

SNCC 60TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE, 2021

HBCUs and Africana Studies Programs

Speaker 1 (00:00:02):

In a, on the grill took whole lot. It's you and me, baby.

Speaker 2 (00:01:33):

Let's get that butter. One another. We father brothers, sisters, and mothers in the struggle with baby troubles. We trying to eat. Don't let it rub you just up your hustle, win. Keep your peace, the streets hectic you show, they get the message game. You try to you in there, you attack you instead back you, they, we from the bottom, just trying to make it up to the top. The hood is in the, where it pops

Speaker 1 (00:03:25):

To

Speaker 3 (00:04:28):

Good afternoon and welcome to the sixth SNCC 60th convention. Um, my name is wisdom Cole and I'm the national director for the NAACP youth and college division. And I have the esteem privilege to be the moderator for this panel this afternoon. Um, we are having a very exciting conversation with some great panelists on the importance of the narrative around BCU and Africana studies programs. This conversation is really gonna be about the idea of preserving our culture, passing the wealth of knowledge from generation to generation and how essential and critical, um, our black institutions are. We really want to dive into the role of historically black colleges and universities, um, black and Africana studies programs and the role they play in the development. You know, we are in an age and an era where these institutions and these studies programs are so vital and so important to our livelihood. And we are constantly fighting for their survival and ensuring that they are able to continue to exist in our world and support our black students and our black scholars. And so I'm very excited to have a very great panel here with us this afternoon. Uh, we're gonna dive into the conversation. Um, I'm gonna introduce our panelists one by one, giving them the chance to be able to share a little bit about themselves and their work. Um, and so first off we have Michael Lomax, who is the president and CEO, a U N CF.

Speaker 4 (00:05:50):

Uh, thank you very much wisdom. It's an honor to be here. Uh, for the last 17 years, I have been the president and CEO of the United Negro college fund, U N C a F uh, and have worked with, uh, our 37 historically black colleges and universities who are members of U N C F in all 100 plus of the other institutions as well. Uh, just as a bit of personal history, uh, I'm a graduate of Morehouse holiday. I attended Morehouse from 1964 to 1968. Um, 1964 when I came there, uh, was the year of freedom summer. And, uh, the first place I went when I came to Morehouse, my freshman year was to, uh, the SNCC offices, which were a couple of blocks away from the campus, uh, and met, uh, Julian bond, who my mother, a journalist said wrote the best, uh, news releases of anybody in the civil rights movement.

Speaker 4 (00:06:47):

I graduated in 1968, uh, shortly after, uh, the murder of Dr. Martin Luther king and his funeral on the campus. So, uh, my college years were bookended by, uh, extraordinary moments in African American history and in the freedom struggle. Uh, one of the things that has driven my professional life has been that personal educational experience at Morehouse, uh, during a period

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of, uh, uh, of, uh, civil rights, but also a period when we were asking a lot of questions about what it was, we would learn in the classroom. And, um, when I joined the faculty in 1969, we were raising the question of, did we need black studies on black college campuses? Um, you know, it's amazing to me that, uh, those issues are still, uh, alive and debated. Uh, and I'm delighted to be on a panel with two extraordinary scholars, uh, where we'll have a chance to talk a little bit about knowing our past and our history and also preserving our institutions. Thank you.

Speaker 3 (00:07:58):

Thank you so much, Michael. And next we have noway Brooks department chair, and professor of African studies at brown university.

Speaker 5 (00:08:06):

Hi, thank you so much. And, and like, Michael, I am really honored to be here and very much looking forward to the conversation, those of you, um, who are just tuning in don't know that we spent the last 45 minutes engaged in, um, agreeable and sometimes hot debate, um, over some of these issues. So I hope that some of it actually ends up getting, um, captured here today. It really said to me how much, um, how necessary these conversations are about black institutions, about black students, um, about HBCUs and about Africana studies programs. I am a graduate of an H B C U I am the great grandchild of a graduate. My great, my grandmother went to Beth Thon Cookman. Um, my father went to Howard. I tried to go to Sarah Lawrence college for a year before I ended up going to Spellman, um, where I actually graduated and because I've been in and around predominantly white colleges and universities following Spelman.

Speaker 5 (00:09:15):

Um, so many of my colleagues who are, uh, PhD, having folks also went to HBCUs. Um, it's a real cycle in circle that you will find, and the folks who come out of HBCUs, I will say, um, and get PhDs and teach in predominantly white institutions, um, have a very robust kind of understanding of the politics of white supremacy, um, and are kind of this group that are always paying attention to what's happening at HBCUs is what I will say. E no matter where we went, we always feel like, um, you know, look, look, look at the students at Howard are doing those are our students. Look what the, the faculty at Spelman are doing. Those are our people. Um, it's a kind of nation building that has taken place for amongst folks that takes place amongst folks who go to those kinds of schools.

Speaker 5 (00:10:21):

So I'm sure we'll share some stories about how HBCUs shaped us. I'm sure we'll share some stories about how Africana studies shaped us. Um, but I also wanna say as the child, I was raised by a community of SNCC activists as well. Um, and that gave me a certain kind of, uh, angle of vision on what is positive and hopeful and helpful about HBCUs as they, as they talk about Talladega and Tulu and the a, and M's the various a, and M's without which there would not have been, um, a, a freedom struggle in many ways in the 1960s, in, in Mississippi and elsewhere. Um, when you start to do the role call of schools that participated even, even if they are not the institutions that graduated the leaders that we often talk about, the student leaders that we often talk about, um, there's a role call, um, there's a backbone, there's a history, there's a tradition.

Speaker 5 (00:11:27):

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And I think it's notable in that. Um, we should always hold on to the fact that in the United States where that training ground came from, often as students figured out how to try to make their institutions more hospitable for themselves. They learned a kind of politic and an ethic, um, that they took with them out into communities and as a way of fighting, uh, um, white supremacy. So, um, I would say both in my professional, in my personal as well in what is inspires me, this conversation about HBCUs and Africana studies is, is, um, much welcome.

Speaker 3 (00:12:10):

Thank you so much. No leeway. Um, and last, but certainly not least we have Josh Meyers associate professor of Africana studies through the department of Afro American studies at Howard university.

