88.2%	19	11	57.9%
Sparkman	17	14	82.4%	19	7	36.8%
Both Senators	17	13	76.5%	19	5	26.3%
Congressman	17	7	41.2%	19	6	31.6%

*Data was compiled from extra credit questions on two separate quizzes given on February 4 and 21 in my Winter quarter American Government class. No answer was invalidated because of spelling errors. Any of seven Alabama Congressmen was regarded as a correct answer for the Congressman query. Percentages reflect the answers of Alabama students only.

Abbreviations: N=total number in class; CR=number of correct responses; %CR=percentage of correct responses.

When the students in my Winter quarter classes were

asked, via a questionnaire distributed in early January, what they considered to be "the most important political problem facing Alabama, the United States, and the international community of states" (three separate consecutive items), their response was more consequential for the apathy displayed than for the answers which were provided. Note the higher percentages of no responses among the females in Table 11.

TABLE 11

No Answer as Student Response to Questions Requesting Identification of the Most Important Political Problem Facing Alabama; the United States; and the International Community, by Sex*

Area of Problem	Males			Females		
	N	NA	%NA	N	NA	%NA
Alabama	24	8	33.3%	20	10	50.0%
United States	24	6	25.0%	20	6	30.0%
International Community	24	5	20.8%	20	9	45.0%

*Data is based on responses to three questions contained in a questionnaire distributed to my Winter quarter students during the first week of January, 1975.

Abbreviations: N=total number in classes; NA=number of no answers; %NA=percentage of no answers.

It would be erroneous to conclude that these students do not know what forces and institutions are working in their best interest as a racial minority. Although they often lacked precise information, my students exhibited a near

instinctive understanding of the social and political forces that are allied with black needs and aspirations. In the Winter quarter questionnaire, all but one student who favored any political party (79.6%-- 35 of 44 expressed a party preference), chose the Democratic party. My students believed that the Democratic party was for the "common man" with whom they and their families could identify on the national level. It was more "open" and "liberal" than the Republican party. With the possible exception of perceived racism and discrimination, their answers to the questions about the most important problem facing Alabama, the United States, and the International community of states were mainstream concerns, such as corruption in government, inflation and jobs, and threat of large-scale warfare. In a Winter quarter American Government class rerun of Herbert McClosky's "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics" study, my students scored closer to the 1964 responses of political influentials (elites) than to the 1964 responses of the general electorate (masses) on eleven of seventeen items expressing support for general statements of free speech and opinion, and specific applications of free speech and procedural rights. On seven of these eleven items, students scored higher percentages of support than the 1964 influentials.[30]

These students are firmly within the framework of American liberalism, for they have been exposed to no other

political ideology. Marx and Lenin are foreign intrusions. Angela Davis may be a Marxist, but above all she is a soul sister who speaks out against racism and injustice. Students believe in democratic liberalism. Still, they are baffled about why the system has not worked for them as it has for most other hyphenated Americans. More than seventy-three years ago W.E.B. Du Bois posed the issue of the twentieth century as the problem of the color line. "The Negro," he wrote, "is sort of a seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in the American world, a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world."

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness. This sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tapes of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness-- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.[31]

Will there be no other alternatives than either the eventual creation of a broad-based American black bourgeoisie, dominated by white, middle-class values, or social ostracization and ghettoization of black Americans as a superfluous minority culture?

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1]For primary sources of the Montgomery experience and the origins of the modern Civil Rights movement, see Martin Luther King Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), pp. 43-46; 48-54, and Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: New American Library, 1962), pp. 92-111.

[2]John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (New York: New American Library, 1961), p. 116.

[3]The first lunch counter sit-in demonstrations occurred at F.W. Woolworth's variety store in Greensboro, North Carolina, in early February, 1960, and spread to Virginia and Tennessee before appearing a few weeks later in Montgomery.

[4]New York Times, March 1, 1960, p. 20. Governor Patterson's coarse reference to Alabama State students "eating too well" is, perhaps, an allusion to a campus outburst which occurred more than five years earlier. One of the major demands of the students was better quality meals (see New York Times, October 22, 1954, p. 11).

[5]Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education (5th Cir. 1961). On December 4, 1961, a petition for certiorari filed by the State Board was denied by the U.S. Supreme Court.

[6]Abernathy is presently Chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Although this is not the place to chronicle the physical and emotional brutality of racism, Ralph Ginzburg's 100 Years of Lynchings (New York: Lancer Books, 1962), pp. 246-51, contains two articles (one from the May 22, 1961 issue of the Birmingham News and the other from the May 23, 1961 issue of the Montgomery Advertiser) that capture the intense racial hostility and white backlash in Montgomery during that time. In addition to the Ginzburg volume, several other works which strongly support a sexual basis for racism are, Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks (New York: Grove Press, 1966), Calvin C. Herton, Sex and Racism in America (New York: Grove Press, 1969), and Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, Inc., 1969).

[7]For a well-written, documented overview of that period and the conditions under which academic freedom was severely eroded, see Robert Van Waes, "Academic Freedom and Tenure: Alabama State College," AAUP Bulletin, XLVII (Winter, 1961), pp. 303-09. Political scientist David Fellman (University of Wisconsin) served as Chairman of Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure. Political Scientist C. Herman Prichett

(University of Chicago) was also on the Committee.

[8]The Alabama Board of Education received a photograph of Professor Reddick (originally published in the Daily Worker) from the Alabama Public Safety Department. The photograph was taken in 1948 at a "Get Together with Russia Rally" in New York's Madison Square Garden. When this report made front page headlines in the Alabama Journal (Montgomery) of June 15, 1960, Reddick publicly stated that his presence on the same stage with the Russian Representative to the United Nations did not make him a Communist any more "than Governor Patterson's conference with presidential candidate John Kennedy makes the Governor an integrationist."

[9]New York Times, December 9, 1958, p. 1.

[10]Ibid., August 27, 1961, p. 19.

[11]Ibid., October 18, 1962, p. 48.

[12]Ibid., April 22, 1964, p. 35.

[13]Hornet Tribune, November, 1970, p. 3.

[14]The Pilot (Alabama State University Student Handbook) for 1973-74, p. 14

[15]Details of that demonstration are contained in the New York Times, March 31, 1969, p. 34. See also, the New York Times for April 8, May 2, and May 6. For a recapitulation of student demands during this time, see the Hornet Tribune, November, 1974, p. 4. Jocelyn Travis, "Remember 1968-69."

[16]An interesting sidelight to the Student Government Association election of May 26, 1975, was the vice-presidential candidacy of a white student whose father is an admissions officer at Alabama State. Although the student ran last in a field of three candidates, he received 128 votes--23.1% of the votes cast for that office. During the 1974-75 academic year, there were only 14 non-black undergraduates, comprising 0.6% of the student body.

[17]Hornet Tribune, April, 1966, p. 2. Arthur Hales Jr., "Voice of the Students."

[18]Ibid., October, 1965, p. 5. L. Barnett, "Students Speak Out." No information was supplied about the polling technique nor the sample percentages of males and females utilized for the survey.

[19]Ibid., Only 5% of the students thought that Dr. King

was "wrong" and 55% had "no opinion." The article focused on the high "no opinion" percentage and related the fact that most students felt that "King, as a Negro Civil Rights leader, should have kept quiet on this issue."

[20]The student turnout percentage is my estimate. Classes were not officially suspended for the address, but this, in itself, was not a significant deterrent to those students who preferred to attend the Carmichael speech which was scheduled during the late morning hours.

[21]Hornet Tribune, October 1965, p. 5.

A classic example of institutional sexism is contained in the Alabama State Teachers College Announcement for 1930-1931, I, p. 20. The dress code only applied to females, who were proscribed from wearing silk or velvet wraps, slipover sweaters, two-tone shoes and fancy shoes, bracelets, earrings, and beads.

[22]Alabama Journal (Montgomery), September 8, 1975, p. 9. Cynthia Tucker, "We Don't Want any Women Coming in Messing It Up."

[23]Hornet Tribune, May, 1971, p. 4. Margarette Jones, "Role of the Black Woman."

[24]Ibid., December, 1963, p. 3. Alonzo Curry, "Till Then" (poem).

[25]Unpublished poem displayed, during January and February, 1975, in a main floor showcase at the George Washington Trenholm Learning Resources Center, Alabama State University.

[26]Hornet Tribune, November, 1971, p. 4. John Shaver, "Black Power." In his essay "The Failure of Black Separatism," Harpers, CCXL (January, 1970), pp. 25-32, 34, Bayard Rustin wrote: "The call for Black Power is now three years old, yet to this day no one knows what Black Power is supposed to mean and therefore how its proponents are to unite and rally behind it... philosophies of racial solidarity have never been unduly concerned with the realities which operate outside the category of race. The adherents of these philosophies are generally romantics, steeped in the traditions of their own particular clans and preoccupied with the simple biological verities of blood and racial survival. Almost invariably their rallying cry is racial self-determination, and they tend to ignore those aspects of the material world which point up divisions within the racially defined group."

[27]Hornet Tribune, November, 1973, p. 2. H. James Chatmon, "Seek and You Shall Find, or Lies Will Not Live Forever." The American philosopher Morris R. Cohen once wrote: "If history has any lesson at all, it is that never have men accomplished anything great by trying to revive a dead past. Great things are accomplished not by imitation of the past, but by resolutely facing the actual definite problems before us" ("Zionism: Tribalism or Liberalism?," New Republic, March 8, 1919, p. 183).

