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"BLACK THURSDAY"
A BLACK STUDENT DEMONSTRATION
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

AN EXAMINATION OF CHANGE

Anthropology 518

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The event that is described in this report is the first attempt made to construct the events of "Black Thursday", a Black student demonstration at the University of Florida, into any kind of history other than in brief newspaper form.

This compilation of events was prepared from more than three full file drawers of records in the President's Office and hundreds of newspaper articles. In addition the author, who had served as assistant to the president of the University of Florida from 1964 to 1970 and who was a part-time research assistant to the president at the time of this particular incident, drew on his personal knowledge and observation of events.

The value of relating a history is the lessons we can learn from it. This relation of history is an attempt to objectively evaluate the incident and to identify those anthropological principles which were either observed or violated.

The Environmental Setting

The University of Florida, like other large universities, is a complex institution with many goals and objectives. It is as diverse as the 15 colleges and one school located on its campus and the 200 departments within these academic units. Some 23,000 students, 2,000 faculty, and 6,000 staff comprise the university community.

A faculty Senate, a student Senate, and more than 100 university-wide committees have a part in the decision making process which is otherwise formally structured on a hierarchal basis.

It is steeped in tradition which affects the ways in which things are accomplished. Examples are procedures for due process, for achieving change, for communicating, and for evaluating the accomplishments of one's peers. Language requirements, doctoral committees, and academic ceremonies are other examples of the tradition which is established as university procedure.

Within this bureaucratic structure, which idealizes itself as being more democratic than most of society, not only open to innovation but a seedbed for new concepts, change occurs slowly. Deliberation and debate temper many movements which would change the structure overnight.

The Black Student Union is a part of this structure in that it is sanctioned and supported by the university. However, it differs from the larger structure in a number of ways. First, BSU has very little structure. The leadership that it has had in recent years has been highly mobile, passing from one member to the other. Second, the norms of the ethnic group comprising the membership differ considerably from the white middle-class values upheld by the university as a whole. Third, BSU shares two qualities common to all student groups and all young people. First, the students comprising the organization, like all students, are a highly transient part of the university community. This means they bring to the university little understanding or awareness of the traditions of the university and have youth's impatience in changing those traditions with which they do not agree or for which they do not recognize the reasons for their being.

It should be noted that while administrators are also a highly transient group, there is a significant difference. Administrators bring with them established concepts of university tradition and function. Students share little of this.

One other environmental condition deserves mention. The spring of the year is a period of student unrest. A period known for its panty raids, bon fires, Easter weekend escapades,

water fights, riots, and pop festivals. Therefore, actions that would not normally trigger student interest and participation during other periods of the year can be explosive during the spring months. It would be unfair, however, to discount Black Thursday as just another over-zealous spring frolic. The issues go much deeper. It is possible, however, that this protest may have been planned to take advantage of the spring spirit which seems to occur on the campus each year.

It should also be noted that President O'Connell took advantage of the "spring frolic" tradition to assuage the fears of the governor, legislators, and others and prevent over-reaction on their part.

The Issues

The issues which triggered "Black Thursday" were deeper than the demand for a Black Cultural Center which appeared to be the issue causing this disruption. The issue was one of Black cultural identity and the desire to belong and to be able to identify with the larger university community. This issue took the form and raised the question of recruitment of Black faculty and Black students--complex issues for a university which sees itself as striving for quality in all its academic programs, but which is continually thwarted in this endeavor by a lack of funds and legislative bickering concerning the university's role in the state's higher education system.

Faculty and administrators found themselves caught in the squeeze of determining whether to lower admissions standards, use scarce funds to support Black recruitment and Black remedial programs, earmark already inadequate financial aid to a specific group, and to pay black faculty higher salaries than they would have to pay if the faculty member were white.

History of Events Leading Up To Black Thursday

As we analyze Black Thursday, it appears that on the part of the administration this was an "unanticipated event." Yet the history and facts indicate it should not have been. More than a year prior to this confrontation, President O'Connell, Vice President Hale and others met with the membership of the Black student group. This meeting was bitter. There was no harmony of agreement. No effort for understanding. Nothing was achieved but verbal confrontation. The author left the meeting with the thought that unless solutions were found to reduce the bitterness among Black students, a serious confrontation would occur which might indeed be worse than any the university had previously experienced.

