From Civil Rights To Black Power:  
The Hidden History Of Black Community College Activism In Chicago

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Abstract: During the rise of the Black Power movement, the Afro-American History Club fought for control of Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College, by challenging the viability of the college's mostly Eurocentric curriculum for Black students. In doing so, they found themselves in public battles with Chicago's mayor, Richard J. Daley. As America's most powerful mayor, Daley controlled the City Colleges of Chicago campuses with a system of political nepotism that fixed Black students at the lowest rung of the educational strata. This chapter critically examines the fight between the Afro-American History Club and "Pharoah" Daley in 1967-1968. Also, it investigates the impact of Daley politics on student activism and protest at Woodrow Wilson Junior College during the growth and development of the Black Power movement.

Keywords: Black Power movement, education reform, ethnic interest politics, student activism

Introduction

In 1968, the Afro-American History Club (AAHC) sought to make "overt and explicit efforts to change the system" at Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College (WWJC) by restructuring the curriculum in specific academic programs. Mounting dissatisfaction with the European-dominated curriculum taught to a mostly Black student body caused the AAHC, which had internalized the fundamental principles of Black Power (i.e., rise in Black consciousness, control of all institutions in the Black community, and armed self-defense as an answer to police brutality) to demand radical changes in the daily operations of the institution. The AAHC played a significant role in forcing the college's administration to create a formal Black studies program, hire the college's first Black president, and a permanent change the institution's name. With this impressive list of accomplishments, the AAHC's efforts align with and constitute an education reform movement that I have coined Chicago's Black Community College Campus Movement (BCCCCM).

The Pedagogy of Protest: A War for the Soul of Chicago's Woodrow Wilson Junior College

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

Yessne quoting Mayor Daley

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1 Yessne 1969.
An understanding of the nature and methods of Chicago politics is key to a critical examination of the intersection between black student activism and the authority of Mayor Richard J. Daley in 1968. The City Colleges of Chicago (CCC) and Woodrow Wilson Junior College (WWJC) functioned as a municipal service provider and as part of a network of interconnected agencies (including the housing authority, public schools, and transit authorities). Unlike elite liberal arts institutions, public, state-controlled higher education institutions; and rural community colleges, control of WWJC fell directly under the auspices of Mayor Daley, who was the leading broker of power and resource distribution in the CCC system. The CCC’s administration governs the daily operations of seven colleges under the legal designation “Property of the City of Chicago.” Thus, the CCC persists as an example of the interplay between the political control of Chicago municipalities and the broader civic society, and in 1968 represented the systematic power of calculated patronage under the control of Daley.

The administrative infrastructure that manages the CCC mirrors that of other Chicago service provider agencies and includes a chain of command and hierarchal order. No elections were held for elite leadership jobs in Chicago in the 1960s because Daley held the absolute power to appoint each agency’s top post and their auxillaries. Nepotism was a spirited tradition in Chicago politics, where Daley selected loyal subordinates to hold key positions, reinforcing a political patronage system that served his interest. Daley seized control of the Black community by selecting key Black politicians who capitulated to and carried out his wishes. This method of operation was ingrained in each service provider agency as he strategically positioned individuals at the highest levels of his administration as stewards of the ruling regime. Hence, securing employment and career advancement tied directly to one’s relationship to Daley.

The mayor selected, then appointed, the chancellor, who served as chief officer of the CCC and whose employment was contingent upon contracts offered by — and negotiated through — Daley. The chancellor, along with a seven-member board of trustees, each appointed by Daley, controlled the functioning of the city college system. College presidents, vice presidents, vice chancellors, deans, and professors represented positions of clout tied to political nepotism. No minimum level of formal education or years of service to the field of education was required to hold the position of chancellor. Daley politics sustained a status quo that confined a critical mass of Blacks to a second-class existence because they possessed very limited control over the decision-making process in the major institutions in the Black community.

**The Origins of Chicago’s Black Power Movement**

While the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 appeared

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2 Time Magazine 1981.
3 Shils 1961.
4 Since his election in 1955, Mayor Richard J. Daley used his mastery of ethnic politics, specifically Irish Catholic Democratic domination, to rule Chicago with fear, nepotism, and a civic savvy that earned him the nicknames “Boss” and “Pharaoh.”
5 Royko 1976.
6 Baron et al. 1968.
to provide pathways to equal citizenship for Blacks, the passing of these laws did not possess the proclivity to significantly change the daily lives of a critical mass of Blacks. The lack of quality education, adequate housing, and rampant police brutality solidified second-class status for Blacks. An ideological shift from the desire to integrate into existing white institutions as equals to demanding control of institutions in the Black community, represented a new mindset primarily among youths and students. The fundamental principles of Black Power — (1) reevaluation of Blackness; (2) development of independent institutions; (3) control over all institutions in the Black community; and (4) use of armed self-defense as a response to police brutality — sought to raise consciousness that transcended age, class, gender, and religion. While the pillars of Black Power electrified multiple populations in the Black community, the social reality of 1968 in Chicago epitomized what the 1968 Kerner Commission Report coined “a nation moving toward two societies — one black, one white, separate but unequal.”

Decades of discriminatory housing practices forced most Blacks to live in Chicago’s impoverished areas — segregated on the South and West Sides. These community areas operated in very distinctive fashions. Dr. Timuel Black explained that West Side youths were more aggressive in their daily interactions with racist white store owners and police officers compared to Blacks on the South side. While the attitude of protest dominated South Side youths, both areas saw excessive incidents of police brutality. During and after the nonviolent Civil Rights movement, a significant number of West Siders shared a dedication to using physical confrontations as a method to oppose police brutality. Due to a rebellious mindset and the adoption of aggressive tactics to combat white racism, the West Side became the point of origin of Chicago’s Black Power movement (BPM).

One event that depicted the relationship between Black youths on the West Side and the Chicago Police took place July 12, 1966, dubbed, the “West Side Riot” or the “Fire Hydrant Riot.” On this date, several white Chicago police officers clubbed five Black teenagers for opening a fire hydrant during a heat wave. The fire hydrant incident exposed abusive relations between the poor and working-class Blacks and the city’s service providing agencies, especially, the police department and the Park District. The reality of the lack of access to public swimming pools reveals the veritable inequalities between Black and white communities’ access to public recreation facilities paid for by tax dollars. In a natural response to persistent police brutality and nonexistent public recreational facilities, Black youths demonstrated their discontent by retaliating to police brutality with physical force. At its height, this uprising required Mayor Daley to call for 1,500 National Guards to quell the conflict. “In all, 533 citizens were arrested, two Black men were killed, and fifty-seven were injured.” The West Side Riot became a seminal event for Black youths and students that quickened the transition of the social movement of the 1960s from civil rights to Black Power.