Speaker 6 (00:12:21):

Uh, thank you, wisdom, and thank you, Michael and no leeway. Um, so I was part of, uh, the planning of this conference. And, uh, one of the things that we wanted, uh, to highlight is how we take control of how the narrative of the civil rights movement, the black freedom struggle, perhaps most app more appropriately, uh, is actually framed. And then of course it starts with us. Um, it starts with our institutions, it starts with our organizations. It starts with the intellectual, uh, projects that we've created. And so HBCUs and Africana studies are part of that. And, um, I was born in an H B, C U uh, setting, um, Orangeburg, South Carolina. Um, I grew up in an H B C U setting. I went to an H B C U, um, for undergrad Howard university, where I currently teach. And, um, I got my PhD in African American studies, uh, from temple university and ever since I've been teaching at Howard university, um, in an African American studies department.

Speaker 6 (00:13:26):

So my entire life is African American studies and HBCUs. So, um, I'm very excited to be in conversation, um, about how we really act as intellectual insurgents in this particular moment, because there are so many things that, um, connect our histories to the current iterations of our struggles. And so if we are able to frame the histories correctly, then we can better understand and participate in the struggles that are currently happening. And I think HBCUs again, are going to be <inaudible>, um, of these particular struggles we should often will run up into a lot of you'll run into a lot of problems trying to be that, uh, example, um, you know, HBC have mu multiple pressures, right on the one hand. Um, it's almost as if many of, many of our HBCs wants to be a finishing school for the kind of, of black elite, um, on other there's a tradition of radical radicalism.

Speaker 6 (00:14:26):

There's a tradition of insurgency at the same time. And, and sometimes the marketing department center both and say, this is who we are. It's like, well, these things are not the same. Um, <laugh> so part of the, part of the rescuing of the narrative is to really understand the ways in which Theus are in many ways, complicated places where those legacies have coexisted and have been in conflict the entire time. Um, and so that's really the subject of my first book, which is actually on the 1989, uh, student protest at Howard of course, um, as we speak, there's a 20, 21 student protest at Howard. And so at some point during this panel, uh, we perhaps talk about demeaning of that current moment that's happening as we speak, um, and the historical narrative about, uh, the black freedom struggle as it relates to SNCC. And I think that's the important part of this

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because SNCC is founded in many ways, um, as a, as a formation, that's possible because of people at HBCUs, right?

Speaker 6 (00:15:27):

I won't say HBCU, I would say people at HBCUs because it is Ella baker, who's an alum Shaw university who says, this is going to be the place y'all come. Right. Um, and so where were they coming from? They were coming from the Atlanta university center from Nashville, from DC area, and they were coming from black institutions. And so there's some people to be said about that. And there's also something to be said about those mentors of these particular, uh, students like Ella baker, um, like Sterling brown, many others who you'll name, who in many ways were practicing a form of black studies before there was such a thing. And I think that connection will help clarify not only the historical roots, but also how we can continue in that particular tradition. And we, and be clear about what that tradition looks like now.

Speaker 3 (00:16:14):

Thank you so much, Josh. I appreciate that. And I appreciate you, uh, grounding us in terms of, you know, why we're here today. You know, I, I recognize my, even my own pathway to being here, um, you know, being mentored and being influenced by the lake. Great, Bob Moses, um, and is influenced as a former math teacher and myself as a former math teacher. And now in this role as an organizer where I get to work with tons and tons of H B, C U students, um, across the country who are doing phenomenal work and continuing to fight for their rights and for our future. And so thank you for, for centering in this. And I, I do wanna, um, actually kick off this panel discussion really, you know, grounding in us in terms of what's actually happening right now in this moment in time, you know, you talked about the 20, 21 Howard, um, student protests.

Speaker 3 (00:16:56):

And so we know that there are, you know, students who are currently sitting in at the Blackburn, uh, university center. Um, they've been sitting there for over 48 hours, um, you know, protesting and demanding for better housing conditions, but also demanding for a voice on the border trustees and making sure that they're able to be heard, um, Raleigh's issue. They're also pushing for federal demands. You know, they're, they're pushing the Biden Harris administration, um, to, to cancel student debt they're pushing, uh, for the release of these memos. And so I would love for, for each and every one of you to, to weigh in on what's going on in this moment in time, particularly because now PCUs have been brought into more of the public wine limelight, and folks are speaking about it, um, from different perspectives. And I know these are conversations that we've already had, uh, but I would love to hear each of your perspectives, um, starting with Michael.

Speaker 4 (00:17:46):

Yeah. You know, I, I think that, uh, uh, Josh said this, that, you know, these are, these are complex institutions. Uh, there is not a single story line here. Uh, but what we're seeing today at Howard, which, which is student activism, uh, there is a long tradition of activism, uh, among our college students and particularly at, at Howard. Uh, but you know, uh, you know, the, the, the, uh, the activism of the 1920s and the 19 through the 1940s was student led and faculty led to, to ensure that black students had, uh, were treated a, you know, that these were not sort of patriarchal institutions in their treatment of their students and faculty had voice. So, I mean, these

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are not, these are not new issues. What I do find intriguing Josh is that we don't really know today from the media, what is happening at Howard?

Speaker 4 (00:18:47):

I was, you know, I, I knew that there were condition issues that students were protesting. I knew that there were issues about governance. We don't hear that. I, I followed this closely and I haven't heard about the cancellation of student debt and, uh, federal policies. So I think what the other thing that, that, that this says to me is that, uh, students at Howard and at other HBCUs know what's going on in the world and they are, they are attempting to shape it. And, you know, for good, or for ill they're, they're learning, they're, they're building their protest chops on those campuses where, which are in, in one sense, uh, safe environments to them, for them to, to learn how to challenge the, uh, the establishment and, uh, uh, speak out and fight for what they believe in mm-hmm. <affirmative>

Speaker 3 (00:19:46):

Very true. Very true. Um, Milly way.

Speaker 5 (00:19:49):

Yeah. I, uh, told a story before we, we started about my time at, um, at Spelman, which I think relates to some of what, what Michael has already said and what I'm thinking about what happens, uh, with HBCUs as a particular kind of training ground. So, um, at the time that I matriculated at Spelman in the mid eighties, I literally don't remember. I think I graduated in 87 though. I'm not even trying to be cute. I just have taken it outta my head. I think it was 87 though. Um, but every, every college president of Pelman, which is a black women's college, um, had been either white or male, um, leading up to when I, when I was a freshman, it was, um, Don Stewart, who was a, he seemed to be a perfectly fine person from what I could tell when he was stepping down.