To say that the administration and university were totally ignoring the situation would, however, be most incorrect. Shortly after O'Connell became president, he created a special Action Conference to study problem areas on the campus. One of these areas involved the Black student and the Black faculty member. The action of this conference had a large part in the hiring of a Black student adviser and the establishment of a special freshman year program for Black students.

O'Connell also created a "Disadvantaged Student Committee" to study the problems involving Black students.

This committee functioned under two capable chairmen who did much to assuage bitterness among Black students and to increase the awareness and understanding of administrators and faculty. The year of Black Thursday, however, the committee had not functioned. Partially because of inaction on the part of a new chairman and partially because of apparent frustration with the lack of attention the recommendations of the committee received. A special Black crisis committee had also been created under the leadership of Vice President Sisler. This committee had been created in part to deal with HEW criticism and to get the university in compliance with HEW requirements. Members of the Disadvantaged Students Committee felt that Sisler and his committee had usurped their function.

O'Connell had also directed the Vice President for Academic Affairs to determine why more Black faculty were not being hired and gave support to additional effort in the recruitment of Black students. The vice president reported he had queried all deans and department chairmen. The problem was a lack of qualified Blacks from which to recruit and salary demands which could not be met. Top administrators appeared frustrated by the report and accepted an attitude of resignation.

The end result of all of these activities, however, was

that much had actually been accomplished, but the approach was slow and methodical without any great push on the part of top administration.

The History of Black Thursday and The Days That Followed
With Comment and Analysis.

Thursday, April 15, 1971

At 10 a.m. on April 15, 1971, University of Florida President Stephen C. O'Connell began a conference with a student, David Chafin, in his office in Tigert Hall. This conference was interrupted by some 50 to 60 students who without announcement burst into his office. One of the students then handed him a letter dealing with a proposed "Black Cultural Center" and asked him for a written commitment.

The letter read as follows:

President Stephen C. O'Connell:

We as black students at the University of Florida demand a black cultural centre (sic) as specified by the black cultural committee. We are here to obtain a definite and written commitment from you now!

Love and kisses,

B.S.U.

David Chafin was a Black student. There appears to be evidence that the demonstration was planned to occur during his conference with the president. Admission to the president's inner office was achieved swiftly and without warning and this may have been facilitated by a sympathetic receptionist whose boy friend was Black. This accusation was never made, however, nor was any effort made to place any blame on anyone for the unannounced intrusion. There was also considerable indication that Mitchell, the Black Student Adviser, had a considerable hand in planning the confrontation.

The confrontation was obviously a coercive attempt to gain attention and support. The letter to President O'Connell is a demand for recognition, a plea for identity and a sense of belonging.

President O'Connell interpreted the intrusion as disrespect for his office. I interpret the intrusion as an effort for recognition and the desire for communication. The signature "Love and Kisses, B.S.U." is considered insulting by WASP standards. By Black standards it was probably an attempt to relate to the president. The demand and confrontation followed a pattern Black citizens had found to be effective in early integration efforts and they continue to find it useful today.

After President O'Connell received the letter, he responded that he was in the middle of a conference and that he could not meet with them at that moment, but that he would meet with a reasonable number of their group and their leaders or spokesmen at an appropriate time to discuss the matter with them. He asked them to leave his office and after a few minutes they did. According to an article by Mike Abrams, Chafin said O'Connell warned them: "You will not get any commitment from me for this program or any other program if you approach me in this manner."

The Palm Beach Post correspondent also related one of the students told O'Connell, "Thank you for your unwarranted time."

O'Connell replied, "Thank you for your unwarranted interruption."

Upon concluding his conference, the president walked down to the Office of the Vice President for Business Affairs. While there, he was informed that a group of students was back in his office. He went back to his office and again asked the group to leave. He explained the university's demonstration policy to them and told them that they were in violation of it. He then warned that they must leave his office and gave them three minutes within which to do so. They did not leave, and after three minutes, he announced

that they were suspended. After the suspension announcement the students left.

What has been evident here is the breakdown of communications between the president and the Black students, coercive measures on the part of each and the resulting alienation. Both the president and the Black students have violated and ignored one another's custom and pattern of communication. Neither party has made the attempt to understand or anticipate the reactions of the other.