[28]As in other colleges throughout the United States, one of the most popular themes for rest room graffiti is of a sexual nature. In an independent report, "Classification of Graffiti in Student Restrooms at Alabama State University," submitted by students Terry G. Davis, O'Neil Harmon, and Beatrice Oliver, in March 1975, of the 60 items found in male restrooms, 38 were classified as sexual, 11 as personal insults, 3 as religious slogans, and 1 as political. No graffiti were discovered in the female restrooms.

[29]Michael Dothard, "Voter Registration Survey of George N. Card Hall," student project in American Government undertaken in February and March 1975. Of the students aged eighteen through twenty, 44.4% (32 of 72) were registered; of the students twenty-one years and older, 69.1% (29 of 42) were registered. These residence hall males ranged in age from seventeen to twenty-five.

[30]Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, LVII (June, 1964), pp. 361-82. McClosky found that both elites and masses achieved high consensus on abstract principles of freedom, but when these principles were tested with specifics, elites differed from the masses in being more consistent and exhibiting greater support for democratic values.

[31]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Avon Books, 1965), pp. 214-15. The volume was originally published in 1903.

CHAPTER VI

LORD OF THE PLANTATION

> Negroes don't control this school... nor white folk either. True they support it, but I control it... I say 'yes suh' as loudly as any burrhead when it's convenient, but I'm still the king down here... Power doesn't have to show off. Power is confident, self-assuring, self-starting and self-stopping, self-warming and self-justifying. When you have it, you know it... This is a power set up... and I'm at the controls... When you buck against me you're bucking against power, rich white folks power-- which means government power...[1]

So Dr. Bledsoe, fictional black college president in Ralph Ellison's The Invisible Man, spouted on. In reality as well, the strong authoritarianism of many black college presidents is authentic. In The Black College: A Strategy for Achieving Relevancy, the Le Melles termed "Presidentialism" as the "tendency to relegate arbitrary and absolute decision making power to the office of the President," and observed that "it is no longer defensible... in the black colleges."[2] A chapter entitled "Negroes and Their Colleges," in The Academic Revolution, by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, depicted the authoritarian atmosphere of the typical Negro college of the 1950's, with its "domineering but frightened president, its faculty tyrannized by the president and in turn tyrannizing the students."[3] In "The Black college as System," Tobe Johnson (professor of political science at Atlanta University) characterized black colleges as possessing four essential features-- the first three of

which are dimensions of conservatism: "(1) their 'low risk' orientation which tends to discourage innovation and controversial ideas; (2) their low incentives and even dis-incentives to individual initiative and creativity of faculty and staff; (3) their tendency to reinforce the authoritarian-submissive behavior of faculty, staff and students; and (4) excessive jealousy and competition among faculty and staff for presidential favor."[4] Recent articles and a volume describing academic experiences at Southern black colleges from a white perspective, echo these critical observations of concentrated and abusive administrative power. Ann Jones' Uncle Tom's Campus revealed the paternalistic dictatorship of "President Greeson" at "Thomas College" (fictitious names), a small private college in, perhaps, Alabama.[5] Janet Stevenson, in "Ignorant Armies," portrayed similar experiences at state-supported "Broadleaf College" (fictitious name), as did Patricia Stringer, in "White Teacher, Black Campus," who taught at a state college in rural Georgia.[6]

At Alabama State University there is not much need to engage in academic speculation about the "receding locus of power" on campus, or the proper procedure to be utilized in order to discover who governs.[7] Whether pursued from a positional, reputational, decisional, or normative (i.e., the identification of dominant norms and values and the persons that they favor) approach, or an eclectic combination, the fact remains that the president exercises ultimate

authority on the internal affairs of the university. Administrative organization is purposely centralized to maximize his influence and control. The following observations parallel the varied approaches.

> 1) The President is the formal head of Alabama State University. The university has no Board of Trustees. It is the only state college in Alabama responsible to the State Board of Education (Alabama A&M, another black institution, gained its independence from the State Board of Education in 1974).
>
> 2) There exists a consensus among the university community that the President possesses a monopoly of authority and power, and utilizes it, often in an arbitrary manner, to achieve his purposes and goals.
>
> 3) Despite the fact that the President of Alabama State University is responsible to the State Board of Education, the Board, which also oversees public elementary and secondary school systems, only establishes the general guidelines and boundaries within which the university must operate. When the scope of academic conflict is confined within campus borders, with rare exceptions the President's discretion is maximal, as is his power to make and influence decisions in a broad range of policy areas.
>
> 4) As head of a predominantly black state university, the President endeavors to steer what he views as a middle course between demands for change from within the academic ghetto and the majority white outside world. The President must work with the state legislature and periodically justify the existence of his black institution. Strong centralized organization of the university combined with conservative direction and incremental change tend to accomplish the balance needed to continue to win approval from the white-controlled State Board of Education and legislature. Those who are chosen to aid this task at Alabama State are rewarded within the academic system by presidential favor.

Levi Watkins became president of Alabama State Univer-

sity in 1962, shortly after the death of Harper C. Trenholm who had governed the institution for thirty-seven years. Prior to his appointment Dr. Watkins served as president of Owen College (1953-59), a small, private, non-accredited black institution in Memphis, Tennessee, whose curricula offers non-degree Liberal Arts and occupational training. He holds a bachelor's degree from Tennessee State University (a predominantly black institution), a master's degree from Northwestern University, in Illinois, and an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Arkansas Baptist College.

The task ahead of Dr. Watkins, in leading the college towards the goal of accreditation and beyond, was made more challenging by the spirit of the times. His predecessor had become entangled in a sequence of political events which eventually inundated the campus and involved the dominant values of white Southern society. Since the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, the political activities of students and faculty at Alabama State had been mounting. A series of anti-segregation lunch counter sit-ins, spearheaded by Alabama State students in 1960, broadened the scope of conflict between the races, and, in the words of Governor John Patterson, "caused us /whites/ a lot of trouble. They embarrassed the state of Alabama. Our enemies abroad /Communists/ made capital of it and used it against us."[8] President Trenholm was not only coerced into taking action against the "radical" students, but also was directed by the

State Board of Education and the Governor (ex officio member and president of the Board) to dismiss Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Chairman of the History Department, for his so-called Communist sympathies, without a faculty or Board of Education hearing, or a written statement of charges (a most extraordinary action). Several faculty resignations followed President Trenholm's submission of a "background report" on each member of the faculty, requested by the State Board of Education. Trenholm's actions were prompted, in part, to satisfy the demands of the Governor and the Board of Education, and to minimize conflict within the greater community. His position as president was also in jeopardy, and in order to stabilize it he was forced to cooperate in restricting the already limited scope of student and faculty freedoms of expression. After inhibiting student rights through various acts of intimidation (e.g., warning parents, by letter, not to permit their sons and daughters to demonstrate; "watching closely" some students who were being exposed to "outside influences"), President Trenholm regained the endorsement of Governor Patterson. The Governor encouraged the President to prevent further attempts of students to agitate for racial desegregation, and supported him "as long as you run a good /i.e., non-controversial/ school."[9]

President Watkins also confronted similar tests of power, although none so uprooting as the 1960 experience of his predecessor (which led to the censure of Alabama State

by the American Association of University Professors the following year). His hard line actions against student demonstrations during the 1960's, and his efforts to maintain a non-controversial campus, climaxed in an explosion of student resentment in 1969, when the Commons was occupied and held, and several hundred students later marched to the state Capitol to demand his resignation. The wholesale arrest and expulsion of students followed and the college was temporarily closed.

Although the university boasts today that students participate in the policy making process at Alabama State, in reality student representation is a sham. In most cases students are not democratically elected by their peers, but are hand chosen by the administration and various faculty to serve on different committees. All fifteen students comprising the University Center Student Governing Board are appointed by the President. Students nominated by the Student Government Association to be on the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs must first be approved by the Faculty Senate. The three students selected to serve on the Board of Student Publications are chosen from a list of six nominees presented to the Student Government Association Senate by the faculty and administrative members of that Board. A majority of non-students dominate the membership of the Board of Student Publications.[10] During the academic year 1974-75 the President of the university appointed the student editor of

the Hornet Tribune, the official communicative organ for students. This paper is irregularly published and is under administrative censorship. In past years, between scant appearances of the Hornet Tribune, the President issued his own newsletter, Items, for the entire university community, which combined approved information about Alabama State with special editorials that expounded upon Dr. Watkin's personal philosophy of life. Items was discontinued in 1974, purportedly as an economy measure.

The most recent major challenge to the President's power occurred during the 1972-73 academic year, when the proportion of non-black faculty was at its highest level in this century-- nearly 40%. In mid-December, 1972, letters of non-renewal were sent to thirteen non-black teachers, nearly one-third of the total number of non-blacks on the faculty. One teacher among those whose contracts were not renewed, was an English professor who was able to present his case to the State Board of Education ten months later. In addition to charging that he received late notice of contract non-renewal (in violation of the faculty handbook) and no hearing (Alabama State had no written provisions for a review committee at that time), he charged the President with racial discrimination, claiming that it was the "policy of the President to maintain a pool of white faculty, but ensure that most do not achieve tenure."[11] The attorney for Alabama State argued that it would be a "dangerous pre-

cedent" if the Teacher's Grievance Committee of the State Board of Education "held hearings on the complaints of any untenured teacher dissatisfied because of non-renewal of contract."[12] In talking with several faculty members (black and white) who were familiar with the mass firings during 1972-73, the consensus was that several of the notices of non-renewal were justified, but others could not be explained, as in the aforementioned case of the English professor. All agreed that some of the faculty whose contracts were not renewed were derelict in their professional duties (e.g., not holding classes as scheduled, drinking before classes, racial prejudice) and therefore deserved to be severed from the university. In many other cases, however, despite lower level recommendations from chairmen of departments and deans for contract renewal, the President reversed the judgments of others. A few black faculty related how many white faculty began to band together and to criticize administrative policies. The high percentage of non-black faculty at this time prompted their courage to speak out, but it also enhanced black fears that the university was being "taken over" by whites.