Speaker 5 (00:20:42):

Um, there Janetta Cole was one of the folks in the pool, and somehow we got word. Um, and I, I honestly don't remember from whom or how that the board of trustees was really not convinced that, that we needed a black woman president, that we might be going with another man, man, for president. And there was this dance between some of the sum of the faculty, um, and some of the students where they kind of made sure we knew that if you wanna push this issue, like we think that, that a black woman's college needs black woman president. And what does it say that you have gatekeepers in the board of trustees who are deciding without really take getting any kind of input and who don't understand here in the 1980s that we need a black woman president, and here we have TTA Cole, um, who, who is, uh, in, in, in the mix, we think y'all should have something to say about that.

Speaker 5 (00:21:46):

Now they did not. After that moment, give us any marching orders. They didn't even tell us what to do. They did. They created a condition though, where we had the information that we needed to have and said, we support you in this, though. It can't be, but so public for a variety of reasons, um, we'll do what you need. Um, let us know, you need doors open, you need information, you need, we, we got you, but it can't be public. And we took it from there, right? The students, we organized ourselves from there and, you know, took over sisters chap. I remember Paula Gettings

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as a professor visiting professor there that year. And she was doing a speech in sister's chapel where you used to have to have a weekly convocation. Um, and she said that, you know, I said, well, you know, we wanna make ape, uh, uh, we wanna take over the stage.

Speaker 5 (00:22:39):

We wanna make a speech to, to the class. And she was like, well, I can't do that. Obviously that would be wrong. We've all been told we can't participate, um, in anything having to do with these unpleasanties, that y'all are engaged in. But I suppose if after I start my introduction, if you were to walk on the stage, I would be so shocked. I would have to sit down, leaving the microphone there for you. Um, and so, you know, some, some of my Spellman sisters and I, you know, took, took over, made our comments, blah, blah, blah, blah. My point with that is not like, oh, and, and we ended up with Janetta co and there was a takeover of the board of trustees. And like, it turned into a moment of activism that some, that folks at Spelman know about it wasn't national news.

Speaker 5 (00:23:26):

It wasn't, you know, it just wasn't, it, it was important for some black folks to know it was happening. Um, it didn't hit the, the kind of airwaves, but that dance between a space where you, where you learn that if you care enough about it, um, it's worth standing up. It's worth defending. It's worth defining. Um, not everybody at Spelman agreed that this was some people were like, well, that's not, you're gonna cause trouble. And, and we'll make a statement, but be a nice person. You know, like black people in politics, we are complex. We don't all think the same. Um, so it was not everybody who even had a, who even necessarily thought you needed a woman president, not every, not all the black women in Spelman necessarily thought that was an imperative. Um, but it was an institution with people in it that cared enough about us and who, um, linked that idea of empowerment, of leadership, of voice, of politics, to being a black person, to being a black woman.

Speaker 5 (00:24:35):

What we were regularly told is you are a Spellman woman. That means you come from a tradition of excellence, um, and excellence is what is expected and required. Now people define that in very different ways. Um, my point is not just a trip down memory lane. I know that we're talking about 20, 21 and how are university students. Um, but I do wanna go back to that point. I, I began with about how HBCUs create the conditions. Actually it starts with segregated K through 12 schools. I'll start there with the teachers in those schools, um, goes through HBCUs, create a condition where black people believe some black people believe that, um, it's important enough for them to fight for a vision of those institutions as a stepping stone, as a way of, of thinking about the kind of world you wanna create, the kind of world that you're willing to fight for and what black people and black identity and black politics have to do with that.

Speaker 5 (00:25:38):

And I found throughout my, my life, um, there are precious few for black women, at least which I can say their precious few spaces that actually, um, create those conditions, nurture those, those, um, those conditions actually encourage, um, a kind of insurgency encourage a kind of pushback. You see that in black institutions, like the black church, um, like, like black schools, uh, K through 12 and like HBCUs. And so in some ways I see what's happening, um, at Howard now is a, is a part of a, a much longer tradition than what started in the sixties with SNCC, but certainly a part of that tradition about students, student activism, black space, um, and you first

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make those spaces look like what you need them to look like, or speak out, to speak back to those in power about why those spaces don't look like, what you need them to look like before you turn your attention elsewhere.

Speaker 3 (00:26:41):

And that, that context is, is super important because I think we see that history repeat itself. We see that there is, um, the, these cycles where these young people are going in and out, and we're learning these new skills and opportunities. Um, but Josh, you know, as somebody who is on the ground there working with students every day, um, I'd love for you to kind of weigh in on like what's happening, what you're seeing. Um, and like what's also necessary to be able to sustain, you know, the students there.

Speaker 6 (00:27:07):

Yeah. Um, well, I'm on the virtual ground, so I haven't been there yet, uh, physically, but we've been in contact, of course. Um, we have no time to talk about the problems at Howard, but I do, um, about, um, the deeper context here, right? I don't follow or accept the idea that there was ever a golden age in higher education. A lot of people do and like talk about, you know, the, the era of the, the cold war money coming in, like the fifties and the sixties and all that stuff. Well, I don't really accept that, but at the same time, right? The current age is unsustainable. Neoliberalism is completely crushing higher education instead of becoming a place where people are, are centering, learning, centering intellectual development. It's almost as if we are all like subjects of market forces. That's the only thing that matters in this higher education environment.

Speaker 6 (00:28:04):

And we see that how, when we see that in terms of the, the, the practices of care protection and ultimately the practices of education, how we center, the very idea of reading, writing, studying all of that is, is reducible to, to market, to the market forces, right? And so that's really the general context for what happens at Howard. And we know that if there's a crisis in higher education, generally, that's going to be exacerbated at HBCUs. And so to make it more, uh, specific, they are protesting right now over questions of quality of life, which has always been a major, major issue with H B C U protests, right? Quality of life issues are those issues that have to do with housing, those issues that have to do, uh, with the, with, with the, uh, status of, uh, the, the resources that you are given as a consequence of being a student.

Speaker 6 (00:28:55):

And so our students are going without basics, and they're also being subject to the violence of living unsafe conditions, right. That has to be confronted, right? Cause you can't study, you can't learn, you can't really do anything. You can't live right. In these particular, in these particular conditions. So quality of life is there, right? But one of the things that the H B C U student protests that we've learned about in the past and studied in the past and including those protests that happened in the general, the general black campus revolution to use market beyond these term, right, is that we need a voice. And so HBCUs for so long into the 1960s, believe that we are in the place of your parents in local parentis. You're not adults, <laugh>, you're our children. And so for so long, all the decisions that made, whether it be about the curricula, whether it be about judiciary issues, grievances were made without students' input.