The cumulative effects of poor education, employment, housing conditions and hatred of the Viet Nam War in Chicago’s Black communities had peaked by 1968. Rising expectations

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7 United States National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968.
8 Black 2017.
9 Ibid.
10 Kling 1966.
11 Agyepong 2013.
among the Black working and middle classes stemmed from the rhetorical promise of the American dream that social improvement in their lot would come with access to fundamental resources like education, housing, jobs, and political power. The continued marginalization from these resources, and thus from social improvement, fueled a collective discontent that fused these disparate classes into what sociologist Oliver Cromwell Cox calls a “political class.” \(^\text{12}\) A communal apprehension manifested amongst Blacks in Chicago in the form of social turmoil and unrest in high schools and community colleges. By 1968, an atmosphere of anger, apprehension, despair, and militancy propelled Black student activists into action. \(^\text{13}\)

**Chicago’s Pharaoh, Richard J. Daley**

Considered by many political experts as America’s most powerful mayor, Mayor Daley controlled a political juggernaut, referred to as the Democratic Machine, that prospered due to devotion to his absolute power. William Grimshaw commented that “As mayor, party chairman, and keeper of the budget, which he [Daley] took away from the aldermanic ‘gray wolves’ as a ‘reform measure,’ Daley also ha[d] an unprecedented base of power from which to build, and within a short time the [Democratic] machine finally began to resemble the classic model found in urban government textbooks.” \(^\text{14}\)

Daley keenly grasped the victories and fault lines of his predecessors and profited greatly from his proficiency in ethnic interest negotiation. He employed and advanced the fundamental aspects of ethnic politics from former Chicago icon, Mayor Anton Cermack. Pulitzer Prize award-winning columnist Mike Royko revealed an intimate relationship between local Democratic politicians, powerful unions, lucrative no-bid contracts, and the access of these entities to the central zone of Chicago politics—the authority of Daley’s office. Royko explained that “Many of the Daley aldermen are ward bosses. Several are county commissioners. Others hold office as county clerks, assessor, or recorder of deeds and a few are congressmen and state legislators. Those who do not hold office are given top jobs running city departments whether they know anything about the job or not.” \(^\text{15}\)

The hierarchical imperative embedded in Daley’s philosophy of ethnic politics meant that Chicago’s Black community subsisted at the bottom of the city’s economic, education, housing, and political sectors. For example, in 1968, as the Black Power revolution exploded, there was minimal Black representation in Chicago’s power structure or its policy-making apparatus. Political adviser Hal Baron explained the extent of Black powerlessness by posing two poignant questions: (1) “What is the extent of Negro exclusion from policy making decisions?” and (2) “Do Negroes in policy-making positions represent the interest of the Negro community?” Baron went on to say that “Negroes are virtually barred from policy-making positions . . . Of the top 10,997 policy-making positions in Chicago and Cook County, Negroes occupied only 285—or 2.6 percent.” \(^\text{16}\)

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12 Cox 1987.
13 Oberschall 1969.
16 Baron et al. 1968.
Baron’s second question points directly to Daley’s exploitative tactics that utilized carefully selected Black underlings as gatekeepers to suppress Black progress and maintain dominance. Daley used his authority to sustain political power in the Black community by selecting loyal Democratic Party members as officials that best served his needs.\textsuperscript{17} Under the directives of Mayor Daley, United States Congressman William L. Dawson recruited “highly skilled, experienced political practitioners,” labeled “civic-notable elites,” from the Black electorate to “assure compliance with organization goals.”\textsuperscript{18} As Daley’s prized Black politician, Dawson, rose to national prominence in the 1940s as one of two Blacks elected to Congress, and he eventually became one of Daley’s most valued officials.\textsuperscript{19}

Dawson, as the leader of the Black “submachine,” became a complex actor in Daley’s arsenal because he possessed the cunning ability to appear a concerned advocate for his constituents while he thwarted meaningful Black progress. As an example of his duplicity, he identified and fined slum landlords in the Black community.\textsuperscript{20} Yet as Daley’s most valued minion he controlled the “Silent Six,” a collection of Black aldermen, noted puppets for Daley, who consistently voted against fair housing acts”.\textsuperscript{21} In his most important role, Dawson became Daley’s trusted warden of the Black community, consistently delivering the Black, or “plantation,” vote.\textsuperscript{22}

Mike Royko points to the corrupt tactics used by Daley to control the Black vote: “In poor parts of the city, he has the added role of a threat. Don’t vote, and you might lose your public housing apartment.\textsuperscript{23} Don’t vote, and you might be cut off welfare. Don’t vote and you might have building inspectors poking around your house.” Dawson’s actions and political clout over the Black community made him a formidable opponent for citizens and politicians who chose to challenge or oppose Daley. Due to his loyalty to Daley and his political shrewdness, Dawson existed as a nefarious political figure that a critical mass of Blacks did not trust because of his willingness to double-cross them.

Interestingly, regardless of their fixed, inferior social status, lack of decent, affordable housing, and the emergence of the BPM, a significant number of Blacks seemed to routinely vote Daley and his political cronies into powerful positions.\textsuperscript{24} While these self-sabotaging voting patterns persisted, William Grimshaw believed this voting phenomenon was not as it appeared.\textsuperscript{25} A critical portion of Black middle and working classes did not vote for Daley. In fact, as Daley’s administration matured, his command of the Black vote declined considerably. A Black political

\textsuperscript{17} Daley’s Silent Six included William Campbell, Robert Miller, William Harvey, Benjamin Lewis, Claude Holman, and U.S. Olympic Medalist Ralph Metcalf. Each member of the Silent Six held sway votes that solidified Daley’s control of Chicago’s City Council. Because of their desire to remain in favor with Daley, they voted for ordinances that kept a critical mass of Blacks in the permanent underclass.

\textsuperscript{18} Grimshaw 1992.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21} Bernstein 2008.

\textsuperscript{22} Royko 1976.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{24} Kleppner 1995.