Publicity given to the non-renewal of so many white faculty contracts was prominently aired by the news media. Without casting an accusatory finger at the President, an editorial in the Alabama Journal (Montgomery) concluded that Alabama State University should have a Board of Trustees

which could be more closely in touch with the internal problems of the institution than the State Board of Education.[13]

Added to the turmoil during the 1972-73 academic year was the rise of a clandestine committee which actively sought to remove the President from power, headed by Robert Ward, a black assistant professor of political science. The names of the members of the Committee to Remove Levi Watkins as President of Alabama State University have never been revealed, but it was well known that Ward enjoyed support from many of the student political activists, most of the non-black faculty whose contracts were not renewed for the following year, and a few black faculty members. He also gained support from the more liberal and radical members of Montgomery's black community who considered Dr. Watkins to be a repressive "Uncle Tom." For a period of about six months, Ward distributed stenciled newsletters, entitled The Current Informer, to faculty, administrators, and students. Although elucidating needed reforms and exposing the arbitrary and dictatorial usage of presidential power, these issues also contained scathing attacks upon the character and integrity of the President. (See Appendix B for the reproduction of two documents authored by Ward. One, entitled "Academic Declaration and Indictments," was directed to the President from the Committee to Remove Levi Watkins as President of Alabama State University. The other, the June 11, 1973 issue of The Current Informer, had as its fea-

ture "President Watkins' Administrative Ruse." Copies of both documents were distributed to the university community.)[14]

Several days before a joint faculty-student protest march from campus to the Board of Education, President Watkins termed the Committee members headed by Robert Ward "a small group of extremists... seeking control of the school."[15] Despite the fact that the President issued a memorandum that faculty, staff and students were not to be penalized for participating in the May 15, 1973 demonstration against him, all twelve faculty members who marched did not receive contracts for the following September. Most were non-blacks who already knew that their association with the university was soon to terminate. Approximately ninety students also joined the protest march to the Board of Education.

On September 11, 1973, nearly two months after Robert Ward received notice of being fired, he barged into the President's office grasping a .45 calibre Thompson Marc II automatic rifle. Dr. Watkins managed to escape, but his Executive Secretary was held hostage for over an hour, after which the political scientist voluntarily surrendered to the police who surrounded Councill Hall. As Professor Ward was led away, about one hundred students cheered him.[16] But the coup had failed.

If any one word characterizes the essence of faculty

and administration relations vis-à-vis the President it is fear. Both groups are constantly on guard not to offend the President and his cadre of loyalists (usually drawn from the ranks of senior faculty and top administrative officials). The paternalistic nature of the system rewards those who abide by the established order and do not seriously question or upset the modus operandi. There is, of course, natural tension also between faculty and administrators who compete both as groups and as individuals for presidential patronage. To possess such affections means one's ability to share in campus power (at least as long as one remains in good favor). Administrators tend to adopt a snobbish attitude toward the faculty, because they perceive themselves to be closer to the seat of power and thus privy to information which only later is filtered down to the general faculty. In reality, however, they are no more immune from the sanctions of presidential disfavor than is the faculty. For example, during the past twelve years of Dr. Watkins' presidency (1962-63 to 1974-75), there have been ten Vice-Presidents for Academic Affairs.

Most black faculty and administrators have learned to internalize the frustrations of academic subordination to the power structure. They are very much aware of the manner in which the system operates. Indeed, a substantial proportion had observed the same system as Alabama State students. Institutional patronage utilized in the hiring of faculty

and staff often ensures the stability of the established order. They realize that in order to survive they must conform. Seldom have I witnessed them criticize obvious injustices, inefficiencies, and the pattern of power itself. Non-black faculty, however, do express their frustration and anger to other non-blacks, and to a lesser degree to black faculty to whom they look, sometimes out of desperation, for adequate explanations: Why are the faculty contracts not yet issued? Why wasn't a college catalog printed in 1974-75? Why weren't more copies of the old catalog reprinted for the new students? Why hasn't there been a meeting of the Faculty Assembly in over two years? If administrators would like to see more minority students on campus (i.e., non-black students) why is there no funded plan to recruit them? Why haven't any follow-up studies on recent alumni been commissioned to discover what happens to Alabama State graduates in job market competition?

The black faculty and administrators whom I have talked to, admit to the autocratic nature of presidential power, but tend to justify it because the President is usually able to secure from the state legislature the resources needed by the university. In other words, he can handle the outer world efficiently. "Old Levi don't need no /earned/ doctorate," a mathematics professor confided, "he gets what we need. Levi always comes through." This perceivable presidential "magic" is but an extension of his power, and tan-

gible evidence for the vindication of the status quo.

Non-black faculty are cognizant of their vulnerability as a minority. They are fewer in number than black faculty who hold Alabama State degrees. Soon after coming to the university they learn, through the grapevine, of the "honkey purge" of 1972-73, when so many white faculty were given notice of contract non-renewal. Like other members of the faculty who possess neither tenure nor regular communication among the influentials, their actual condition is insecure. Often their only trump is the doctoral degree. One hopeful path to the system is through self-aggrandizement. The Campus Newsletter, published intermittently by the Office of Development and Public Relations, is little more than a listing of the professional activities in which various faculty and administrators are engaged. The blurb usually appears at the request of the faculty member or administrator who later assumes an air of modesty when congratulated by his colleagues for his accomplishments. Several non-black faculty submit such information on a regular basis, presumably in hopes that the power brokers will be attentive to their achievements.

My first exposure to the "imperial presidency" at Alabama State occurred in reference to my contract, which went unsigned by the President until the second week of the Winter quarter, despite the fact that it had been signed more than a month earlier by the Chairman of the History and

Political Science Department, the Dean of Humanities and Sciences, and the Vice-President for Academic Affairs. When the President finally approved it, he also altered the type of appointment which had previously been agreed upon. It was changed from a probationary contract (which implies expectation of renewal) to a term contract (which is for a specific time period and carried no expectation of renewal). I was called into the office of the Assistant Vice-President for Academic Affairs to "re-approve" the erased and altered contract. That same day I tried to arrange a meeting with the President, but was unable to do so. During the next six weeks each of four scheduled meetings was canceled minutes before the appointed time. I finally met the President on March 4, 1975-- long after the rationale for the change in my contract status could be satisfactorily discussed. He impressed me as a persuasive individual, and an effective speaker whose congenial but firm manner left no doubt of who was in control at Alabama State.

During my first three quarters at Alabama State I was not named to any standing committees, nor given any additional responsibilities other than teaching the normal workload of fifteen hours weekly. During the Winter quarter no one seemed to know if the committees of the Faculty Assembly were still operative, because they had not been utilized since the previous year. When I endeavored to secure a list of committees and their membership-- even a list of Senators

and Senate committees-- I was always questioned about my reasons for wanting this information. Requests for this material to the Office of the President and the Office of the Vice-President for Academic Affairs were never responded to. Wherever I would go, I was uniformly given the run-around or told that the lists were "unavailable." On occasion my persistent inquiries disturbed various administrators and faculty members. One day, during the Winter quarter, the Chairman of my department informed me that he had received several phone calls complaining that I was asking too many questions about the university. Later on, data on the social and economic backgrounds of Alabama State students and standardized test scores, which had been furnished through the approval of the Vice-President for Student Affairs, was suddenly denied to me. The Vice-President forwarded copies of her response to the President and the Vice-President for Academic Affairs as an intimidating gesture.

Towards the end of the Summer quarter I was summoned to the Office of the Dean of Sciences and Humanities. The Dean ceremoniously appointed me Chairman of the non-standing Showcase Committee for the Sciences and Humanities. My major responsibility was to periodically change the themes presented in the two window displays that the College of Sciences and Humanities has in Councill Hall.

A persistent fear penetrates this campus. It psychically effaces and devours. Power commands and the powerless

obey and anticipate. We exist not in a sharing, enlightened community, but in academic limbo awaiting judgment. All know that ultimate control over hiring, re-employment, salary, rank promotions, summer employment, chairmanships of departments, funds for attending professional meetings and their allocation to individual faculty, belongs to the President. The faculty handbook and selected AAUP guidelines contained therein (only recently included) are devoid of much meaning. The Faculty Assembly, "... the vehicle for faculty participation in academic policy making, and for the stimulation of professional growth and promotion of rapport among faculty members through amenity activities," has not been called upon to meet in over two years, despite the fact that the Faculty Constitution specifies that the Assembly is to gather at least semi-annually. Recent elections for the Faculty Senate, "the legislative and policy making body of the Faculty Assembly" were abruptly invalidated by the President, because a few non-tenured faculty were chosen as Senators by some divisions. The Faculty Constitution had no restricting provision as to faculty membership in the Senate, but the President desired to confine Senate membership to tenured faculty. A new election was soon held.

Although more than twenty-five faculty currently have individual memberships in the American Association of University Professors, there is no AAUP chapter at Alabama State University. Membership in the organization is some-

thing which faculty conceal rather than flaunt, for fear of adverse administrative reactions. Nevertheless, information does escape campus boundaries. At the 1975 annual meeting of the Alabama Conference of the AAUP, the following resolution was passed:

> The Alabama Conference, AAUP, expresses its concern over the continuing violations of academic freedom and academic due process at Alabama State University, an institution already on the AAUP list of censured administrations. It urges the State Board of Education, Alabama State University's governing body, to remove the incompetent administrators who are still in charge of that institution.[17]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1]Ralph Ellison, The Invisible Man (New York: Random House, Inc., 1952), pp. 109-10.