Speaker 6 (00:29:48):

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And so students fought hard to be represented in every major committee that had something to do with the nature of their education and nature of their experience on campus that included the committees that were on college level within the colleges, schools, and colleges that also includes university wide, um, committees. And it also includes the highest levels of governance, including the board of trustees. And so the student trustee concept is a concept that comes directly out of the student movement, right? For so long before 1967, if something happened to you, right, it was these two or three people who were making decisions about your future, about your destiny, right? At least theoretically with student governance, it was like I, as a student can be on a committee and kind of help build a case or help plead a case for a student, cuz I understand the student experience well this summer, how university decided to get rid of that position.

Speaker 6 (00:30:41):

And so today these students are fighting to get that reinstated. And I must mention, that's also an alum. The alumni are also fighting to get the alumni trustee, uh, position reinstated. And I must also say as a faculty member and the faculty are also fighting to get the faculty trustee position reinstated because we believe in shared governance, not just on paper, but in reality. And so that's there, the other thing that's there is you have to understand who is involved in terms of the students, right? So I definitely wanna highlight the live movement, just an organization that actually is an H B C U advocacy organization. It's run by. It has members at Howard, including, including, um, I, I wanna say she could, would call herself the leader, um, Anaya, vines, uh, who is the person you, you all been seeing the Bullhorn, um, at the protest, right?

Speaker 6 (00:31:34):

But its membership includes people from all different HBCUs. Now this precedent went for this, right? There was a national black student unity Congress in the 1980s, there was also the save and change black schools movement of the 1970s, the national organization of black and university college students in the 1970s. And so how do you create an organization of H B, C U students and what will be your issues? That's where the issue of debt came in. So those students in the live movement have been protesting, um, about, about HBCs in higher education, going back to the Trump administration. And so they had an encampment, uh, down in front of the department of ed department of ed. I think that was in 2018 or 2019. And, um, they've continued to raise that issue of how you create equity in the budget, in the federal government's budget department of education's budget that handles, um, H B C U funding.

Speaker 6 (00:32:29):

And I, I just want to emphasize, again, this is beyond just Howard. These are other HBCU who are involved in that, uh, organization as well. And then finally, what is the link to Africana? Well, every protest at Howard, including the most famous ones, uh, 1968, the major one that was, uh, in the eyes on, was in eyes on the prize, right. Um, comes out of a very important personal connection in terms of myself because it was the Orangeburg massacre in February of 1968, that inspires the wave of black protest activity and the demands of African studies at HBCUs. Most people say April 4th, 1968. Well that has more to do with the kind of widening and spreading it. But black students at HBCUs are protesting because these Orangeburg massacre testing, because these orange break massive, right, three, three, uh, students killed on the campus of South Carolina state university, right?

Speaker 6 (00:33:23):

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So by the time you get to March 8th, 1968, that protest adds a demand. It says we want black studies in 1989 on the protest that I cover in my book, we are worth fighting for. There's a demand to support Africana studies by building a graduate program in Africana studies. What both movements, both of those protest movements recognize is that the warrant for us, of our ability to actually represent our community, right? Even quote unquote, if you, even, if you wanna say lead, our community is knowledge of that community and HBCUs have to give, have to be at the, at the four of that, right? In 1989, they say, how come we have an African center or Afrocentric movement that doesn't include HBCUs. They literally used use that language. We won an Afrocentric camps, 1968. They said, we won a black university. Ultimately it wasn't enough to have a university with black people.

Speaker 6 (00:34:23):

It had to have a black orientation. And that's really, uh, what, what, what threads these conversations together. And it's also on what threaded the 2018 Howard university student protest is demand to do something differently with the university. And so you're right, that they're all linked and threaded together. It's also linked threaded together with what black students are doing. And other HCU is also linked and threaded together with what black students have done at majority white institutions as well. And talk about that conversation as well. Right? People like Columbia where actually came down to Howard before they did their protests in April of 1968. Right? So that's, there are, there are many connections here and I think it's all connected to, um, the idea that SNCC and other organizations felt that in order to empower people, they must be able to set the terms of how they educate and give each other and produce knowledge and share knowledge. Right. It must be done in our own terms.

Speaker 3 (00:35:21):

No, I appreciate that, Josh. Um, definitely a lot of great context there. Um, thank you. Plugging the live movement. Um, an is a phenomenal organizer, uh, just a shameless plug at the end of the month. Um, October 25th through 29th on October 29th. Um, we're gonna do a March from the of education to the capital, uh, demanding for, uh, cancellation to student debt funding for HPCU and free college as well. So, uh, they're also working with us and multiple organizations to do that, but that the movement continues. And it's very important for us to understand that I wanna, uh, draw attention to the point that you brought about like, what are people learning? What are we learning at these institutions? Um, and the role that black and Africana studies plays in the movement. Um, and each of you, as, as scholars, as activists, as organizers, folks who have done stuff, um, and, and to the point that you made Josh, right, like SNCC and what they were doing, it spread like wildfire, right. I grew up in California and still can, can draw the connections there, um, from the organizations that helped develop me to become who I am. Um, but also how important it was to have that political education and that understanding and that knowledge. And so I'm really interested to hear, um, from, from each of the panelists, um, you know, what is, what is the role that, you know, these studies programs have in developing young people?

Speaker 6 (00:36:39):

Anybody can go or <laugh>

Speaker 5 (00:36:42):

Go first just to break up the, the <laugh> please. Yeah. Um, one of the things about the, the sixties, um, about the black freedom movement of which SNCC was part, um, to me wa was the

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idea of study of studying what was going on the, the, the need for, um, context. Um, and so you had thinkers like CLR James or, uh, uh, the African freedom struggle as it's as one country after another's falling in the, in the late fifties. Um, that serves as a kind of context, the, um, the Chinese revolution and the, the fall, the, uh, revolution in Cuba, all of this, like you had a generation of black people globally, um, who thought that, who saw and could clearly say that the same foot is on all of our necks and different ways. Um, and we're taking, um, sustenance from, but also reading the works of what is happening around, um, liberation and freedom.