\textsuperscript{25} Grimshaw 1992.
resistance movement known as “Protest at the Polls” developed in 1967 to oppose Daley.26

Several public anti-Daley demonstrations took place in Black communities. Lead by Black students, administrators, and faculty, these events centered on utilizing the Black vote to remove political capital from Daley. Political pundits considered these demonstrations the initial wave of Chicago’s Black independent politics.27

In contrast to his control of city government, Daley publicly adhered to and promoted a nonpartisan philosophy concerning public education, and he contended that education was above politics.28 The position of the CCC in the landscape of Chicago politics meant that its direction came under mayoral control, with collateral linkages to private business interests and the influence of local labor unions. Daley’s non-partisan rhetoric about education did not match his actions; on the contrary, he used his political influence to exert his hegemony over the CCC’s system by controlling hiring practices.

High School Student Protest:

The Impetus for the Black Community College Campus Movement

The origin and rise of the Black Community College Campus Movement (BCCCM) lies in the economic, political, and social conditions and determinants of 1968. Considering the importance of Chicago’s BCCCM relative to the BPM, it is imperative to investigate the significant role that Black high school students played in fashioning educational reform in higher education by challenging Mayor Daley’s control of Chicago Public Schools (the local public school district). The main point of contention that galvanized Black students and parents was the significant overcrowding in Black schools compared to white schools. Seeking to expose and contest the enrollment discrepancies, high school students from Hyde Park High School in the South Side’s Woodlawn community, organized building takeovers, marches, and walkouts.29 In conjunction with Chicago’s Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO), students organized a highly successful protest coined “Freedom Day” on October 22, 1963, when approximately 225,000 students stayed home from school and marched on City Hall, disrupting the business and political districts. This event made the Woodlawn area a central region where students organized with Black professionals to demand control of education institutions in Black communities.30

The Woodlawn Organization, led by Saul Alinsky and influenced by Barbara Sizemore’s educational philosophy, which explained that white supremacy negatively impacted the Black

26 Multiple factors led to the decline of the Black vote for Richard J. Daley, including but not limited to the burgeoning Black population as a direct result of the second wave of the Great Migration. With the rise of the Black population came ghettos and slum lords. In addition, dissatisfaction with poor education, employment opportunities, and housing hardened tenuous race relations. Also, the relocation of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from Atlanta to Chicago in 1966 fueled a reassessment of the viability of non-violent direct action, which led to the rise of the Black Power movement.


29 Danns 2001.

30 Todd-Breland 2015.
psych, demanded control of the attendance policies and curriculum at Hyde Park High School.\textsuperscript{31} For a brief time under Alinsky and Sizemore, Hyde Park’s curriculum highlighted culturally relevant pedagogy via “Black consciousness” to battle the longstanding damages of Eurocentric curricula on Black students.\textsuperscript{32} As a result of the successful efforts at Hyde Park, a rebellious tone flowed into the CCC when a contingency of graduates from Hyde Park became WWJC students.\textsuperscript{33}

**Junior College Education:**

*Access to (Perceived) Equitable Pathways to the Middle Class*

Compared to four-year-university students, junior college students represent working-class populations seeking opportunities for upward mobility. A critical examination of the goals and outcomes of what constituted student success from the lens of Black CCC students in 1968 requires an analysis of perceived and practical differences between Black and white students. For Black students, the distinction of success produced an illusionary set of common conceptions regarding the potential and purpose of formal education. For example, Black students who earned the same training certificate as their white counterparts faced systematic barriers, since white students successfully entered apprentice programs that led to employment through historically white-dominated trade unions.\textsuperscript{34}

For white students, completing a certificate program or transferring to a four-year college or university channeled them into institutions of higher education where their graduation rates surpassed those of Black students. Yet, for a growing number of Black students, formal education became a path to gain access to middle-class status and resources, in the name of meritocracy, the reigning rhetoric of social advancement, upheld the belief in equity of opportunity for working-class individuals and groups seeking self-improvement via the ethos of hard work, sacrifice, and fortitude.

**Meritocracy, Stratification, and Apartheid Education**

Sociologist Karl Mannheim’s theory of situationally transcendent ideas offers a lens by which to evaluate the complexities of meritocracy regarding militant Black students in 1968. Mannheim

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item Ibid.
\item Chicago’s Woodlawn area produced several grassroots organizations that serviced the community in multiple ways. One of the most feared, famous, and revolutionary organizations was the Almighty Black P Stone Nation. Under the leadership of Jeff Fort, a.k.a. Chief Malik, the “Black Stones” grew from a local community group concerned with protecting their community to one of the most potent socio-political organizations in America. Jeff Fort, a student leader at Hyde Park High School in the early 1960s, advocated for control of all institutions in the Black community. Alinsky and Sizemore’s educational paradigms represented a call for action by Woodlawn residents to become active agents in the wholistic community development model used throughout America. The Almighty Black P Stone Nation came to represent the soul of militancy and self-determination for many residents in Woodlawn and Chicago during the Black Power movement.
\item Hoyman and Stallworth 1987.
\end{enumerate}
asserts that the key to a comprehensive understanding of social movements lies in how people form and interpret their worldview as it relates to their position in the larger society. In 1968, the promoted language of equality of opportunity lessened the appearance of racial inequalities because of the CCC’s so-called devotion to meritocracy; however, lying beneath the surface of educational opportunities remained a distinct separation of Black students’ access to the benefits and advantages of completing junior college programs. The meritocratic rhetoric of equal opportunity failed to address these glaring disparities of equal access to quality education, which eventually fueled Black student protest and rebellion at WWJC.

During the late 1960s, the CCC and WWJC sustained a tiered system dedicated to the expansion of the American status quo of white supremacy, which defined and maintained class positionality. In this system, white students benefitted disproportionately from racist nepotism, while the bulk of Black students suffered from exclusionary practices and systematic oppression. For example, Chicago’s white junior college students prospered from earning a trade certificate through the City of Chicago’s Workforce Development programs while the CCC and the Chicago public schools maintained exclusionary policies that routinely prohibited Black students from earning trade certificates.

Controlled by the City of Chicago, Washburne Trade School specialized in offering trade skills courses that led to certificate completion with the potential for gainful employment. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) complained about, exposed, and protested against the glaring disparities in Black and white enrollment at Washburne. From these allegations an investigation into enrollment practices ensued, which led to federal intervention. Ultimately, federal courts employed a five-member integration study group headed by University of Chicago sociologist professor Dr. Phillip Hauser to investigate allegations of discrimination. Hauser’s inquiry determined that “Quality education is not available in Chicago to the [Black] children who are in the greatest need of it.”