[2]Tilden J. Le Melle and Wilbert J. Le Melle, The Black College: A Strategy for Achieving Relevancy (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 85.

[3]Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968), p. 425.

[4]Tobe Johnson, "The Black College as System," Daedalus, C (Summer, 1971), pp. 798-812.

[5]Ann Jones, Uncle Tom's Campus (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).

[6]Janet Stevenson, "Ignorant Armies," Atlantic Monthly, CCXXIV (October, 1969), pp. 57-63. Patricia Stringer, "White Teacher, Black Campus," Change, VI (November, 1974), pp. 27-31.

[7]An informative article on the various methodological approaches to the study of power in the university appears in John D. Lindquist and Robert T. Blackburn, "Middlegrove: The Locus of Campus Power at a State University," AAUP Bulletin, LX (December, 1974), pp. 367-78.

[8]Robert Van Waes, "Academic Freedom and Tenure: Alabama State College," AAUP Bulletin, XLVII (Winter, 1961), p. 309.

[9]Ibid., p. 308, citing an Associated Press source published in the Tuscaloosa (Alabama) News, July 21, 1960.

[10]Calculated from The Pilot (Alabama State University Student Handbook) for 1973-74, pp. 15-16.

[11]Montgomery Advertiser, October 5, 1973, p. 7. Ellen L. James, "Hearing Held on Nonrenewal of ASU Teacher." The case of Dr. Charles Craig.

Although the faculty turnover rate (all causes) during 1973-74 (20.6%) and 1974-75 (22.1%) was higher than the twelve-year mean for Dr. Watkins' administration-- 1963-64 to 1974-75-- (16.5%), there is no statistical evidence to show that non-black faculty are leaving Alabama State in higher proportions than black faculty-- at least since 1973-1974. The massive firing of non-black faculty appears to be

a phenomenon of the 1972-73 academic year. However, sources utilized to calculate faculty turnover (Alabama State catalogs and the Directory of Personnel for 1970-71 and 1974-75) do not discriminate between those who departed voluntarily and those who left involuntarily.

During the 1974-75 academic year, 52.9% (18 of 34) of the non-black faculty had taught at Alabama State less than three full years (seven of these eighteen faculty were serving in their first year). More than three-quarters of the non-black faculty (26 of 34) had served less than five full years. Most of the eight non-black faculty who had been with the university more than five full years were from foreign backgrounds (mostly Asiatic). Although the state of Alabama has no tenure law regarding college teachers, the university may grant continuous appointment status to those teachers who meet the criteria for tenure. Eight non-black teachers held this status during the 1974-75 academic year.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Alabama Journal (Montgomery), January 8, 1973, p. 4. Editorial, "Proof a Board is Needed."

[14]Robert Ward had been a very close friend of President Watkins. He graduated from Alabama State and obtained a master's degree in political science from Atlanta University. Although the President provided him with funds to work towards the doctorate, he never completed his studies. For what reasons Ward suddenly rebelled against the President, no one whom I have talked with knew positively. Some speculated that he was "bought off" by outside influences; others pointed to the fact that he was a losing candidate in an election for the state legislature-- hence disappointment and frustration; others claimed (this was the position of the administration) that he was mentally unstable, and referred to a "martyrdom" orientation which was said to be exhibited in various issues of The Current Informer, as well as in his near-violent finale with the President.

[15]Montgomery Advertiser, May 11, 1973, p. 2.

[16]Alabama Journal (Montgomery), September 11, 1973, p. 1. Mike Wazlavek, "ASU Gunman Nabbed." See also, Alabama Journal (Montgomery), September 12, 1973, p. 1. Louis Berney, "ASU Professor Held in Gun Threat."

[17]Solidus (the Newsletter of the Alabama Conference, AAUP), III (May, 1975), p. 2.

CHAPTER VII

MONTGOMERY: PROFILES IN WHITE PREJUDICE

If a Northerner briefly visited Montgomery today, after being exposed to literature and media accounts of its past of segregation and racial violence, the city would appear quite calm and comfortable. The sojourner would observe blacks and whites weaving freely in and out of service areas throughout the metropolis-- restaurants, shopping centers, theaters, etc. It would be difficult to believe that white supremacy, with all its societal manifestations, was a fixed part of Montgomery's heritage scarcely over a decade ago.

Blacks, as well as whites, readily admit that Montgomery has changed greatly over the years. They reveal that the attainment of minority rights has also been accompanied by a shifting of behavioral patterns of the white community towards blacks. Hardly existent anymore is the "hate stare" directed against blacks that John Howard Griffin encountered throughout the city in 1959.[1] No doubt change has come. Nevertheless, if our visitor remained in Montgomery and settled for awhile, his amplified perspective on the routine of urban life would soon qualify some of his previous sentiments and alter others.

During my first six months in Montgomery I lived in a center-city high-rise apartment located about two miles from Alabama State University. Each weekday I witnessed the influx of suburban whites to downtown shops, banks, insur-

ance and real estate companies, governmental offices, etc., and their late afternoon exodus to houses and apartment complexes in the mostly white southeastern outskirts of the city.

Initially, I was quite impressed with the general living conditions of blacks in Montgomery. Somehow, I came to the city expecting to see the majority of blacks living in dire poverty. Montgomery does have a few sections that can be considered as slum areas, but certainly no more than a city of its size in the North. Even in the poorer black sections, the modest houses are usually punctuated by well-kept yards. There are many integrated neighborhoods, and extensive sections of middle class homes in predominantly black neighborhoods. The adults appear well-dressed, healthy, and proud. There is no overt submissiveness to the dominant white society anymore-- especially among the younger generation who has not experienced the extreme prohibitions that their parents had to tolerate.

On the surface, racial relations in Montgomery seem sufficiently cordial, but one soon discovers that what passes for integration and racial harmony is actually tolerance. It is a special kind of tolerance and does not extend to varied dimensions of social relations-- only the superficial ones where racial contact is a necessity. Even then, it is cushioned with the psychological armor of denial of reality, as if the colors and vibrations of life were a

fabrication. Here are whites and blacks within inches of each other, yet looking through each other, pretending that what they see does not exist-- hardened to each other's presence through daily neglect. Rarely do the races walk and talk together, clasp hands, laugh and cry together. Although blacks comprise more than one-third of the population of Montgomery, not until 1975 was the first black elected to the city council.[2]

Most lounges (bars with table service and entertainment; nightclubs) that are not located in hotels, motels, restaurants, etc., are run as private clubs. Annual membership usually costs less than a few dollars. Any white non-member (in a white-owned lounge) may become a member by paying his fee at the door. Often, blacks who may desire to enter are told that the membership lists are closed. Of the many private lounges that I have toured, only in one were there any blacks to be seen. Most blacks go to black-operated lounges. Such exclusion extends to all social-economic classes and permeates this city. A political science colleague told me that the President of Alabama State could not even be a dinner guest of a member of the elite Montgomery Country Club.

The lounge located in my center-city high-rise apartment is public. It is ideally located to serve people from a variety of backgrounds-- small businessmen, insurance agents and real estate brokers, blue collar workers, mili-

tary personnel, students, travelers, etc. During the Winter and Spring quarters the lounge served as a social laboratory in which to meet and listen to people. This task was greatly facilitated by the penchant of Southerners to engage strangers in conversation. During my first few days in Montgomery, I listened to more references to "niggers" than I was used to hearing in a year up North. At times the term is used as a reply to a question where the answer is obvious (e.g., "Will I see you at the game tomorrow?" Answer: "Does a nigger wear roller skates?") It is also used to denote quantity (e.g., "He has more problems than /battery/ jumpers at a nigger wedding.") and quality (e.g., "I bet you a golden nigger than you can't legally do that.").

Whenever the topic of my occupation arose (often before a Montgomerian asks your name he asks: "What do you do?") the reactions to my teaching at Alabama State University were quite revealing. All assumed that I taught at a "white" institution, such as Auburn, Troy State, or Huntingdon. The words Alabama State University invariably induced a delayed silence, crowned with a passive nod of the head and a forced and fractured reply, such as "well it is one of our oldest institutions," or "I know some nice people there. The President runs a tight ship-- no one gets out of hand," or "Is it more integrated now?" These were some of the more reserved replies. One young Air Force officer, upon learning where I worked, simply exclaimed: "Shit, I thought you

said that you taught at a university." Very few whites in Montgomery know even a little about Alabama State University, other than the fact that it is the school for the "colored" people and it is located somewhere in the city. Although Alabama State offers a regular program of concerts, plays, and exhibits, the greater white community does not take advantage of this free cultural exchange-- despite public relations efforts by the university. A few Montgomerians have asked me if whites were allowed on the campus. After my wife applied for a position, via a professional agency as a dental office receptionist, she was eventually told the fact of her husband's job at Alabama State aroused curiosity that he might be black. This would effect her chances of obtaining a position. The agency officials did not realize that there were any white faculty at Alabama State!

There is a sincere respect for a college educated person in Alabama. But when a white faculty member who teaches at a black college is discovered, he becomes a sounding board for white discontent and prejudice. The lines are quickly drawn. You, the white educated teacher, versus the dull, unintelligent blacks. There was an abundance of interest in their progress and my reactions to teaching the "niggers." People readily admitted harboring prejudices against blacks. A young, white insurance salesman told me that he had played backup music for Ike and Tina Turner,

during the 1960's. Because he was playing in a black night-club some Ku Klux Klan members objected and drafted a note to his father demanding that his son stay out of "nigger" bars. The insurance agent viewed blacks as slow and mentally inferior to whites.