Speaker 5 (00:38:05):

It wasn't just reading black thinkers. Um, it was reading very broadly, um, to, to figure out what can we take, what do we need to know? What's the analysis? What's the context? Well, how do we build based on what came before, not how do we parrot, right? What, what do we take for each phase of the struggle, um, that we're building. And certainly, I think some of that is, is, um, encapsulated in the demands that you start to see for black studies programs. Um, the analysis that's undergirding, the, the reading groups and the thinking groups and the SNCC is SNCC is famous for these day long meetings as they're, um, deciding collectively what kind of action they wanna take, right? I mean, you, everyone would participate and it could take hours and hours, if not the whole day, if not a couple of days for them to make sure the analysis was right and underlying the analysis was, what do you need to know about the world?

Speaker 5 (00:39:11):

What thinkers do you need to be informed by? How do you then take what folks on the ground know and start to synthesize it with what we are reading to come up with? Something that we can try for this phase, at this moment in this place, um, organized around black freedom. And as those demands from the fifties through the sixties, to the early seventies, really, um, as that reading as that knowledge, and then as the backlash hits, um, in the us and the 1970s, um, as COINTELPRO starts doing its work, as right as the backlash hit, the thing still is people came into, um, institutions of higher education is, but we need to know this, you know, we P people need a context, they need an intellectual roadmap. Um, you gotta know what happened before, so that you can understand who you are. And I think that, that ran through SNCC as a project, um, SNCC as an organization.

Speaker 5 (00:40:15):

And for those who came out of SNCC and founded institutions like the center for black education in DC, um, or federal city college, which has become something else. Now, I forget what, what it was the, but there's a, um, they started a whole college, um, that and recruited CLR. James is one of the first, um, intellectuals to be associated with it, to figure out how to educate, um, black people in DC and in the world in a revolutionary kind of mindset. Um, those elements of black studies, certainly in the program that I came from at Cornell and a few other places really did shape, um, the field, the texture of those places, um, that kind of revolutionary fervor that deep reading into, um, uh, revolution and blackness in a global context. Um, but it, and I think that ended up being a certain kind of training ground for thought and a certain kind of pushback and a certain kind of analysis that really, for a moment, it looked like these were gonna be programs that really were gonna span the, the streets, um, to the, the boardrooms that you would be able to bring people from whatever social space they were in.

Speaker 5 (00:41:41):

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Um, educate them about the us, about capitalism, about racism, about, um, and then as they ascended to higher offices to the boardrooms, they would bring that knowledge with them. Um, a perspective with them, that's about, this is about how you build, um, institutions that, um, or make these institutions responsive to black people and the needs of black people and how you understand, um, the, the foot on the neck of black people and oppressed people and poor people, um, not just in the us, but globally. So I think there's something incredibly hopeful about that, that moment when we see the founding of these programs, um, some of the incredibly transformational, um, and hopeful, um, and the possibilities of what would happen if we had a curriculum for black freedom that most black people had access to wherever they were. I mean, we had teachers about black freedom that were, uh, wherever they were, Michael, I'm sorry, am I talking too long ago? No, no, no,

Speaker 4 (00:42:55):

No. I just wanna pick up on something that, you know, that is both a theme of what you've been raising, I think, and also what Josh said. I, I do think that one of the things that we're we're we're hearing is a need to very intentionally go back at deepen the, the, the understanding we have of the past, what we have done in the past. I think one element of that is really a deeper understanding, uh, of what HBCUs have done and the roles that they have laid and what their identities have been in the past. Because, uh, I think that we, we kind of rediscover elements of, of, of the past of HBCUs in, in moments of crisis, like we're in today, uh, around, uh, you know, whether it's, uh, as, uh, has been pointed out the, uh, the quality of life issues, or even the economic issues facing, uh, black institutions and our students.

Speaker 4 (00:43:57):

And, you know, I would argue that, um, what we, one of the things that we do need is a center for the study of HBCUs, which would really, uh, you know, both be historical, but, uh, pedagogical, I mean, just understanding what they have done, what cha what and how they have done that work at various times in our history. Um, and, and including in moments of, of struggle. I mean, you know, uh, the way we think about our students today as, uh, Josh has pointed out is, I mean, there's a lot of market forces seeing them as a pipeline for workers in the 21st century economy and preparing them to compete for that. So you're seeing their education really as preparing them for their economic roles, you know, but, but HBCUs also prepare them for their spiritual roles, prepare them for their, the, the roles that they will play in the communities in which they reside.

Speaker 4 (00:44:58):

And, uh, they give, they give them a sense of the con self confidence and understanding of themselves to be able to step up and to challenge. I think we need to be much more disciplined and much more, uh, uh, consistent about the study of that when I was a student at Morehouse in the 1960s, uh, in the midst of, of SNCC and, and, and the proximity of SNCC to the, the campus, you know, SNCC was not defining our daily lives as students. We still had step shows. We still had, uh, you know, we were still figuring out who was gonna be miss maroon and white. We were still having homecoming. We were still doing all those things. And, uh, in many ways, uh, the campuses were kind of insulated environments from the, the harsh world of segregated Atlanta and the deep south. And this was true all across, uh, the south where HBCUs were.

Speaker 4 (00:45:52):

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And it's interesting that that kind of, you know, the SNS are over there and we are over here, you know, uh, was a kind of, there was a separation of the two, you know, and they, you know, they're on the campus, you know, they're coming over here to check you out, they're coming over here to get you to, to go be in a demonstration, you know, but it was them. And, and, and, and us, it, wasn't always a, we then in 1968, uh, after Dr. King is killed, uh, more how students lock up the board of trustees, uh, you know, that, that activism begins to that the, the, the, the strategies that were used by, uh, the activists in SNCC, we are now incorporating them in, in student action on the campuses. And, and, oh, by the way, I think a point that you were making Josh with talking about Orangeburg, I, I think it's 1969, that you have the massacre at Jackson state.

Speaker 4 (00:46:53):

And, and so the other thing is that, you know, uh, black students and black institutions are seen as, uh, dangerous, uh, you know, <laugh>, they're not just preparing us for, you know, genteel life, uh, after graduation as black professionals, but they're seen as, uh, as dangerous institutions and are attacked as such. And, and, and some of that, what you saw at Columbia in 1968 was preceded as noted by actions, uh, around governance and who was on a board of trustees and who had voice and protest against the war in Vietnam and, uh, issues of the poor people's campaign and other issues. Those were on the campuses. You know, I, I protested against Dow chemical, uh, on the Morehouse campus when they were recruiting on, on the campus recruiting my senior year. So, you know, this, I think there's, we don't, we still don't know enough about our history. We don't treat it as the rich mine, uh, that it is. And we're, it's not, I think, therefore informing how we think about the past, but also how we encounter the present and prepare for the future.