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35 Duke University Sociology Department 2017.
36 Brezis and Hellier 2018.
37 Kleppner 1995.
38 The Black and white student enrollment disparities at Washburne Trade School provide empirical evidence that supports Daley’s approach to maintaining and widening white privilege and superiority via trade unions. In addition, Chicago’s Negro American Labor Council (NALC) contested Daley’s control over the trade unions beginning with the rise in popularity of the Civil Rights movement, using the title racism within the House of Labor. Under Dr. Timuel Black’s leadership, Chicago’s NALC and others’ demands for equity in admission policies led to a federal probe, which found illegal acts of corruption between local trade unions and Daley. In contrast, the unprecedented federal investigation uncovered systemic racist practices connected to the Daley regime, but very little changed in the admission procedures and daily operations of Washburne.
39 O’Connor 1975.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
in, and the trade unions, run by close friends of His Honor the Mayor [Daley], were likely white.”

O’Connor contends Daley did not claim ignorance or innocence regarding these exclusionary de facto laws but that he supported these tactics through his oversight of the superintendent of Chicago’s Board of Education.43

While Hauser’s findings did not surprise many Black students, the results exposed the blatant racist practices that characterized the Daley regime. Hauser uncovered the intimate relationship between Daley, the American Federation of Labor Unions, and Washburne’s racist admission practices. Regarding the profits generated by Daley and the local Chicago unions, Daley’s appointee, Alderman, and pal Tom Murray, who was also the vice president of the Chicago Public Schools, retorted, “If the Board of Education interferes in union practices, the trade unions will pull out of Washburne and start its own school.”44 Murray’s threat arrogantly epitomized the control Daley held over the powerful unions and each service-providing entity. By 1968, tensions from the duplicity of the practical rewards reaped by white students who completed CCC programs and from the restricted pathways of Black students in those same programs heightened. In response to the artifice found in the CCC, radical Black students reassessed the serviceability and value of the CCC curriculum and began to collectively contest it.45

The Woodrow Wilson Junior College Negro History Club

Mannheim’s theory of situationally transcendent ideas also provides a lens by which to evaluate the formation of WWJC’s Negro History Club (NHC). His premise asserts that the key to a comprehensive understanding of social movements lies in how people form and interpret their worldview as it relates to their position in the larger society.46 No group of students in Chicago endorsed these sentiments more than those that launched the NHC. Club members clarified their positions as oppressed and Black first and students second.47 Consequently, such views captured the feelings that stimulated the need to create student organizations that addressed their collective identity and educational needs.

The NHC began in 1965 as a small group of students concerned with the sensibility and practical use of a European-centered curriculum for a largely Black student population. Early NHC leaders, who included Armsted Allen and Leonard Wash, stressed the need for the inclusion of Black authors in classroom instruction. Interestingly, the NHC started as a byproduct of the first Negro history course offered by the CCC, created, and taught by a white Ivy League–trained social scientist, William Gnatz.48 This fact remains obscure but vital to understanding that Gnatz’s first Negro history course at WWJC in 1965 proceeded Americas first official Black studies program in 1969 at San Francisco State University, headed by the great sociologist, Dr. Nathan Hare.

42 Ibid.
43 Black 2017.
44 Ibid.
45 Cruthird and Williams 2013.
46 Duke University Sociology Department 2017.
47 Dixon 2019.
48 Cruthird and Williams 2013.
Acknowledging Chicago’s WWJC in 1965 as a decisive moment in the establishment of Black studies fits soundly with the formation of several national Black militant student organizations including the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).\textsuperscript{49}

A deeper investigation into Professor Gnatz’s first semester as instructor of the Negro history course shows that it began in anonymity with dubious goals. Almost like a novelty, this course provided the lone platform for students to inject Black ideas by Black authors into WWJC’s curriculum. As a sign of uncertainty regarding the direction and outcomes for the course, less than ten students enrolled. At least three pressing facts concerning WWJC’s first Negro history course remain prevalent: (1) it provided a forum for Black students to demand the presence of Black scholars as a necessary portion of what defines quality education; (2) it served as a model course for which students demanded Black faculty; and (3) the foundation of the NHC became the impetus of Chicago’s BCCCMM. Due to a rise in Black consciousness from this course, after its initial semester, students demanded the replacement of Gnatz as the instructor and chose a more militant Black professor, Olga Haley to lead this endeavor.\textsuperscript{50}

From its inception, the NHC dedicated its efforts to the revolutionary ideas of demanding a greater African American presence on the WWJC campus. Its ideologies positioned club members outside the classical realm of Negro student organizations committed to institutional integration.\textsuperscript{51} According to Robert Cruthird, the word Negro and its negative connotations of inferiority did not correctly fit the NHC’s aims or reputation.\textsuperscript{52} In this case, the term Negro constituted a moniker and not the fundamental ideals of the organization. From this humble beginning the NHC became a pioneering organization seeking “Black control of Black education” at a pivotal time in the rise of the BPM.\textsuperscript{53} From its outset, the NHC epitomized a militant student organization that utilized the WWJC campus and the broader community to create an atmosphere of student activism and protest that became prevalent on college campuses throughout America during the late 1960s.\textsuperscript{54}

Some NHC members’ ages placed them in the category of non-traditional students. Older students brought lived experience, in the form of social capital, to the NHC. Club members’ mix of ages allowed intergenerational continuity and mentorship to become a stronghold. For

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{50}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{51}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{52}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{53}Afram Associates 1969.
\item \textsuperscript{54}Professors Robert Cruthird and Jeanette Williams authored the most comprehensive book on the origin, development, and history of Chicago’s Kennedy-King College (KKC). The Kennedy-King College Experiment in Chicago 1969–2007: How African Americans Reshaped the Curriculum and Purpose of Higher Education explores decades of resistance and social justice advocacy by KKC administrators, faculty, staff, students, and community members to demand and secure education reform that defines the institution’s importance to Chicago’s South Side. The author worked at KKC with Cruthird and Williams from 2004 until their respective retirements, which inspired this research. Additionally, Prof. Cruthird completed an in-depth interview with the author that provided clarity and depth regarding the layered nuances currently marginalized and frozen at the fences of the mainstream storylines concerning the hidden historiography of KKC.
\end{itemize}
example, Leonard Wash returned to WWJC from a stint with the United States Army, his spirited discipline and maturity became an example for younger members like Allen. Younger and older students of the NHC agreed with and understood that one of their most important duties remained community development. They sought strong leadership from elders from the WWJC community to reach their goals.