Whenever blacks would come into the lounge (not often), there would be some comment made by a white patron to the effect-- "here come the niggers." It didn't matter how well dressed they were, they were all niggers. It was curious to observe white people, who otherwise seemed to be decent and good-hearted men and women, reacting so viscerally towards blacks. Although the waitresses sometimes danced with regular customers when business was slow, one waitress from New York was soon fired after she danced with a regular black customer (a cab driver, the only routine black customer). The manager, who was not present at the time, was informed by an irate patron. I was personally threatened with eviction by the manager of my apartment complex because I was bringing in too many "undesirables" (i.e., blacks). I was told that since I moved in there had been a constant "parade of niggers at my door."

Montgomerians relish pointing out to Northerners that Southerners are not the only prejudiced people in the United States. They take delight in hearing of racial strife in Northern cities such as Detroit, Chicago, and Boston and utilize this in conversation as evidence that the races are

incompatible and the North will soon learn the lesson that the South had long ago experienced. There is great resentment among whites of the role that the federal government has played in forcing the South to capitulate to its terms. Behind this bitterness is an acute sense of inferiority about the region. It is often enhanced by the national media which, according to many Southerners, stimulates a stereotyped image of the South as a backward, bigoted region of the country.

Many of the whites who I have come into contact with actually believe that blacks are mentally inferior to whites, and therefore incapable of being educated to the levels of whites. When the elderly, refined directress of the first White House of the Confederacy learned that I was teaching at Alabama State, she took me aside and revealed, in a whispering, motherly tone, that blacks couldn't be trusted. She knew a white music teacher who once worked at Alabama State, and he couldn't count on his "niggers" to come in time to perform at major concerts. Since she also accepted the premise that blacks are incapable of a college level education, it was only an extension of this logic that the black Ph.D's there must have received their degrees by "hook or crook." Another quite popular pseudo-thesis circulated about the "exceptional" black is that he must have a good dose of "white blood" coursing through his veins.

It is not long before one realizes that the emphasis on

quality education in public and private schools near predominantly white suburban areas of the city, especially found in newspaper advertisements for homes and apartments, is doubletalk. Several apartment managers whom I talked with did not even know the basic educational orientation of the elementary schools, let alone the techniques and philosophy of education advanced within. I slowly realized that for many people a school advertised as "good" is not measured according to the quality of education received in the school, but by the additional numbers of white children over black children. "Good" thus becomes a synonym for "white." As Nick, a businessman and first generation Greek, bluntly put it, "its the best school in town because it has the least niggers." A blue collar worker from Mississippi told me: "I don't want my kids going to school with inferior niggers who slow up the class and learn less. But most of all, I don't want my kids picking up nigger talk and ways."

In the hot summer afternoon a small crowd gathered around a woman who was frantically gesturing to a policeman. At a gas station, perhaps forty yards away, I asked the attendant what the commotion was about. "Some god-damned nigger just knocked a /white/ lady down and ran off with her purse," he replied angrily. The crime rate in Montgomery is much greater than I had anticipated. In the past few years armed robberies, burglaries, rapes, and murders have

escalated. It is a fact, contrary to the disbelief of many of my students from Montgomery who distrust the white-dominated news media, that the crime rate for offenses against property and persons is proportionately several times higher among blacks than it is among whites. Such statistics frighten whites and tend to reinforce their prejudiced opinions about blacks. There also has been a continuous white flight to the suburban areas which has left a dying center city with antebellum homes around the corner from abandoned lots and depressed black neighborhoods. A vicious circle thus ensues. Each day I passed the State Employment Agency I saw long, winding lines of blacks patiently waiting hour after hour to enter the building and to find a job. Very seldom did I see more than a few whites in these lines.

On the evening of January 4, 1975, I first met Clare H. at the lounge in my apartment complex.[3] She was eighty-five years old, but didn't appear to be more than sixty-five. Born into a well-to-do Montgomery banking family of German-Jewish heritage, Clare was raised as a Protestant. She was a past president of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Confederacy, as well as president, in Virginia, of the National Association of Federal Workers. Shortly before I arrived in Montgomery she was accosted in the downtown area by a black man who knocked her down and snatched her purse.

In conversing with her it struck me that Clare talked

as if the plantation life still existed. Blacks were "all-right" as long as they "know their place" and "acted like Negroes." To her mind most "niggers" were ignorant, inherently lazy, and food stamp cheaters. All they wanted was "more money." Their goal was to "take over the state legislature."

"Niggers had their chance in South Carolina after the Civil War and they muffed it," she repeated, with her Southern drawl, and continued to assail the center-city area as being composed mostly of "niggers." When she worked in Virginia, she demanded that "niggers" not sit at desks around her in her office.

Although Clare was a very alert woman, amazingly preserved in body and spirit for her age, this woman lived primarily in the past. She expounded on her early life and travels; about the many beaux who actively courted her and who she could have married but never did. She grew up playmates with Zelda Fitzgerald and disliked the "shocking" literature of her husband, F. Scott. She "practically raised" Cornelia Wallace's mother, Ruby Folsom. It was only after listening to her for quite some time that I thought of the presence of a sad irony in the bulk of information that she was unraveling. For most of her fondest experiences were centered before the end of World War I. Her entire frame of reference was pre-1917.

When she asked what my occupation was, I replied, with

mixed feelings of anticipation, that I was a political science teacher at Alabama State University. Immediately, she was shocked; her mouth slowly opened, and she shrieked: "with the NIGGERS?" With the next breath she vowed that she would contact her brother-in-law to find me a position at Auburn, where a "respectable white professor" like myself should be.

"I never called blacks "niggers" in the old days," she volunteered, "but you know how they call us crackers." For Clare, slavery was not that bad. In fact, it had its good aspects. Like Aristotle, she believed that some people were slaves by nature. According to her, blacks were natural slaves because the males were "muscular" and "empty-headed." In contrast, the Indians were "more intelligent." Today, the world seemed to be caving in for Clare-- too many changes, too fast. "Why, did you know," she confided, "niggers used to make a dollar and a half per week, and now some of them make as much as two dollars an hour? I used to give my old clothes to them, but no more."

In a sense Clare H. represents old Montgomery. Both are products of the past, no longer able to contend with the present. She wishes for the bygone decades, where the relationships between whites and blacks were established and understood, master and slave, superior and inferior, when blacks were obedient and subservient. Each day, while riding to work, I observed huge antebellum mansions in the

same block as run-down houses and overgrown lots, and gas stations with flashing car sales signs nearby. The present confronts the past and both are diminished.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

[1]John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (New York: New American Library, 1961), p. 117. Entry for November 25, 1959.

[2]According to the 1970 U.S. Census statistics, 34.1% of the population of the Montgomery SMSA was black (1975 Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide /New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1975/, p. 55).

The city of Montgomery switched to a mayor-commission form of government during the second decade of this century. In 1975, it went back to the mayor-council form. Black representation is now assured because of a fair district system of election rather than an at-large system. As a result of the September, 1975, election and run-off, four of the nine councilpersons elected were black. The mayor, the only candidate with the city as his entire constituency, was white. This election marked the first time in the history of Montgomery that blacks were represented in its governing body.

[3]Material about Clare H., as well as on much of the chapter, was recorded in my Personal Journal, maintained during the Winter quarter, 1975.

EPILOG

Faculty contracts for the 1975-76 academic year were finally issued several days after the Fall quarter had begun at Alabama State University. The preposterous delay, segmented by intermittent assurances over a four month period that the contracts would be forthcoming, was a source of irritation and anxiety to those faculty who had no other recourse but to wait for the President's signature. Late contracts were not unusual at Alabama State. Tempers were calmed with a cost of living allowance and an equitable adjustment for the rank of assistant professor. Many faculty commented that the increase in salaries was well worth the detainment of the contracts. It was another display of Presidential magic.

In a memorandum to the faculty (October 1, 1975), President Watkins reminded us that our paychecks reflected his best efforts in bargaining downtown. He also announced that the state legislature passed a bill which provided a Board of Trustees for Alabama State. He continued: "We must make the transition from the State Board of Education to the Board of Trustees as smoothly as possible. Again we ask for your support-- that you make certain that our new trustees find your area of the university functioning not just acceptably well but at top quality level." Governor George Wallace signed the bill into law.

Unfortunately, the university was quite disorganized.

The college catalog, already a year overdue, had still not been printed. Over nine hundred freshmen flooded the campus during the Fall quarter; and although the Admissions Office was aware that a substantial increase in freshman class enrollment was expected, the college deans and the department chairmen were not informed until it was too late to plan for the arrival of the new students. In the freshman World Civilization course alone, thirteen additional sections had to be created. Most of the faculty in the Department, including myself, were assigned to teach this course and were given course overloads (more than fifteen hours of teaching per week). Even though several part-time faculty were hired to accommodate the new history sections, one month into the quarter there were still several sections of World Civilization classes that had no teachers and were not meeting at all! Naturally, since the chairmen were not advised about the expected increase in the freshman class, the manager of the book store was also not consulted. When the new shipment of books did arrive, nearly a month after they were reordered, it was discovered that an insufficient number of books had been requested. Most of the students in World Civilization went without texts for several weeks. Many had to wait more than one month into the quarter in order to obtain a textbook. The needs of the students were not met.