Speaker 3 (00:48:18):

I think that's, I think it's very deep. Um, and even some of the questions that we're getting in the chat really are about the history, right. You know, a lot of folks, and I, I, I try to fight some of this notion because I think there are young people who do that, but a lot of people say, you know, young people don't know their history. Um, and part of it is the fact that they don't necessarily have access, or they haven't been given the opportunity to do that. But how are we, we really pushing them to, to make sure that we're documenting those histories, documenting these experiences, right? This Howard protest is super significant and needs to be, you know, uh, documented in history. So people can look back at it. Like we've seen these things happen over and over again, how are we learning from them, uh, taking them and adapting them. Um, but really kind of bringing back to this, and I would love for you Josh, to, to, to weigh in really about, you know, what the, the students are learning, um, and how it's changing their lives.

Speaker 6 (00:49:07):

Yeah. Yeah. Let me just say to the, to the last point, if anybody's listening, right. Who's thinking about writing a check, earmarked that money for the libraries and the archives, please, because you talk about that rich mind, it's just sitting there waiting for it to be made available on a wider scale. It's there. Um, my colleague Lopez Matthews, who's doing, doing a great job of digitizing the Howard story, right? I mean, I tell people all the time, this isn't, this, isn't just a Howard story. If you wanna study the 20th century pan Africanism, go to the Hilltop, the student newspaper, because all of that stuff was happening in DC and afterward, and they covered it. They were at the seven, the six pan African Congress in Dar es Salaam, long Tanzania. Right. And so any event right of consequence is going to have somehow we're archival resonance, but we need to make that widely available.

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Speaker 6 (00:50:11):

And that's one of the major threats also in terms of SNCC digital. Um, so throw the, throw the money into the, to the libraries too. Don't forget the libraries. Um, so my approach to Africana studies is to look at the black, um, experience through, through an Africana studies lens. And so my, uh, disciplinary, uh, orientation is the discipline of, of, of Africana studies of African studies as a discipline, which of course gives us a sense that the experience can be understood on its own terms. And so we take various approaches. Um, now taking teaching class is, um, I've taken I've teaching, I've taught classes where, um, the only thing that we're gonna talk about is the history of SNCC, where we're gonna do it from an Africana studies lens. I've taken classes, I've taught classes where we we've done the Haitian revolution on the same, on the same basis on the same premise, because our experiences are so large that we can't, state's start from year one and come to the present.

Speaker 6 (00:51:07):

I mean, that would take literally hundreds of semesters to really do. And so in my intro courses, I take a segment and what I do is to use that segment, to really talk about the ways in which we go about studying black people, the methodologies that we should use to study black people. And that's been, um, very rewarding because it allows me, uh, to engage with the, the building of the discipline in many ways. Um, and I think that pro that project, that process is, um, an ongoing one. But in the meantime, as we're doing that, we're also learning about people like Annie Pearl, Avery, who is a part of SNCC who is not a household name, right. Or Gloria Richardson, who is now becoming more of a household name, right? So my students leave with that too. They leave with something that they never would've.

Speaker 6 (00:51:56):

Would've gotten, had it not been in African studies course, because as much as, uh, you know, other disciplines are getting much better, there's no guarantee that you're gonna learn about the Haitian revolution anywhere else, right. It's not a guarantee it's not baked into the curriculum. And so what I was saying earlier in terms of this notion that you can, you can get Africana studies just by being at an HC, whether or not they have a department or not. One of the things that we try to do at Howard is sort of be the methodological force that allows those departments to approach the way that they think about the African experience, um, differently. And so we engage with historians and sociologists and political scientists, as we are engaging with this methodological principle that says, yes, we can understand our lives and our experiences on our own terms.

Speaker 6 (00:52:46):

That's the most important thing, right? And from there, we can build in the topics we can build in the subjects, but the method methodology has to be there. And that's really why, um, the students supported African American studies, um, at Howard in fact, Howard, um, students in the 1980s actually lead the fight to make Howard students, to make university, um, have African American studies as a mandatory class in order for every student to graduate. And so that's still in place. And I tell my students all the time, no administration came up with this requirement, that's on your, on your, on your schedule. That was students that came up with that requirement. So there was something that was not happening in 1980s, that they wanted to happen in terms of how our students are being able to go wherever they go with this foundation. And so that's where we are now.

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Speaker 3 (00:53:36):

And I think, I think you, you see that at a different HPCU across the country. I remember in 2019, I was down at Norfolk state university and they make all their freshmen take that course, make sure they understand that, make sure that, that, that history is, is locked in and, you know, the foundations of what has allowed you to, to be here today. Um, and so I think that's very vital and, and necessary and continued necessary for, uh, the future of our HBCUs. Um, I wanna remind folks who are paying attention and listening to this panel, that if you have any questions, so feel free to, to drop that in the Q and a, uh, I'm gonna go to one of the questions that we received from Ferra, a Davis PhD, um, she asks, how are H C U students, faculty and administrators today modeling or expanding the work that Mississippi HBCUs, particularly Jackson, state, and Tolu college students, um, and student body faculty engaged with SNCC, the NAACP to work for black freedom in the sixties. And I think I'm gonna, I'm gonna pitch this to Michael, cause I think you were kind of,

Speaker 4 (00:54:39):

Oh, wait, you're gonna pitch that to me. I run the United Negro college fund. I do not run black studies. So I'm, I'm gonna pitch it right back to Josh. Uh, my other colleague, cause I do not, I do not have the answer.

Speaker 6 (00:54:52):

Sure.

Speaker 3 (00:54:53):

Got you. Yeah.

Speaker 6 (00:54:54):

Yeah. Okay. Well, I think the question speaks to how Tulu really Tulu. I provided a safe space, um, for student organizers, um, mentioned ETT Cole earlier. No leeway. And it made me think about the Institute of black world. And, um, you know, one of the other students who comes through the Institute's Joyce, Latin, who got kicked outta Jackson state and came to Tulu and we were on an interview Wednesday and, you know, Joyce says it was like, you know, dying and going to heaven. When I got Tulu <laugh> I thinks really interesting. Cause one is a state institution getting state funds and others private, I think that's has a lot to do with it. They were able to do things, um, at Tulu. And that I think is a motto. I think if there's a student happening or if a youth movement happen, right, those students should be able to have their meetings at HBCUs.