The NHC’s choice of Dr. Nathaniel Willis as faculty adviser represented a shift in philosophical views from civil rights to Black power. Willis earned the reputation as a well-versed civil rights veteran and a longtime member of CORE and the NAACP. His worldview provided a radical reassessment of the organizational and theoretical problems of the civil rights movement. Under Willis’s leadership and training, the NHC became radicalized, which led to its active participation in the politics of public engagement. Through Willis’s social capital, NHC members trained with local community organizations, where they became exposed to multiple philosophies of community development. Reverend John Porter’s church, a close friend of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., located close to WWJC, became a hub for social movement training. Consequently, the NHC’s dedication to education reform connected the student activism on the Wilson campus to the rising Black student movement nationwide. At this time, “movement activity” meant disrupting the status quo in white controlled institutions.

The act that defined the NHC materialized in the form of a direct challenge to Mayor Daley and his control of no-bid contracts of vending machines in the CCC in 1965. Governed by Daley, the Department of Procurement Services (DPS) controlled the approval of all city contracts. The contract for CCC vending machines provided millions of dollars for Daley and his business associates, especially Irish Democrats, which exposed the political nepotism and financial impact of ethnic politics in Daley’s regime. In an open act of defiance to Daley, the NHC demanded that the CCC remove all vending machines from all campuses during the spring and fall semesters of 1965. Prompted by the NHC demand, a critical mass of WWJC students followed the club’s lead and boycotted the use of all vending machines. After several months of students’ refusal to spend money on the vending machines, Chicago’s DPS removed the vending machines from WWJC. The NHC orchestrated a successful financial coup that secured the removal of all vending machines at WWJC. It remains important to note that while the NHC adopted the BPM’s tactics, the vending machine revolt extracted the model of financial withdrawal from the civil rights movement’s Montgomery bus boycott.

Seen as a victory over the “Almighty Daley,” the removal of the vending machines became the integral accomplishment that placed the NHC in direct conflict with Mayor Daley. Most importantly, it secured the NHC’s position as an agent of social change to the WWJC community. Because of this achievement, the NHC established a reputation as a militant student organization with an ever-evolving understanding of Chicago politics. A critical analysis of the vending machine clash also underscores Daley’s savvy as a politician. As he seemed to capitulate to the NHC by

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56 Cruthird and Williams 2013.
57 Pates 2017.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
removing vending machines from WWJC, in practicality, Daley refused to remove the vending machines at the six remaining college campuses. Daley’s response provides a glimpse into how he planned to address the demands of militant Black student organizations during the BPM. The NHC’s actions stimulated a rebellious climate among WWJC students that laid the groundwork for future campus demonstrations and altered the traditional top-down power structure on campus.

No More Negro History, but Afro-American History

“A mounting surge of retaliation for countless acts of police brutality across America found a generation of young Blacks no longer concerned or enamored with accommodating outdated and passive behaviors.”

By 1968 the NHC responded symbolically to the national calls for Black power when it changed its name. The new name, the Afro-American History Club (AAHC), paralleled many Black student organizations that separated themselves from the word Negro while adopting the term Afro-American as a link to the historical legacy of the African continent. A group of new student leaders including Billy Brooks, Fred Ramey, and Hattie Wash broadened the footprints of dissent left by the NHC. Collectively, the AAHC considered the BPM as America’s second Civil War. The new organization hardened its allegiance to interjecting a Black agenda into the psyche of WWJC by entertaining the use of violent confrontations to attain its goals.

As an example, the AAHC made the following demands to the WWJC administration: (1) a separate curriculum for Black students that would emphasize militant philosophies by Black authors in the form of a formal Black studies program; (2) the immediate hiring of Black administrators, faculty, and staff; and (3) a permanent institutional name change. Each demand represented a reassessment and doubt of the ability of WWJC president, Charles Monroe (a white Daley appointee), to lead a Black educational institution during the BPM. Through these demands, the AAHC was transformed from a group of individuals seeking social change into a more radical student organization than its predecessor, the NHC, that demanded immediate

60 Dr. Harold Pates holds a much-earned iconic position in the history of KKC as an educator and grassroots organizer. His educational achievements and scholarly trajectory symbolize the fundamental definition of an organic intellectual colossally devoted to the control of Black institutions by the Black community. As a longtime administrator at KKC, Pates became president at KKC (1986) due to his participation and leadership in Chicago’s Black political revolution in the early 1980s that elected its first Black mayor, the Hon. Harold Washington. When Pates described the legacy of the AAHC, he reminds us that the importance of their multiple accomplishments is no small measure, considering how they struck a considerable uproar using a militant tone in the public battles with Daley for the control of what became KKC.

61 Hare 2016.

62 Cruthird and Williams 2013.

63 Baldwin 1990.

64 Cruthird and Williams 2013.
Rooted in a commitment to self-determination with a “riotous pulse of political fervor,” the AAHC officially demanded educational reform on January 3, 1968. In an open meeting sanctioned by WWJC administrators, they forwarded a detailed and skillfully written document titled “the Declaration of Purpose.” Constructed in a similar manner to the U.S. Constitution, it contained a preamble, which stated the AAHC’s purpose and position as a revolutionary student organization in the “Total Black Revolution.” The body of the document included a sound underlying sentiment that explained the AAHC worldview: “We the members of the Afro-American History Club are sincerely dedicated to the eradication of the crippling effects of four hundred years of dehumanization, degradation, exploitation, indoctrination, and castration of blackness. Our phase of this eradication campaign is the rehabilitation of Black students.”

From this radical position, four overarching goals emerged: (1) instill within the hearts and minds of Black students a keen sense of Black awareness and Black pride; (2) enlighten the students of WWJC about the glorious history of Black people; (3) motivate WWJC students and all other Black students to overcome the shackles of second-rate primary and secondary education; and (4) develop the AAHC into a strong and viable club. Combining theory with utilitarian practices, the AAHC called for the WWJC administration and faculty to comply with their demands by requiring each instructor in the social science department to add a minimum of at least one Black author to their syllabus to use in classroom instruction for the 1968 fall semester.

WWJC president, Charles Monroe, and dean of instruction, Dean Kalk, agreed with the AAHC demands and insisted that, as documentation of compliance, each faculty member sign a contract stipulating the action plan. All faculty members from the social science department signed a compliance contract during the 1968 spring semester, except for a small portion of tenured faculty members headed by Professor Leon Novar and Professor Noel Johnson. At this time, the spirit of Black power began to invade the student body. By demanding a distinct curriculum for Black students, the AAHC fastened its position as an advocate of the Black power ideology of controlling an educational institution in the Black community. Labeled the seminal event and victory of the AAHC over WWJC’s ruling regime, the AAHC planned diligently to implement their demands and force the administration and faculty to adhere to standards of shared governance without delay.