Early signs of student discontent have arisen. The officers of the Student Government Association (elected in

May, 1975) polarized over the tactics of the Vice-President for Student Affairs concerning the conducting of student elections. Additional complaints again center on familiar issues: Short and inconvenient book store hours, lack of text books, roaches in the dining hall kitchen and in the dormitories. Students and faculty were also concerned that the bestowal of the prestigeous President's Award has too often been based upon personal friendship with the President and/or the Vice-President for Student Affairs rather than upon merit. Recommendations of the student-faculty Award Committee have been routinely bypassed. Because even SGA officers are denied the right of circulating protest material (all bulletins, news letters, etc., must first be approved by the Vice-President for Student Affairs), some students articulated their discontent through sympathetic tenured faculty who are able to distribute such information to the university community.

Towards the end of the Fall quarter the faculty was summoned to meet in order to approve a new Faculty Constitution. No faculty body had a hand in drafting the document. It was clearly a creation of the President and his top administrative officials. With less than ten minutes to read and evaluate the revised draft, the President requested that a motion to adopt the Constitution be proposed. A delayed silence followed-- broken by a motion to adopt by the chaplain. It was promptly seconded. The faculty rubber stamped the

document without a single protest. Nothing had changed. The President retained his power at the expense of the faculty and the student body. No mention of academic freedom was contained in the new Constitution. At the same meeting the President proudly announced that he had proposed a list of possible candidates for membership on the Board of Trustees to Governor Wallace. These persons, the President boasted, were men and women of great power and influence--many of them corporate executives and millionaires.

Sometimes I reflect upon the June, 1975 graduation ceremony at Alabama State. The Charles Dunn Sports Arena was packed to capacity with proud parents and relatives of the seniors. As the faculty solemnly marched inside, I recognized the faces of many seniors who were in my classes. A few humid, hot hours later it was time for the graduates to parade on stage and, one by one, receive their diplomas. It was a rote, mechanical process. In the row in front of me an elderly black professor, a specialist on Chaucer, suddenly lowered his head and fell asleep. Soon after the deans ceased pumping hands, the President stepped forward and told the audience that it was the faculty who was to be commended for making the students what they are. I asked myself what were they and what will become of them? At times, caught up in a pensive moment embraced by solitude, I still wonder.

APPENDICES

A. Select Poems by Alabama State University Students, Published in the Hornet Tribune, 1970-75.

Help Us Be Free

We walk this land by day and by
night.
In hopes of making the wrong things
right.
I drop my head cause it makes me
sad
To see these people treat us so bad.

O My God, what can we do?
To make them see we love freedom too?
They took that away and had no
right.
And now we march all day and
all night.

We pray Dear God that You'll take
our hand,
And lead us safely across the land.
Help us Dear God for only You can.
We want to be free, make them
understand.

Moses led the Hebrews out of
Egypt one day.
They've killed our leader, now
show us the way.
Who shall we follow, which way
shall we go?
Free us Dear God, we need You so.

One day You'll free us, I almost
know.
Just like you freed those people
long ago.
But how long will we have to march
this way?
Help us! Save us! Dear God we
pray.

And now Dear Father we await to
see
If we'll be this way 'till eternity.
We are weak, O Father, and as tired
as can be.
Please, Almighty God. Help us
be free.

Harold Wilder I

February, 1970, p. 2.

Why Are We Here?

Who are we, Why are we here?
Please tell me this, O Mother Dear
and why were we brought to this
strange land?
Please tell me Father, I don't
understand.

Why did they hate us and separate
us all?
And unmercibly beat us if we
happened to fall?
I work so hard to find my name.
Don't feel bad Mother, you aren't
to blame.

Sometimes they would work us
with nothing to eat.
And worked you Father with
no shoes on your feet.
My Mother many times had tears
in her eyes.
She was crying because they had
sold her child.

Too many nights I've heard you
say:
"Thank you Father, I've made this
day.
And now I ask You one more time;
Have mercy on us all, and protect
my child."

Help us Dear God, for only you
can.
And answer this please, I don't
understand.
For Mother, Father, and everyone
near.
Tell us, Lord God, Why are we
here?

Harold Wilder I

February, 1970, p. 2.

They Called You Nigger

They called you nigger and why,
you couldn't understand.
Saying it so firey, something
less than a man.

They called you nigger and looked
at
you with scorn.
Cursing you for being born.

They called you nigger when you
wanted
your rights.
They laid waste your people when
you
put up a fight.

They called you nigger when you asked
for the best.
But they never gave you best,
instead
less.

They gave you what was left over
and expected you to play Rover.
But you decided not to protest
simply because it was for your best.

When you moved to their neighborhood
to stay
they wrote on your house, Nigger,
Nigger
go away,
because we don't want you here
and we will leave you with that fear
that haunted you from day to
day
in every conceivable way.

They called you nigger for every
single
thing and expected you to dance
and sing
to the music of their sarcasm and
scorn,
under which you were born.

But you showed them otherwise
and cut them down to size
when they tried that Auntie and
Boy bit
that back in the 19th was a hit.

You showed them that you were as
good as
or better than they
and made them listen to what you
had to say.

You told them that if they hadn't
noticed, black
was dominant over white
and that we were soul brothers and
out of sight.

You told them that they were
riding high
now and renown,
but to watch out for they were
coming down
and, there will be more.
They called you Nigger.
Because of the races we would be
bigger.

Bettye Reese

March, 1970, p. 2.

We'll Have to Steal Our Freedom

Booker T, tried to help his people
but time passes, he could not
last.
We still want our freedom.

Martin Luther K, tried to save
the day.
Lord knows he brought us a
very long way.
We still want our freedom.

Malcolm X tried to do the best.
Just as Booker T, he was next.
We still want our freedom.

The Black Panther Party almost
got started.
Huey and Eldridge soon departed.
We still want our freedom.

Women's lib ain't no big deal,
but Angela Davis is a sister
for real.
We still want our freedom.

What you see is what you get.
But we black people ain't seen
nothing yet.
You know, we will have
to steal our freedom!

Michael S. Davis

May, 1971, p. 2.

Do You Know?

Well don't you know, you know
that you been told what you
don't know.
And how you suspect that you
know that you know you know.

In the beginning, we were there
my friend.

All those black people were
dying now and then.

Harriet Tubman underground a
few.

There were so many whitey's she
didn't know what to do.

Aunt Jemima had to work night
and day.

Uncle Tom was beat so badly
he couldn't even pray.

Whitey got some of the
best of our women and took
them to his bed.

What the hell he wanted to do
that for, cause he made a black
nigger red.

Sylvester Marable

May, 1971, p. 2.

Sonnet XXVI

Hello, who are you?
"Hmmmmmm... I'm confused.
Let me see..."
No, I'll show you what to do
and the character you ought to be.
Be my housekeeper and my maid,
my gardener, child keeper, and butler.
Be my inferior and my slave
and see me not as your brother.
Know nothing of doctors, lawyers,
and schools.
Just be strong backed to dig a ditch.
Always stay and be a fool.
Take costly heed to this bit.
Answer me Nigger, or pay the cost.
"Yessah! Yessah! Yessah, boss."

Walter Turner

November, 1973, p. 2.

Sonnet XXVII

Born without hope and existing
   through fate
I traveled the seas from
   one continent to the other
to be chained, bound
   and compelled to make
the soil reap prosperous fruits
   for my blue-eyed brother
who took away the visible
   chains and said I was half a man
and lynched my reckless eyeballs
   from the nearest tree.

Now I'm the first and
   foremost to die for this land
that blooms with my ancestors' blood
   and has yet to set me free.
So hereafter let the branches
   of all my needs
be fulfilled with the fruits
   of hallelujah consolation
for the vanished prelude
   of my breed
whose lives were stock
   in your corporation.
Birth, love, hate, and
   a New Years' resolution.
Death, anxiety, consideration,
   and a laxed solution.

Walter Turner

November, 1973, p. 3.

Effete Mind

Worn out morals and decayed
dreams.
A computer age world run by
electronic machines.
Plastic faces and iron hands,
a world occupied by immorality
and no one understands.
Vietnam was forcing us into a
state of genocide.
Police busting my brother's
head and he ain't got nowhere
to hide.
Shoot up, sniff up so high until
my head touches the sky.
Crackers reclining in easy chairs
reminiscing how niggers can lie.
Sammy Davis switching from
the Afro.
Diana Ross switching from the
niggers.
Niggers switching to the
crackers.
And God switching from us all.

John Shaver

November, 1974, p. 6.

Society

My mind
seriously wanders
while the mask I wear
fatuously plunders
and the rest of the world
continues
to laugh, not knowing the
misery within.

Sometimes I feel like
screaming, but the world
doesn't care.
So I hold back the tears
because they are mine
and mine alone to share.

After all, who cares if I
should live or die?
So I keep dancing to the
music I've learned to know
so well.
And to the rest of the world
I will continue to lie.

John Shaver

November, 1974, p. 6.

Black Bones

Black bones are strong bones
old bones
brave bones
carried the flesh of ancient
times
when black men bore no
names.
Propelling life in the white
man's land.
Standing tall in the face of
shame.
Oh bless you nigger bones.
Don't ever give up.

Angela Alexander

February, 1975, p. 4.

B. Protest Material Directed Against Presidential Policies, 1972-73.

Academic Declaration and Indictments

During the course of academic development, morality, and professional ethics, it becomes necessary for a people to dissolve the educational chains which have connected them to you for ten years, and to assume among the powers of a depressed faculty, alumni, students, and community, a right to request your resignation; that if you insist on remaining beyond June 1, 1973, the people shall have to do whatever is necessary to remove you from the office of President.

We respect the opinions of mankind and this respect requires us to set forth in writing causes which impel us to sever all official connections with you, your corruption, your dehumanizing educational tactics, and your general administrative incompetence. We believe "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created" with a desire to learn and be properly educated, "that they are endowed by their creator with certain" God-given rights, "that among these are life," academic freedom, a quality education, and an educational environment free of fear, hate, jealousy, and a dictatorial administrator.