Speaker 6 (00:55:48):

They should be able to have their training sessions at HBCUs ILA, Ella baker in 1960, right. Or aah, Howard in 1963 when SN this national conference at Howard university. And from my perspective, we're not doing enough of that. If, if any of that, right. Where did black lives matter have their national convention? Wasn't that an H B C U. And so there's something about, um, that, that space, you know, you feel it when you're in that space and I think it's, it's, it's a, it's an important safe Haven or they, or we should be an important safe Haven for people who want to learn how to be an activism. What, um, what goes into what goes into organizing?

Speaker 4 (00:56:31):

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If I may just, I, I would say this, that I believe that, uh, we are seeing, uh, in the emerging, uh, new generation of black leadership, we are seeing that HBCUs are still producing extraordinary leaders. Uh, obviously, you know, Stacey Abrams, a Spelman alumna, although I, you know, so often I hear about where she went to law school and where she got her masters in public administration, but they don't talk as much or, or didn't initially when she went to Yale for a law school, they wouldn't say that she was an alumni of Spelman college and her parents are alumni of Tulu. And I think that, uh, there's in, in her D N a in the way she was shaped, uh, by her parents, uh, and at Spelman, uh, you have Stacy Abrams today, you know, uh, uh, Derek Johnson, who is the, uh, head of the NAACP is a Tulu graduate.

Speaker 4 (00:57:32):

And he is living in Jackson, Mississippi, uh, leading, uh, the NAACP. So I do think that there is, uh, that these institutions are still producing, uh, you know, both, uh, what I would call subversive leadership and traditional leadership in the black community. And, and then still produce, I mean, Rafael Warnock is here. Another example, you know, uh, you know, he, he, I, he's deeply rooted in a very specific kind of activist, uh, theology that comes out of Benjamin Mays and, uh, you know, and, and others, and, and that is a tradition at Morehouse. So I, I think that is still there. I don't think that we, again, I think in terms of your point about, you know, investing in the, uh, libraries and the, uh, the archives, but I think it's also in the faculty, uh, that we, we need a new generation of faculty who are immersing themselves in the history of our HBCUs and teaching that history, uh, from the Africana lens. I mean, I just think that that is, um, both incredibly important for us to do in terms of preserving our history. But I think it's also very important to do in terms of preparing the specific kind of, of activism that comes out of the H B C U tradition.

Speaker 3 (00:59:07):

Hmm. And I think, I think your point D directly refutes, you know, people who say, well, going to an H B, C U you know, you're, you're putting yourself in a bubble. That's not the way the world works. That's not the way that, you know, uh, you're gonna exist or, or get a job where it's like, no, you, this is a, a space for self-preservation, um, for history, for culture, um, that produces strong leaders that are, you know, directing the country and doing phenomenal and amazing things. Um, and I think yet the point that you make directly connects to the history that we've seen within, in SNCC and the NAACP and folks doing local organizing work, um, and making sure that they were engaging with young people, um, at the center of those movements. And so it's, it's an honor to continue that legacy. Um, we have another question

Speaker 6 (00:59:55):

At one place. We haven't mentioned just, just name, the place, Greensboro, North Carolina, that's it Aggie pride, but also Bennett bell, Malcolm. Yeah.

Speaker 3 (01:00:17):

That is real. That is real. Um, we have another question, um, particularly thinking about how HBCUs can broaden civic education of students through black studies, um, so that the traditions of SNCC continues despite some of America's resistance to culturally diverse curriculum.

Speaker 6 (01:00:34):

Woo. Um, woo

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Speaker 3 (01:00:37):

Lilly way. You wanna take a shot of this?

Speaker 5 (01:00:41):

Uh <laugh> you know, I really, I, I, but I was, um, literally just kind of threading through some of what we've been talking about, and at least in my experience in African studies, this is not a H B C U portion here. This is, uh, Africana studies, a predominantly white institutions. One of the struggles is actually getting many of my students, um, to want to engage with comu. Actually. I mean, if I'm, if I'm honest, when I was at Spelman, that was also a, a struggle, like the idea of the community that at the time surrounded, um, Spelman and Spelman is the one, uh, that had a wall that separated, um, it, from, um, the, the comm at the time there was a community, there was public housing. There was like, things have changed since. Um, and there was always a conversation about beyond tutoring programs.

Speaker 5 (01:01:37):

Um, college students across race are happy to do tutoring programs, but beyond tutoring programs, what kind of sustained engagement was there with the poor and working class folks who were right on the other side of, um, the campus walls. Um, and it was a constant kind of refrain. What should we do? Um, and, and what I hear now, and what I think I first started hearing then is I think about it in the eighties is I think about it is what we can do is, is set ourselves up, um, to be economically stable, to make sure that our families, um, and us are cause a lot of these folks are still not that they're, they're, they're, um, paycheck to paycheck middle class. They're not, we have wealth, um, in, in sitting in the bank to work for us kind of, but they're kinda like my, my whole point with this education, um, is not in fact, particularly focused on thinking about what I can do for the least of these, what I can do for other black people, what I can do, um, to disrupt, um, the, the, the various pipelines that continue in the diaspora.

Speaker 5 (01:02:54):

Um, and so I, I, I think that, uh, there is, again, it predominantly cuz I, I don't know, um, if this is still true at HBCUs, but in Africana studies that who, who you're teaching and what they're going to do with it, um, is still a kind of question. Like we teach them organizing, we teach them, um, uh, pushback. We teach them intellectual history. We give them tools. Um, but the tools are not necessarily those that they're thinking about, um, bettering the conditions of, um, other black people. And in fact, you're considered a little bit quaint, cute, and, um, a little bit quaint in, in a throwback if you're still talking about education in the service of, um, folks. And again, some people are like, cuz I'm in the service of my family. What you're talking about is my family. So if I get a job and pulling them up out of poverty, that's what I'm trying to do. Not necessarily agitating against, um, political systems and mindsets, um, to, to realign them. So, um, yeah, I don't have a good H B C U <laugh> like answer for that, that part.

Speaker 4 (01:04:12):

I, I do have a, a one, which is, I think that there is an emerging sense, uh, among the 100 plus, uh, surviving historically black colleges and universities that have been discovered. We haven't talked about that. They've been discovered, you know, by the outside world, but in the conversations that we are having internally, I think an increasing sense that, um, this is an opportunity to strengthen what happens inside the walls and to build bridges to the communities outside the walls. And, and that, that the, you know, the notion that, um, we hear a lot about

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today, which is that, uh, you know, we need to build wealth in the black community and, uh, build assets in the black community, uh, that I believe that, that, that work is done by individuals and organizations, but it is also being done. It is done by institutions. And, you know, if black colleges remain proximate to those communities, whether they have a wall around them or not, they are, they are there.