At 11:30 a.m., O'Connell had an appointment in his office with Sam Taylor, a Black campus vice presidential candidate for student government office and another Black student. He invited the Executive Vice President Harry Sisler and James Hennessey, Assistant to the Vice President for Student Affairs, to sit with them. The two students presented a list of six demands which they represented to be the demands of the Black students. The list read as follows:

The Black Student Union has made the following proposals to be considered by the university.

1. There shall be a commitment on the part of the university to recruit and admit 500 Black students out of the quota of 2,800 freshmen and a continuance of the critical year freshman program.
2. Establishment of a department of Minority Affairs under the direction of a full vice president, and the immediate elevation of Mr. Roy Mitchell to this Vice Presidency.

3. Hire a Black administrator in Academic Affairs with the advice and recommendation of department of Minority Affairs to coordinate the recruitment of Black faculty.
4. The hiring of a Black assistant manager in personnel.
5. Intensification of recruitment and hiring of Black faculty so as to reflect the ratio of Black students admitted under the proposal in number 1.
6. The fair and equal treatment of our Black brothers and sisters, who are employed by this university.

Thus far, even though we have pleaded, begged and worked diligently with the administration, our cries have been ignored. This university has consistently denied us these basic needs we deem necessary. We are the voice of the Black student, the Black worker, and the entire Black community. And for our full participation as students, employees, and citizens of this state, these needs must be met.

During this conference, a group of Black students entered the Presidential Reception Room, sitting on the floor and filling it. The entrance to and from the room was blocked. The President asked Mr. Hennessey to go out into the reception area and ask the students to leave.

Just before noon and upon conclusion of his conference with Taylor, the President left his office for an appointment at the Reitz Union. Before leaving he told Vice President Elmore and Hennessey to invoke the demonstration policy if necessary, in order to remove the students from his outer office. On his way out, he stopped in the doorway and again asked the students to leave of their own volition, and told

them that he hoped they would do so. He then went to his noon appointment.

The demands of the Black students were considered coercive and excessive. A year later as we examine them, we find that nearly all of them have been met and it is difficult to remember why the demands appeared so unreasonable. This is a result of change which occurred within the university since that time. There were two factors: two university traditions which the Black students violated in presenting their demands. First, there is the traditional prestige given to the Office of President on campus. This prestige relates to the form of address, way of presentation, and respect one shows to the formal leader of a university. Second, "demand" and power tactics using physical force are considered unacceptable conduct in a university community which aspires to the concept of "honorable men reasoning together" to solve disagreements and to seek solutions to problems.

Administrators, faculty, and students conditioned to this tradition reacted very predictably to this affront to their values. Young faculty and students who did not have these values, on the other hand, failed to sympathize with the president's position. Faculty who recognized this tradition, but who also recognized the different concept and

understanding of the Blacks became the mediators in this situation and sought to achieve workable solutions.

When the Black students refused the request of Hennessy to leave, Roy Mitchell, Coordinator of Minority Affairs, was requested to assist in getting the students to leave. He refused to do so. Mitchell at this point lost his effectiveness as a member of the administrative team. Since his role as an administrator was to serve as a link between Black students and the top administration, he violated his role and forced the university administration to fire him or lose face. Mitchell, falsely assumed the coercive effect of the confrontation would protect him and perhaps catapult him into a vice presidency; one of the demands which he may have had a hand in formulating.

After the students had remained in the waiting room for some 35-40 minutes, they were again asked to leave, and upon refusal to do so were suspended; after again refusing to leave, they were arrested.

Sixty-six of those arrested were University students, six were not. Police photographers attempted to photograph the group prior to arrest. Many of the students covered their faces with newspapers. More than two hours had elapsed from the initial disruption to arrest.

The procedure followed in each instance was that prescribed by the University Demonstration Policy, enacted by

both the University Senate and the Student Senate in 1969. The university regulations were read and suspension announced. After continued refusal to leave, the appropriate Florida Statutes were read and the students warned that their continued interruption of the operation of the President's Office would result in their arrest.

Shortly after his appointment as president, O'Connell very wisely engineered a demonstration policy which received wide acceptance on the campus. He very carefully made certain that all elements of the campus had a part in its formation and endorsed it. This fact gave him support and procedure for handling the disruption surrounding this incident.

The students submitted to arrest peacefully and walked out with arresting officers. They were placed on a University of Florida bus. At this point, the students began to sing. Their contrite behavior and the singing had an emotional effect on student observers who happened to be in the area at the time. These students responded with Black power salutes as the bus drove away to the city police station.