That to secure these basic rights, universities are instituted among men, "deriving their just powers" from boards; that whenever any university administrator becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the faculty, students, alumni, and friends to remove him from office and seek another president to effect their development and to provide proper leadership.

President Levi Watkins-- these are charges against you:

1. Your entire history at Alabama State University has been one of cheating, telling lies, and capricious firing of quality faculty members.

2. You have organized a spy ring at Alabama State University comparable to the worst forms of totalitarian dictatorships.

3. When you were not able to buy student loyalty, you concocted false charges against them and expelled them from school.

4. You will not allow freedom of the press and an all out effort is made to suppress the mildest form of dissent. All news is censored and it constantly glorifies self.

5. Faculty and staff members are forced to engage in the most trivial kind of activity in order to "keep them busy" while you engage in destructive folly.

6. You deny faculty and staff members the right to attend any professional meetings when they disagree with you; also, you deny them the right to earned promotions, you deny them a salary increase, you deny them summer employment, you deny them sufficient student assistants to assist them in their work.

7. Your entire administrative behavior as a leader is very close to that of Adolf Hitler.

8. No concrete evidence of quality education has taken place during your entire ten years of leadership. We have a university in name only; the only thing we have is a host of new, cheap and poorly developed buildings; and buildings are the last ingredients for providing quality education and a true and free academic environment. Don't forget that Plato had one of the best schools under the shade of a tree.

9. You deny students, faculty, and staff the right to be exposed to any black leader not fitting your idea of plantation master; /you/ tell the students that Dick Gregory is too controversial for them to hear... a serious crime of oppression, denying freedom and the right of black students to get a well-rounded education.

10. Your lack of academic exposure and proper knowledge about higher education has permanently crippled far too many students at Alabama State University, and this has denied them access to a quality education that will affect them in such a way as to be never undone.

11. Every attempt by faculty members to secure grants for the improvement of education at Alabama State University /has been thwarted/ if it does not agree with your ideas of achievement, or if you didn't personally like that particular faculty member, or institution selected to attend-- such as Auburn University.

12. Alumni members are not given the opportunity to present any input into the governance of the university; the Montgomery chapter only responds to your whim, since all key officers are employed by you. Faculty and students are denied any meaningful inputs in governance. The Faculty Council

does not meet and the Faculty Senate has met only twice this year. They are all paper organizations.

13. Faculty, deans, and students are denied the right to have any say so about hiring new faculty and staff members; heads of divisions and departments are not properly consulted about the needs of their areas; you hire and fire in far too many instances on the basis of vindictiveness and extremely poor planning.

14. Your vindictiveness and dictatorial patterns of administration have driven away an academic dean almost each year of your ten year dictatorship; in fact, the university has had eight in the last ten years; hence, the university is constantly kept in turmoil, fear, and denial of basic expression.

15. Faculty-staff firings and resignations are far above the national average for small colleges and universities.

16. Alabama State University has a moral and ethical obligation to become a part of the community and to serve the needs of the community; you have overtly and deliberately allowed Alabama State University to remain separated from the community and its needs.

17. You have personally taken Alabama State University from the state, faculty, students, alumni, and community to be used at your personal whim. Alabama State University does not belong to you; hence, you must return it to its proper owners.

18. Your vehement refusal to lead the struggle for better opportunities for students, faculty, and staff demonstrates your low sensitivity to their needs and desires, and your strong desire to play politics with their lives and academic future.

19. The United States has spent over one hundred billion dollars and lost over forty-five thousand American lives to preserve and develop a democracy eight thousand miles from her shores; to allow a dictatorial regime to exist within its borders to suppress its citizens is to be guilty of establishing a new form of government, making the perpetrator guilty of treason in the highest degree.

20. The dictatorial and oppressive environment you have created has destroyed academic motivation and faculty, student, and alumni morale.

21. Your leadership is plantation lord oriented. Blacks

have had to suffer from this kind of mentality from whites for too long; and now you have to regenerate the system-- a double tragedy... it destroys the students chance of ever becoming free of unnecessary oppression; it poisons their minds with trash that is strong enough to corrupt them beyond correction.

22. Since eighty-five percent of the students at Alabama State University come from low income homes, they have poor academic preparation as a result of generational deprivation. Little or no effort has been made to improve instruction, counseling, etc., which is so vital and necessary for overcoming academic deficiencies in order to survive in this complex and competitive society.

23. The registration of students is a hectic chore when smooth procedures are used. The registration of students at Alabama State University are too cumbersome and slow to be allowed to remain a part of academic procedures in this highly computerized society. You have stood idly by while conditions continue to deteriorate.

24. The black heritage is a proud heritage and is full of accomplishments. A race of people without a knowledge of its past is a hopeless group of people and will forever be lost because they will never know what to do or what not to do. Knowledge of one's past becomes the vehicle for conquering the future; Alabama State University is a black school and you make every effort to snuff out and deny students a chance to be exposed to their heritage. If black courses cannot be gotten at a black school, then where? The studying, researching, and interpreting of the black experience must become a part of the black colleges' role to the black community.

25. You have allowed the Campus Security Department to become an instrument for creating the politics of fear in the students. The students view that Department the same way as they view you. The politics of fear must be removed from Alabama State University. Once any agency becomes fearful to the people, it is no longer an effective agency-- it is a destructive agency.

26. Alabama State University is lagging far behind in adequate and modern teaching aids, research facilities, physical plant upkeep needs, etc. /Although/... much of Alabama State University's equipment is out-of-date, you continue to request inadequate operating funds for the development of the university. You request what the legislators want to hear, not what Alabama State University needs; you then walk away with the "Tom" of the year award and the university

sinks deeper into abyss.

27. Your record in the area of improving the image of the university is atrocious to say the least. The only group proud of your inefficiency is local whites; and they have every reason to be. You have totally wrecked the credibility of Alabama State University.

28. Alabama State University has a Graduate School. You have allowed that office /Dean/ to remain vacant for the entire academic year; you played politics with this office while the students suffered for academic guidance and proper supervision; and the Graduate School is about to die of a malignant academic cancer.

29. For the 1972-73 academic year, Dr. Charles Wade /Vice-President for Academic Affairs/ and members of the faculty worked long and hard revising the curriculum and adding new programs that would keep the school afloat and raise it to a new level of academic excellence; you have spent all of your time destroying their efforts for no apparent reason than to exemplify that you are a true dictator and the fact that university administration is not part of your mental faculties.

30. The structure of your administrative machinery cannot be located on any map of higher education. Each year, far too many titles are changed and the person continues to perform the same task. No one ever knows where to go to get anything done-- the title switching fools the best magician. Your decrepit administrative structure wastes the little money the school does get on pure foolishness. A goodly sum of money was recently spent on a traffic survey to correct traffic problems. There wasn't anything to survey. The school had only two choices: (1) build additional parking lots, and (2) restrict the number of cars coming on campus. Spending money to discover the obvious is a sign of inefficiency and poor management. Several thousands of dollars were spent on a ten year report-- a large sum is also spent on your propaganda sheet-- Items; yet the students can barely get funds to publish three papers per school year. Spending money to discover the obvious is about as ridiculous as paying a doctor to tell you where your head is located. There are far too many other examples of your economic folly to mention here.

31. Alabama State University is long overdue on having its own governance board. You deliberately sabotaged the last attempt to get a separate board for Alabama State University; this is another topic within itself. Your only interest in having the State Board /of Education/ continue

controlling this school is because that Board has no interest in the internal affairs and development of this university. It allows you to do anything you want as long as you maintain a colonial plantation environment and keep the students, faculty and staff suppressed. You have been privileged to remain here not because of competence but because of rusty politics and incompetence.

These are the charges against you. Without any doubt, you are guilty of academic treason which is punishable by firing or resignation. Failure of the faculty, students, staff, and the alumni to demand your immediate departure from this school is punishable by denying them the right to ever complain about the sub-standard conditions here, and they henceforth must remain slaves until death releases them of their misery.

Should you not find it proper and decent to resign, the Alabama legislature will be petitioned not to appropriate any additional monies of taxpayers to operate this concentration camp, and that it be closed as a university.....

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms." Our repeated requests "have been answered only be repeated injury." A leader, "whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people," and a free university. In sum, we are appealing to the "Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions," and do declare that Alabama State University must have new leadership.

Mimeographed declaration to President Levi Watkins, May 6, 1973, from Robert J. Ward (Assistant Professor of Political Science), Chairman of the Committee to Remove Levi Watkins as President of Alabama State University.

President Watkins' Administrative Ruse

Since 1789, Americans have been privileged to change their elected officials each two, four, or six year /sic/ intervals. This is good not only for perpetuation of democratic creeds, it is also good for the survival of America as a nation. Within the broad confines of our democratic processes, black college presidents, in far too many instances, have managed to escape passing the democratic fit-

ness test, not to mention /those for/ leadership and academic abilities.

The ten year reign of Levi Watkins as President of Alabama State University will always serve as a model of what unchecked power does. The machinery that was established to maintain a check on the internal conditions of the university, remained unconcerned far too long. The paramount supposition that controls whether or not to award power is the notion that the recipient has sense enough to properly exercise it. When the recipient makes a mockery of justice, he forfeits the right to a continuation of such folly. Sadly, however, this has not been the case with Mr. Watkins. The State Board /of Education/ has allowed him to engage in far too many repeat performances of terror and incompetency. Fortunately, and at last, the Board decided to respond to the cries of the oppressed.