Speaker 4 (01:05:32):

And I think that, uh, you know, really asking ourselves, how do we use, how, how do we creatively engage that proximity so that we are not just doing the work inside the walls, but we are doing the work beyond the walls and that we are building that sense of connection. Once again, I think that is something that we have lost. I think that is something that we must embrace. You know, if you go around a lot of HBCUs, they look like, uh, community, uh, you know, they, they are, they are wiping out the neighborhoods around them buying the property, redeveloping it, uh, either for educa, for educational purposes or for, uh, you know, housing, but it's not for housing for the people who lived in those communities before. Right. And, and so I do think that this notion that I, I believe deeply that education is a, you know, one of the foundations of social and economic mobility, uh, and you know, and that HBCUs have been powerful engines for economic mobility, uh, in the black community and undervalued for that purpose. We have to be more intentional about that. And we have to, we have to have strategies which direct, which link directly to the communities that surround our institutions

Speaker 3 (01:06:54):

Most necessary most necessary. Well, we are, are getting close to the close of our panel. And so I definitely wanna make sure, um, folks are able to give some closing statements and really thinking about, you know, what is the future for our HPCU, for our, our black and African studies programs, you know, to the question that was asked before, um, you know, we were seeing, uh, folks say that, you know, programs like this or spaces like these make kids mad and make them angry and make them frustrated because they're learning the, the real history of, of America and the real history of their people. Um, but there is a future for, for these institutions and for these studies. And so, um, I'll, I'll start off with, uh, Josh. Um, we got about two minutes to eat per person, uh, but really thinking about what is the future of HCU and African studies and black studies programs.

Speaker 6 (01:07:44):

Thank you. Um, I like the idea of a center for the study of HBCUs. Um, let's get it done. How are we gonna get it done? Um, there's some scholarship coming, um, some scholarship, um, that I've been a part of, but also some scholarship that I know that other scholars are scholars are going to be producing the next few years and not only center HBCUs, but center student activism at HBCUs. So it's going to be an exciting time in the scholarly world, but we need to make sure that that work, um, is a home at, um, a place where HBCUs can reach it, not just in the academic associations, but in, you know, the freshman seminar classes. Um, I think Janani favors his book is being taught, forget which institution is it, uh, fam might be found. Um, but yeah, I think with this new scholarship coming, I think I like the idea of, for the study of HBCUs, um, in terms of black studies, I don't know.

Speaker 6 (01:08:43):

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Um, I just wrote an article which just got, had an article published in a very important volume that I think everybody, um, on the life of and work of Andrew Billingsley, um, is published by, uh, black classic press. You can't miss it if you go to their website. Um, one of, one of our great institutional builders also connected to the student in that world also connected to the history of black studies also, however, just like, um, professor Latner connected to leadership at an H B C U, right? And so, um, his life is really important, but in, in that text, a BI article tries to think about the future of, of African studies. Um, but I really don't know I'm hopeful of course, but I just don't know. I mean, universities have a way of, of, of moving where, where I, I will say this African studies outside of university has to be strong for it to be inside inside university for it to be effective inside. I'm hopeful.

Speaker 5 (01:09:47):

I'll just say thank you guys. I'll just say, cuz mine is, mine is very quick. Here I am, am in a, at a moment I am feeling distinctly pessimistic about the us and the promise and protections of citizenship and democracy. As I look at what's happening to kind of, kind of, um, broaden out, I'm waiting to see what happens with voting rights protections. Um, I'm waiting to see, um, what happens with, with some of the other stuff that, that we need to have happen. Um, but I, I believe that we're heading backwards. Like I kind of feel like we're round around in the 1950s right now in some ways, in some ways. Um, and I, uh, it, I'm always saying there's a, there's a historian Timothy Snyder who, who writes about fascism in, in Europe. Um, and one of the things, the rise of fascism in Europe, and one of the things that he says talking about, um, Germany in the 1930s, the late 1930s is that there were a group of people who determined that they had to pick an institution and defend it with their life. Um, and I believe that HBCUs and educational institutions, we're at a point where we need to pick it. Um, we need to defend it. We need to understand it. We need to, um, keep them safe because I, I think trouble what trouble is could find us, um, sooner than we think.

Speaker 4 (01:11:22):

So I guess I'm next mm-hmm <affirmative> so I'm gonna, I'm gonna say that. Yes, you could be pessimistic, but, uh, I believe it was for limo who's, uh, whose, uh, who slogan was LA Lucha continue? The struggle continues. I get, I think, I just think that we're still in the, in the struggle. I want to just say to Josh, I'm ready to join you on the center for the study of HPCUs. Uh, and I, I think connecting that to the work of, I B w and I remember Andy Billingsley, uh, during his heyday and, and just am so delighted that he, his name is being lifted up in this conversation. Um, you know, this is a, this is a moment for HBCUs. They're getting a lot of attention. We have a vice president of the United States who is an H B C U grad, uh, over the last, uh, year, we have gotten billions of dollars in federal funding, uh, invested in H B C U so that they are, uh, more secure financially than they were at the beginning of the, uh, of the pandemic.

Speaker 4 (01:12:25):

Uh, and, and I am all for economic security of HBCUs. I, I work for that and fight for that. Every day, I fight for public policies, which will address the issues of, uh, student debt. But I also think that we have to be a strong advocates for the souls of HBCUs, uh, for their, uh, the content of what these institutions have done and, uh, are doing today and must do in the future. And so I think that, uh, a part of any study of black life Africana studies are otherwise must include the study of these institutions, uh, to at remind us of what they have done and foremost of what they're doing today and challenges in terms of what they will do in the future.

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Speaker 3 (01:13:11):

Amazing. Amazing. Thank you so much, Michael. Thank you so much nearly way. Thank you so much, Josh. This has been a phenomenal panel. I love as an organizer that we have action steps. Things are actually gonna happen and move from this amazing conversation. Um, so thank y'all so much for joining. I wanna thank the SNCC 60th planning committee, uh, for putting together this amazing, uh, conversation and very excited to continue the word that we are doing in this movement.

Speaker 5 (01:13:35):

Thank you.