Demonstrating its loyalty to the application of physical confrontations, on March 7 and 8, 1968, the AAHC organized “teach-ins,” or “classroom takeovers,” of two histories taught by Novar and Johnson. Teach-ins combined the civil rights strategy of occupying public space with the Black power approach of physically blocking and removing the assigned teacher from entering

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65 Ibid.
66 Baldwin 1990.
67 Monroe 1968.
68 Afro-American History Club 1968.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 Shabat 1968.
the classroom. During the teach-ins, the AAHC taught prepared lesson plans that emphasized the accomplishments of Black Americans. The nature of these classroom occupations strengthened the growing militancy on campus, specifically their transformation into spaces of conceptual and physical combat. Equally, or if not more impressive, the classroom takeovers expanded the AAHC’s original scope of the social science department and “reached the English and Humanities departments.” Finally, the classroom takeovers produced two resolutions that established a Student Grievance Committee to formally address student’s concerns. The March teach-ins/classroom takeovers generated curriculum revision, which illustrated sound progress toward the AAHC’s goal of control of education institutions in Black communities.

The Death of the Civil Rights Movement:

*Burn Chicago, Burn*

April 4, 1968, changed the tenor of social movements in the 1960s forever. The assassination of Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the nonviolent drum major for justice, killed in a most violent fashion, represented the final chapter (for several radical students) of the usefulness of nonviolent philosophies to achieve social change. Many Black youths, including students, saw King’s death as the tipping point—the death of the civil rights movement and the endorsement of the BPM—that accelerated and ushered in a large-scale acceptance of the tenets of Black power. After King’s death, Black youths rioted across America and on Chicago’s West Side. On April 5, 1968, a large contingency of Black students left school and marched downtown to express their anger, frustration, and sorrow. In all, eighty West Side schools closed and thousands of dollars of damage to the State Street shopping corridor took place. Mayor Daley called for five hundred National Guards to restore “law and order.” Also, it remains very important to recall that he imposed a 7:00 p.m. curfew on all persons under twenty-one. His executive order exacerbated tensions between Black youths and police, which caused the rioting to continue and expand. Daley’s aggressive response to the actions of Black youths surrounding the assassination of Dr. King gives an indication of his commitment on how he planned to destroy the growing activism and protest of the AAHC.

Chicago 1968:

*The Summer of Unrest*

When the 1968 spring semester ended at WWJC, a feeling of protest dominated the mood on campus due to the actions and achievements of the AAHC. For the WWJC administration, the

72 Cruthird and Williams 2013.
73 Ibid.
74 Dixon 2017.
75 Shabat 1968.
76 Kalk 1968.
77 Weidrich 1968.
78 Ibid.
summer vacation represented a time to reassess the best practices to confront and suppress the AAHC’s rising popularity. The militant temperament that invaded Chicago in summer of 1968 did not allow the administration to subdue the campus unrest; in fact, Chicago became the focal point of political and social protest in America. Nationally, the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy on June 5, 1968, in Los Angeles became a point of reference that ignited the AAHC and other students at WWJC to reassess and in some cases abort nonviolence as a strategy for educational change.

No single event personified the nation’s tumultuous political and social mood more than the 1968 Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago, August 26–29. America’s intergenerational discontinuity and class distinctions exploded over the controversial war in Vietnam. The war became a thunderous clash between old political regimes and new political thoughts, particularly student protesters, white and black, versus the Chicago Police Department.

The nation watched Mayor Daley order Chicago policeman to “shoot to kill” all protestors at a legal rally in Chicago’s Grant Park on August 28.79 Daley’s orders became legendary as the fallout from the DNC “became much too intense for the indifferent, conservative, highly political social structure of the City of Chicago.”80

Before the DNC began, the AAHC initiated an attack on the structure of the federally funded work study program. On August 1, 1968, the AAHC in concert with other WWJC students organized the Work Study Strike Committee, challenged the institutions modus operandi economically, politically, and socially. The committee’s fundamental focus centered on two primary issues: (1) eradicating the low wages paid to students and (2) confronting the insensitive, racist disrespect of white staff toward Black student workers.81 The committee crafted and delivered a host of demands to WWJC and CCC administrations including a raise in minimum pay, retroactive pay, time and a half for overtime, no discrimination according to sex, and no punitive actions for strikers. When the administrations did not reply, students moved to invoke more direct and radical actions. On August 6, the AAHC and other students took control of WWJC’s admission, registration, and counseling offices.82 Students refused to leave until the administration met their demands. In a panic, President Monroe “called the police to quash the disturbance but turned them away when students agreed to negotiate.”83 The building occupation and strike lasted one day. Students and the AAHC did not secure all their demands, but “when it was over, students’ [wages] were increased from $1.40 to $1.65 an hour and from $2.00 to $2.50 per hour.”84 The Work Study Strike Committee’s victory set the pace for and fueled student activism during the fall 1968 semester.85 Soon after the work-study strike victory, the AAHC returned its collective efforts to

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79 Rusciano 2013.
80 Gruthird and Williams 2013.
81 WWJC Work Study Strike Committee 1968.
82 Siddion 1968.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 The Work-Study Strike symbolized an outward manifestation of the AAHC’s interest in understanding the need to include non-members in their fight for education reform. Unfortunately, the mainstream local news coverage chose not to include the AAHC’s revolt against a federally funded program in the news cycle. The refusal
implementing a reading list that featured Black authors on every professor’s syllabus in the English, humanities, and social science for the fall semester of 1968.\textsuperscript{86}

**Fall of 1968:**

*The Pedagogy of Protest, Taking It Back to the Classroom*

Seizing the momentum from multiple accomplishments, the AAHC positioned itself to act from a seat of collective power.\textsuperscript{87} It intended to reap the rewards from the goals of its demands in very practical ways. The inclusion of Black authors in classroom instruction in English, humanities, and social science departments promised to shift the dialogue and learning outcomes in several classes. The AAHC felt that discussing Black ideas, thoughts, and problems as an important part of formal education represented one form of democratizing the WWJC European-dominated curricula.