President O'Connell took the position that he should not negotiate the demands of the students. He stated at this time:

I should not and will not negotiate demands with any individual or group. I am willing as I explained to the group when it first entered my office that I would be glad

to meet with a group of reasonable size when an appointment could be arranged. This is still my position.

President O'Connell said that prior to walking into his office, the students involved had never requested the opportunity to meet with him, and were never refused that opportunity. He also stated that:

Mr. Taylor, who I am told was outside and witnessed the first two entrances, was given that opportunity by simple request that morning, and did discuss the same issues with me and Vice President Sisler.

The whole set of circumstances and events, including the fact that the arrested students had divested themselves of identification, appears to have been designed to bring about the result achieved, but each should judge this as he will.

Following his luncheon, President O'Connell called the judicial officer in charge of setting bond for the arrested students and informed him that he was hopeful that the judge would consider releasing on their own recognizance any of those arrested who were students of the University of Florida. He then arranged for David West, a University attorney, to explain this to a rally on the campus, and for him to meet with the judge to identify those who were students.

The Committing Magistrate did this, although the process was delayed because the students at first refused to, or were unable to, identify themselves.

The President acted in behalf of the Black students, probably hoping to reduce tension and to express good faith

to the Black students. The communication effort failed. The chasm was too great at this point. This action was, however, a very effective procedure in conveying the message to the faculty, many students, and the public at large that he was concerned for the Black student. At this point, the president had many elements with which he had to communicate the reasons for his actions and to which he had to appeal for support for these actions.

President of the Student Body Uhlfelder called a rally on the Plaza of the Americas for 2 p.m. The announced purpose was to raise bond money for those arrested, but the rally turned into a march of some 300 to 400 students - both black and white - to the second floor of Tigert Hall outside the President's Office demanding that he speak to them. This occurred at about 2:30 p.m.

According to Associated Press reports, Uhlfelder called for O'Connell's resignation during the rally causing the students to march on the administration building chanting: "O'Connell must go."

The Associated Press quoted Henry Solares, vice president of the student body as stating: "We want him (President O'Connell) to either act or resign."

Solares said petitions calling for O'Connell's resignation would be circulated on campus. The petitions, he said, would

be sponsored by the Student Government, including the president, vice president and 16 cabinet members.

Student Government joined the Black students at this point in attempting to exert coercive power over the administration. This alienated Student Government officials from the Administration. This action on the part of Student Government, however, probably resulted in some remunerative power over the Black students by Student Government and no doubt had an effect in the upcoming student elections.

President O'Connell refused to speak to the students but advised them through the student body president that if they left the building, he would speak to them outside. This was loudly turned down. Campus security forces immediately called for the assistance of other enforcement agencies. It took approximately one hour for the assistance to arrive. At this point, leaders of the group advised that they would leave if the president would speak to them. He did so amid shouts of obscenities and accusation.

He denied the group's demand to remove the suspensions and drop charges against those arrested earlier in the day, and stated that he would not give blanket approval to the list of demands delivered earlier in the day by the Black students, but again said that he would be willing to meet with a reasonable number of the blacks to discuss their

proposals.

According to newspaper reports, by this time someone had climbed the roof of the administration building and the American flag was flying upside down.

Students sang the "Star Spangled Banner" and "God Bless America" before police declared the gathering unlawful.

A number of persons were attempting to act as mediators during the afternoon event. One of the most influential was Father Michael Gannon, a member of the University's Department of Religion and local Catholic Priest.

Others were Student Body President Steve Uhlfelder and Presidential Candidate Bob Mandell and Vice Presidential Candidate Marsha Madorski. At one point, an unidentified student presented an articulate argument of solution to the president and others in his office. The tall, hip student refused to be identified, but stated he was frequently involved in issues of this type.

Father Gannon urged the president to go out and talk to the students. The president agreed to go out on the front steps of the building and talk to the students provided the building was vacated.

After talking with the students, Father Gannon returned and informed the president that the students had agreed to follow him out. The president stated that the building must

be cleared first.

Gannon returned after talking with students and informed the president that the students were leaving.

The president then agreed to go, ordering Vice President Elmore to have all those arrested who remained in the building. Gannon attempted to persuade the president against this action. The president was firm, however, and informed Father Gannon he would not give in on this point.