We requested an immediate response from the State Board of Education. The level of administrative performance at "State" is far too low to be classified as university quality. Mr. Watkins has clearly demonstrated that university administration is not one of his talents by training, birth, or common sense; hence, a direct appeal to the Board was the only route open to us for saving the good grace and honor of "Mother Dear" /i.e., Alabama State/. Just as it is impossible to carve rotten wood, or enter a jackass in a horse race and expect it to win, quality leadership and administration is no exception.

Despite a public release of indictments against Mr. Watkins, he has made little or no effort to improve or correct any of the conditions outlined in the Declaration released on May 6, 1973. He has, however, spent much time in the following: (1) courting a few local white and black businessmen, a few local black preachers, a few so-called black political leaders, a few local and state-wide politicians, and (2) sending letters to the State Board requesting that I be fired immediately. All are being asked to use their influence to keep him as president of Alabama State University. We stated in the Declaration that Mr. Watkins plays rusty politics. The following description demonstrates what we mean.

The so-called local black political leaders, preachers, and businessmen are being told by Mr. Watkins that I am mentally disturbed and will be requested by the university to take a leave of absence for one year to get treatment. You see, blacks are not noted for following mentally disturbed leaders. The ruse is supposed to alienate blacks from me and destroy me /through/ ignominy.

Since blacks will not follow a demented person and local whites have no particular love for "radicals" and "extremists," Mr. Watkins tells the whites that I am a radical and an extremist. He sent letters to the State Board requesting that I be fired because I am a radical and an extremist-- that I am part of a conspiracy, etc. If the State Board fires me on the accusation that I am a radical, I will not be able to get another teaching job in the state. Then I will have to leave, which is what Mr. Watkins /desires/. Then Mr. "Big Stuff" will be able to resume full speed at doing precisely nothing-- without flay from anyone.

Sending letters to the State Board requesting that I be fired is indeed an example of rancor. To be sure, this is strange behavior in light of the fact that he has personally fired any faculty member that did not fit his conception of docility. Should the State Board fire me, he will then be able to say: "I had nothing to do with it-- the Board did it." If this can be interpreted to mean that firings are being shifted to the State Board, then we welcome such action because Levi has shown time and time again that he does not know how to handle this delicate responsibility. Maybe he will shift the hiring to the State Board.

The so-called black political leaders and some preachers have demonstrated to the citizens of Montgomery far too many times the level of their corruption and incompetency. Any degree of faith in either one of these phony elements is wishful thinking, to say the least. When the black citizens of Montgomery finally wake up and see the lying, cheating, stealing, payoffs, etc., that these so-called black political prostitutes engage in, the battle will then shift from the university to the community. These are strange bedfellows. You know that water flows to its lowest level. At any rate, this particular category of black preachers is the subject of another treatise.

It has been and is true by tradition that white citizens of Montgomery, by and large, have never had any love, interest, or appreciation for Alabama State University. As far as many of them are concerned, Alabama State University is a big joke. In fact their only interest has been to try and forget that it ever existed. An all out effort has been made to integrate the student body and it has been and is a miserable failure. On the other hand, however, we have not had a problem getting white faculty members-- more than 35%; yet we have less than one percent white student body. Guess why?

A few good white students come and they soon discover that academics are not the main concern or business of Ala-

bama State University, and they withdraw. The ones with low academic ability, in many cases, join the rest of the blind.

To a great extent white businessmen have an interest that they will not and does not extend beyond the economic arena. They say to me: "Well, Mr. Ward, Dr. Watkins has done a good job. Ya'll got some pretty buildings and he has kept things quiet." I might add that he has also kept the students docile and ignorant, and allowed academics to remain lower than the floor. By and large, whites are only evaluating the exterior. This is the side that has little or nothing to do with quality education. This reminds me of a joke: An old lady went to the horse track to observe the horse race. The first horse she saw, she claimed and said, "My horse is winning the race." She said this because the horse she claimed was the only one out front. What the old lady didn't know was that her horse had been passed several times and the pack was about to pass her again.

All parties involved in the movement to keep Mr. Watkins in office should cease such travesty immediately. Ten more years of Levi's inimical leadership will only assure a continuation of inferior leadership and education, suppression and licentious activities. None of the aforementioned groups send their children to Alabama State University. Not a single one of them work at Alabama State. Not a single one of them have bothered to check the academic record and performance of Mr. Watkins. The Alabama Association of the AAUP has stated that the present administration of Alabama State University is hopeless. We cannot understand how that many scholars could be wrong. All key academic personnel at Alabama State now, and those who have left, agree that the administrative bureau of this university is a disgrace. It is indeed interesting that the ones who are having to suffer want relief. The ones who do not have to work here /or/ send their children here, etc., all clamor for him to stay. What a tragedy. Let the investigating committee perform its assigned task without bias and let the State Board make a decision based on their report at the earliest possible date.

On Friday, June 1, 1973, the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences /now Sciences and Humanities/, informed me that I did not have a transcript on file and I would not be issued a summer contract. The transcript was sent to this university last Spring. I taught the Fall, Winter, and Spring quarters. Now, no transcript. We pointed out in the Declaration the poor administrative machinery of this university. We find it strange that only a transcript managed to leave my folder. A classic example of poor record keeping and administrative carelessness. Moreover, it is a good

example of administrative harassment. A continuation of this folly simply means that I will never release the names of other people who are assisting in our efforts to get new leadership.

Let the record show that our disagreement with President Watkins is not a personality issue; it is one of principle. We are deeply concerned about quality education and sound leadership. These are the areas President Watkins earned his "F" in. The students evaluate the faculty; the faculty evaluate the students. President Watkins is the only element that escapes evaluation. He has escaped it because the machinery that was created to evaluate academic performance at Alabama State has not been interested /in doing so/-- chiefly because this is a predominantly black school.

We find it strange and perturbing that the only office that has maintained the same administrative head for ten straight years has been the office of President Watkins. This alone clearly demonstrates that the internal affairs at Alabama State are out of order. Equally true and disturbing, hardly a day passes that a faculty member, administrative or staff person isn't complaining about something that President Watkins has personally done to them that completely ruined a good day.

Several faculty members have been denied promotion in rank and merit salary increases because President Watkins did not like their personalities. Several applied this academic year and were denied. As a result of our efforts they are now "fit" for promotion. I am glad that this has benefited them. Certainly if they had been unfit for twenty years, we fail to see what suddenly made them quality. President Watkins responded as a result of our Indictments. Just as he personally granted the promotions and salary increases in an over-night decision, it could have been done long ago. This clearly demonstrates that he has robbed them of honor and dignity since he became President. A suit should be filed to force a payment for denied salary increases that are commensurate with rank....

Since my interests are in the area of quality education, sound leadership, and the doctrine of fairness, the President has accused me of being mentally disturbed. If a desire for quality education is the key trait for determining insanity, I am mighty glad to be branded crazy. If I recall correctly, that was the same category that the tyrants placed Jesus /in/. No one else has ever had the courage to call a spade a spade. For this I am branded as insane. When a Russian citizen decides to challenge the

totalitarian system of oppression, the State declares him insane. How sweet it is. Walk tall Mr. President, walk tall. May the good Lord save his people.

The Current Informer, June 11, 1973, pp. 1-4. Robert J. Ward (Assistant Professor of Political Science) edited this newsletter sponsored by the Committee to Remove Levi Watkins as President of Alabama State University-- of which Ward was Chairman.

C. Courses in Political Science offered at Alabama State University.

Course Number	Title	Quarter Hours
207	American Government	5
218	State and Local Government	5
220	American Political Parties	5
308	Comparative Government	5
311	American Foreign Policy	5
314	International Relations	5
401	Comparative Study of Communism and American Democracy	5
402/403	Political Theory	10
404	American Legal System	5
405	Introduction to Public Administration	5
407	American Constitutional Law	5
410	Problems of Urban Government	5
420	International Law	5
430	Seminar in Political Science	3

D. Vita of Gary V. Smith, Doctor of Arts Candidate in the Department of Government.

Birthdate: January 11, 1943
Birthplace: Torrington, Connecticut
Parents: Aylmer V. Smith and Eileen V. Sarkis
Spouse: Elizabeth F. Kucera (maiden name)
Daughter: Gretchen E. Smith

Elementary and Secondary Education

St. Francis Parochial School (Torrington, Connecticut)
Torrington High School

Academic Degrees

B.S., Villanova University, Political Science, 1964.
A.M., New York University, Politics, 1968.
B.A., Ricker College, Psychology, 1971.
M.A., Wesleyan University, Social Studies, 1974.

Academic Distinctions

Scholarship, Wesleyan University (Graduate Summer Program for Teachers), 1971-73.
Teaching Assistantship and Scholarship, Lehigh University, 1972-73.
Carnegie Foundation Fellowship and Scholarship, Lehigh University, 1973-74.

Publications

Gary V. Smith (ed.), Zionism: The Dream and the Reality (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1974). Also published in 1974 by David & Charles Ltd., in England, and Wren & Co., in Australia.

Professional Experience

1975- Assistant Professor, Alabama State University.

1974-75. Part-time faculty, Moravian College.

1973-74. Part-time faculty, Pennsylvania State University (Fogelsville campus).

Administrative Assistant for the Doctor of Arts program in Government, Lehigh University.

1972-73. Teaching Assistant, Lehigh University.

1968-72. Instructor (Assistant Professor in 1972), Ricker College. Co-ordinator of the Department of Political Science, 1970-72.

Professional Associations

American Association of University Professors
American Political Science Association
Caucus for a New Political Science
Conference for the Study of Political Thought

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