When the fall 1968 semester began, two full-time history professors, Dr. Noel Johnson, and Dr. Leon Novar, did not add Black authors or readings to their syllabi. Due to their racist reputations amongst a considerable portion of the student body the AAHC targeted Novar and Johnson for classroom takeovers in March 1968. To address the noncompliance of these professors, the AAHC encouraged President Monroe to call a campus-wide meeting.\textsuperscript{88} CCC Chancellor, Oscar Shabat, and President Monroe listened to AAHC members reiterate the need for all professors to comply with AAHC’s demands. Publicly, Shabat and Monroe agreed that all professors needed to add Black authors to their syllabi immediately.\textsuperscript{89} On September 25, 1968, the AAHC demanded course outlines and weekly reading assignments from all professors, and, more importantly, gave a deadline that this demand be met by September 30.\textsuperscript{90}

As a direct consequence of the non-responsiveness of Novar and Johnson, AAHC members filed an official complaint with the Student Problems Committee on October 21, 1968.\textsuperscript{91} Some faculty members filed a complaint with Chancellor Shabat, explaining how they felt forced to use Black authors and texts in their classrooms.\textsuperscript{92} As no surprise to the AAHC, Chancellor Shabat validated Johnson and Novar’s nonconformity with an inactive and hands-off approach. Dr. Novar continued to ignore the demands of the “Statement of Purpose” without repercussion from Kalk, Monroe, or Shabat. Dr. Johnson repeated Novar’s sentiments when she replied, “I’m not signing

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\textsuperscript{86} Cruthird 2018.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{88} Shabat 1968.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90} Kalk 1968.
\textsuperscript{91} Nash 1968.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
either."\(^93\) The actions and behaviors of these administrators and faculty inspired an additional round of classroom takeovers.

On November 9, 1968, a classroom takeover took place in Novar’s and Johnson’s History 111 and History 112 courses, respectively. AAHC member Fred Ramey explained, “they [the faculty] would not be permitted to continue mis-instructing the students at Wilson.”\(^94\) The club members used the terms “indoctrination” and “brainwashing” when describing the instructional techniques of Johnson and Novar. In opposition to his original stance supporting the AAHC’s demands, Dean Kalk became an ally and open supporter of both Johnson and Novar, stating “the invasion of Dr. Novar’s classes on Monday, November 11, was uncalled for and unfair to Dr. Novar and to his class.”\(^95\) After the November classroom takeovers, student dissatisfaction continued to grow, and the social intercourse between the administration and the AAHC worsened.

At a December 11, 1968, committee meeting on the curriculum, Chancellor Shabat and President Monroe gave students an opportunity to voice their concerns. At this meeting, student leader Lamar “Che” Billy Brooks presented his dissatisfaction with the failure of the basic education program. President Monroe stated, “Towards the end of the statement, he became emotional and in a brief exchange of dialogue slapped me on the side of my face.”\(^96\) Mr. Brooks said, “I gave the president an opportunity to jump up and put his finger in my face and I asked the man very kindly to take his finger out my face and he didn’t, and the devil made me slap him. Yeah, he removed his fucking finger in a hurry.”\(^97\)

By striking Monroe in his face, Brooks suddenly became the most identifiable symbol for radical students seeking to adopt violent acts to secure educational reform and community control. Known as the punch heard across campus that changed the daily rhythms at WWJC, Brooks’ association with the Black Panther Party dominated the documentation of the mainstream narrative regarding this event.\(^98\) Later charged, arrested, and expelled for striking Monroe, Brooks’ actions caused a rippling effect at WWJC.\(^99\) In the largely untold story of the AAHC, Mr. Brooks and his actions on December 11, 1968, stand as proof of the AAHC’s acceptance of physical confrontations to address the organization’s concerns. Moreover, Brooks’ use of violence adds to several AAHC instances that utilized the element of surprise to dismantle the traditional power dynamics at WWJC.

**Renaming Woodrow Wilson Junior College:**
*We Will Call It What We Want*

\(^93\) Kalk 1968.
\(^94\) Stovall 1968.
\(^95\) Kalk 1968.
\(^96\) Monroe 1968.
\(^97\) Brooks 2013.
\(^98\) When Mr. Billy Brooks struck President Monroe in the face, he was not an official member of the Black Panther Party (BPP). Directly after the punch, he became a member but left the BPP in 1972. He served the black community as a social worker for more than fifty years.
\(^99\) Monroe 1968.
President Woodrow Wilson’s reputation as a Southern racist led to the AAHC’s demand for an institutional name change for WWJC. In a newspaper article titled “Kennedy-King Not One Man’s Fault: It’s a Family Affair,” the AAHC pointed to President Wilson’s anti-Black reputation and his support for the paradigm of separate but equal as proof of his racist ideologies. In a similar article titled “Revolutionary Understanding,” the AAHC announced Wilson’s ideological views as firmly rooted in the tenants of the eugenics movement and that he publicly praised the 1915 cinematic blockbuster Birth of a Nation, which revealed his belief in the innate inferiority of Blacks. After a private screening of the film in the White House, President Wilson asserted, “it’s like history written with lightning. My only regret is that it is all so terribly true.”

In 1968, the presence of two community college campuses in Black communities, Crane Junior College and WWJC, provided an opportunity for militant Black students to demand removal of references to white racist figures from the names of each institution. The warfare surrounding the name change of WWJC quickly became one of AAHC’s greatest challenges. The club demanded a dominant role in renaming WWJC, which again placed the AAHC in a political war with Mayor Daley.

An analysis of Daley’s response to the renaming of Crane and WWJC is critical to an accurate depiction of Daley’s political sagacity. He responded to the students’ demands at Crane (on Chicago’s West Side) and WWJC in vastly different ways. Students at both campuses wanted their colleges named after Malcolm X. Reflecting on Dr. Timuel Black’s assessment, that due to its riotous approach to white supremacy, it remains feasible to concur that the West Side represents the origin of the BPM. As an exemplification of the essence of their radical devotion, Black students from Crane College refused to accept any name other than Malcolm X.

Dr. Charles Hurst, Crane College’s president, and the first Black president of a campus in the CCC, publicly agreed with and supported the student’s symbolic choice of Malcolm X as the new name of Crane College. Hand-picked by militant Crane students from a national search, Hurst possessed a magnetic attraction to students and the West Side community in the following ways: (1) he did not possess political ties to Mayor Daley; (2) he believed in and supported the BPM; (3) he brought immense experience and social capital from the BPM to the college; and (4) he had worked as a linguistic professor at the “Black Harvard,” Howard University. Dr. Hurst roused the Crane student body with his rhetorical style, stating “there must be a revolution in this country, a violent revolution, but hopefully, not the kind of revolution marked by bloodshed and loss of life.” Daley did not interfere or oppose the hiring of Hurst or the renaming of Crane after Malcolm X. It seemed the West Side en masse strong-armed Daley into hiring a Black president and accepting a new institutional name.