Gannon was later quoted in one newspaper account as stating that "President O'Connell is the most stubborn man he has ever known."

It was the author's observation that those who were attempting to serve as mediators were reacting from the standpoint of moral involvement. There is a high probability, however, that with Student Government elections coming up, the involvement of Student Government leaders was also calculative.

O'Connell appeared on the steps of the building and according to Associated Press accounts told the students "You've had your warning. You wanted to hear me. Now you're going to hear me."

He told them to either disperse or face suspension and arrest. They greeted his demand with jeers and one student shouted: "Now we're warning you."

"I've been warned before," O'Connell replied. "Now let

me answer your question as to whether the charges will be dropped against the students in my office this morning. The answer is no."

President O'Connell, who is considered by his staff to be an exceptionally even-tempered person, was observed to have had his patience pushed to the limit at this point. Throughout the abusive confrontation, however, President O'Connell remained calm, polite, and firm. While his answers to the crowds demands increased the alienation and at times seemed to add heat to the already inflammable atmosphere, his personal demeanor and his courage in walking into the middle of a hostile crowd earned him respect and support.

The students remaining in Tigert Hall were warned that if they stayed in the building, they would be arrested. Police forces had been strengthened at this point and the officers proceeded to remove those remaining to buses parked behind Tigert Hall.

The crowd then gathered behind Tigert Hall. As the officers began to remove those arrested in the building, the crowd responded by letting the air out of the tires of the buses. The battery cables were also cut. The top of a police car was mashed in and the windshields of two police cars were smashed. Three officers were injured with minor cuts from bricks and stones thrown at them by students.

Police responded by forming riot control lines and pushed the students back. Water hoses were turned on the police by students. The police took the water hoses away

from the students and turned it on them. The students danced in the water, one with an umbrella. Tear gas, however, was used effectively to disperse the crowd by the police. In one case, a canister of tear gas was picked up by a student and tossed back at the police. The police were without gas masks.

The crowd dispersed at about 5 p.m. Those arrested were removed in squad cars. The president's car was covered with debris. Several students had sat on the top and their weight resulted in a large dent in the top.

The president spent most of the afternoon consulting with police officers, discussing the situation with students, some of which were recognized student leaders, and some of which emerged during the confrontation, and on the telephone to the chancellor, the chairman of the Board of Regents, the governor, and legislators. His conversations were primarily of an informative and reassuring nature - that the university had things under control and that over-reaction, outside intervention, was not needed at this time. His usual comment was that this activity was simply a part of the spring student fever.

The effect of outside pressure on a university is great. And it comes from all areas; federal and state governments, powerful organizations, special interest groups, and the public

at large.

It was recommended to the president that he appear on the university's television station program that evening and inform the faculty and students of the events of the day and of his position and reaction to them. The president accepted the recommendation.

He stated the following during this conference:

The university will immediately initiate proceedings to suspend all students who violated the rules of the university. It is assumed that the civil authorities will proceed against those who were arrested.

All of us at the university, and I personally, deeply regret that the students and others involved have shown their lack of good judgment, restraint, and concern for their own welfare and that of the university by precipitating this confrontation at this time.

The university will continue its operation, without those suspended; classes will not be dismissed.

I ask all on this campus to recognize that actions such as those which occurred today will gain nothing for the blacks, the university or higher education. But on the contrary can only harm the best interests of all.

I repeat again that classes will be held as usual tomorrow. The university will not close, but will continue to perform its responsibility to those students who wish to pursue their education.

The president also stated during the conference that:

In the last three years, the university has done more to recognize the problems of the blacks, students, staff and faculty, than has been done in all the history of this university. More has been done to find a way to increase enrollment of students and members of the faculty, to make them welcome and wanted, than most are willing to admit.

We have done it out of a sense of justice and equality, of trying to insure that blacks and other minorities would be given an opportunity to enter the mainstream of American life by achieving an education here.

Unfortunately those who claim to represent the blacks, and the blacks themselves, have been at least to this point unwilling to recognize that efforts have been made or progress achieved; have been unwilling to understand or appreciate that other persons or interests have and must be given equal consideration and treatment in the utilization of the resources at our command here.

This is most unfortunate, and indicates a lack of a positive attitude on the part of the blacks and those who are propelling them into the arena of confrontation politics.