By contrast, the process for renaming WWJC took a very different direction. Although

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100 Wilson College Press 1969.
101 Ibid.
102 Benbow 2010.
103 Black 2017.
104 Siddion 1968.
the AAHC was disappointed that WWJC could not use the name Malcolm X, it agreed with Black faculty and students to rename their new college campus after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The fact that Daley and King had become bitter rivals in 1966 becomes a point by which to examine Daley’s political power and his dedication to ethnic politics. Daley and King’s contentious relationship played a significant role in the renaming of Woodrow Wilson Junior College.

Dr. King and Mayor Daley clashed in 1966 as King and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), moved their headquarters from Atlanta to Chicago and led Chicago’s Freedom movement. King and the SCLC challenged Chicago’s housing crisis, which segregated a critical number of Blacks in Chicago’s most impoverished neighborhoods. King, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, and their wives moved temporarily to Chicago’s West Side, 1550 S. Hamlin, to call the nation’s attention to the area’s poor housing conditions. This portion of Chicago’s freedom movement was coined the “End Slums Campaign,” which organized several marches and rallies at Daley’s office and in several white communities known for physical brutality against Blacks. The events of August 5, 1966, represent one of the defining and most remembered moments of the Civil Rights movement. While marching in the KKK stronghold, Marquette Park, Dr. King was hit in the head with a rock but continued to finish the march. Several iconic pictures remind us of how a significant portion of whites despised Dr. King’s presence in Chicago. King’s role in the Chicago Freedom movement brought national attention to a highly sophisticated racist urban planning model that confirmed Daley’s devotion to maintaining and strengthening Chicago’s reputation as the largest segregated city in America.

While Daley and King collided, Daley used his political control to maneuver Chicago’s leading Black clergy and politicians to openly oppose Dr. King. A headline in the July 22, 1966, Chicago Sun-Times read, “Chicago Negroes Urge King to Return South.” At the behest of Daley, Negro clergymen and politicians publicly attacked King and the SCLC, suggesting their presence promised to lead to a race riot. Daley’s codification of racial segregation in housing, along with his political control of Black clergy and politicians, created a volatile atmosphere that made King abandon Chicago and the Freedom movement by 1967.

Daley’s response to the AAHC’s request to rename WWJC opposed the strategies and techniques he used for Crane’s institutional name change. At WWJC, he exerted his ability to manipulate elected officials to influence its renaming. A devout Irish Catholic born and raised on Chicago’s South Side; Daley was determined to memorialize the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy provided pathways for Daley to memorialize his Irish Catholic heroes. For example, Mayor Daley led a coalition of Chicago politicians to rename the Northwest Expressway, one of Chicago’s busiest commuter thoroughfares, the John F. Kennedy Expressway on November 29, 1963, one week after Kennedy’s assassination. In a similar manner, Daley used his political wealth to inject Robert F. Kennedy’s name as one of the final choices for WWJC.

The AAHC took a determined position to play the most significant role in renaming WWJC. Daley and the WWJC administrators clearly understood the reason behind the AAHC’s

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107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
desired name, but they used their political might to reject the name Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial College. Ultimately, Daley used political pressure to force the AAHC into a compromise. The college’s new name became a combination of two slain icons, Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., Kennedy-King College (KKC). AAHC member Leonard Wash proposed the hyphenated name as a concession to the wishes of the “pharaoh” and a reality check regarding Daley’s clout.

After conceding to the name Kennedy-King College, the AAHC demanded a Black president for the new college campus. Daley complied with this demand, but his choice, Mr. Maceo Bowie, epitomizes his political cunning. Bowie, a long time Daley supporter and professor at WWJC, became KKC’s first Black president in 1969. Bowie’s legacy as an active member of the mayor’s regime positioned him as the consummate peon to safeguard Daley’s control over KKC.

When comparing the hiring procedures of Mr. Maceo Bowie to Dr. Charles Hurst, multiple differences emerge. Unlike the hiring of Hurst: (1) Bowie’s hiring represented Daley’s power over the WWJC; (2) no national search took place; (3) and the AAHC had no practical influence on Bowie’s hiring. Bowie’s appointment as president of KKC endures as one of two concessions (the first being the naming of Kennedy-King College) that Daley masterfully implemented and forced upon the AAHC.

Mayor Daley, and the Black Community College Campus Movement

Daley aimed to destroy student protest on all CCC campuses, especially Black student protest. He used a host of Black educators and politicians as well as the prowess of his Democratic Machine to limit the headway made by militant Black students. His outward response to the demands of the BCCCM resulted in the renaming of two of the seven city colleges. A sense of social progress emerged from WWJC’s NHC and AAHC’s practical and symbolic victories, but the power structure and resource distribution within the WWJC remained under the control of Daley, and as a result, a crucial portion of Black students remained at the fringes of resource distribution. While Daley seemingly conceded to radical Black student demands, his answer to the BPM reinforced an apartheid-type education with lasting effects. Kennedy-King and Malcolm X Colleges became the CCC’s substandard colleges, isolated in Chicago’s most impoverished communities, that educated and serviced the most at-risk student populations.

Still, “these assertive demands [of the BCCCM] on college leaders led to amazing changes.” For example, the AAHC and its predecessor, the NHC, pressured the administration into: (1) forcing two white tenured faculty, Professors Novar and Johnson to transfer from Woodrow Wilson Junior College; (2) hiring more African Americans; and (3) adding more African Americans

10 The selection of Dr. Charles Hurst as Crane college president resulted from the demands of the Crane College community, which included the Black Panther Party headquarters. Daley’s political power led to the demise of student activism at Crane College and ties squarely to the assassinations of BPP Chairman Fred Hampton, Sr. and Mark Clark.
11 Negondia 1969.
12 Cruthird and Williams 2013.
to the curriculum." Their militant attitude and paradigms stimulated these two clubs to craft an educational Magna Carta titled “Statement of Purpose” that injected Black authors with militant writings into WWJC’s formal curriculum. Despite the political power of Mayor Daley, the AAHC ushered in a Black studies program, hired WWJC’s first Black president, and influenced a permanent institutional name change. Each accomplishment stands as a vivid reminder of the militant activism on CCC campuses during the BPM. Against all reasonable odds the NHC and the AAHC fought Daley and Chicago’s mighty Democratic Machine for control of WWJC, which led to one of higher education’s most rebellious eras. The growth of the BPM owes a sincere debt of gratitude to Chicago’s BCCCM, whose steadfast devotion to principles of the BPM led to undeniable changes in the daily operations of WWJC and the CCC. This research solidifies the fact that militant Black community college students from Chicago accepted the task to agitate and challenge the formal structure of an extremely racist educational system, which resulted in the death of Woodrow Wilson Junior College and the birth of Kennedy-King College.

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