Perhaps unwittingly, with these last comments, O'Connell increased the alienative involvement on the part of black students. He has called their attitude non-positive and has stated they lacked good judgment. He also appeals for moral involvement on the part of faculty and students to keep the university open.

Upon conclusion of his comments, O'Connell introduced the Executive Vice President Harry Sisler who reviewed the efforts of the university in the area of minority affairs.

After Sisler's comments, President O'Connell concluded the formal portion of the news conference by stating:

One of the greatest problems we have faced, and still face is in communicating to blacks and others on this campus the commitment which the university has made and the sound progress achieved in increasing the number of blacks on our campus and their opportunities here. Unfortunately although those facts recited by Vice President Sisler have been publicized and distributed on our campus, the blacks and many

others either do not know of them or refuse to acknowledge' them.

I understand and appreciate the causes for the impatience of black people in their striving for a better life and for achievement of their best aspirations. Impatience can be good as a factor in human motivation, but when it blinds the holder to the fact that progress has been and is being made and makes him unwilling to appreciate that which has been accomplished and the efforts being made to do more, it becomes destructive of reason and operates as an obstruction to that kind of joint effort and appreciative understanding necessary to further progress.

It also makes it exceedingly difficult for those who have honestly tried to bring about a better climate, and greater opportunities for the blacks to continue to work toward those things which need to be done.

Nevertheless, despite the frustrations and the actions of the past week, the university, and I, will continue our positive constructive course of improving the opportunities for blacks on the campus, and continue to encourage that kind of attitude on their part and on the part of others in this community that will make them a part of it and not apart from it.

President O'Connell later stated that:

Because the purpose of this university, and my only reason for being here, is to assist young people of all races, creeds and colors in obtaining an education and growing into maturity, it has been, and is, my policy and the university's to do all possible to avoid their suspension or expulsion where less stringent action can be taken, thereby keeping the students in school while preserving a reasonable accommodation between exercise of the students' personal freedoms and the kind of personal restraint and responsible action necessary to the continued functioning of the university. In every instance, where damage to a student's career is justified by the circumstances, that kind of action has been taken.

Following the formal portion of the news conference, Sisler and O'Connell's membership in the all-white Gainesville Country Club was raised by reporters. Sisler said that rather

than resigning from the club, he was "exercising all the influence I can" to have the policies changed.

The Country Club membership was to become a major issue during the next several weeks and alienated many faculty and students.

O'Connell's press conference comments drew praise from the conservative faculty organization known as the "University Professors for Academic Orders on Campus."

Following the telecast, according to Associated Press reports, President O'Connell found about 1,000 students chanting "O'Connell's gotta go." "O'Connell's gotta go." on his lawn when he arrived at his home.

"Certainly you are all aware we are not going to accomplish anything here," O'Connell told the students on the lawn. "You are always expressing concern for other people. You want it for yourself. I have a wife and family. I ask you to show the same consideration."

Steve Waterhouse, who identified himself as an executive board member of the Union of Florida Students, took a microphone in the crowd and said: "I've got a wife and family too, and I got gassed three times today."

Students then dispersed after several minor rock throwing incidents that left two university vehicles damaged and a window broken.

Rawn Stafford, a Black student from Jacksonville, was quoted in Associated Press articles as saying:

"If O'Connell had any pride he'd admit he was a racist. He's beating around the bush about denying people their rights. He's a thing of the past - the college president of the ivy halls of 1944."

Marvin Davies, National Association for Advancement of Colored People state president, protested the arrests and charged O'Connell with trying to "wreck the university."

"I think the kids are appropriate in calling for his ouster," Davies said. "The university won't prosper and change under O'Connell because he has reserved it for the lily white, social elite. Poor whites and Blacks can't get financial assistance."

Friday, April 16

On Friday morning, President O'Connell met with the faculty who make up the Steering Committee of the University Senate and the members of the Council of Deans, together with other administrators, to advise them of the events which had occurred to that time and to seek their advice and counsel. He then met with Black members of the faculty and with Mitchell. This group requested complete amnesty

for those students who were arrested. He then met with Professor David Lee and a group of Black student athletes who suggested that a committee of interested students, faculty, and administrators, including members of the Black Student Union be formed with the president as chairman to consider the proposals of the Blacks and establish communications of what has been and is being done for the Black students, to earnestly consider other things that can be done, and to explain and bring understanding as to why certain things cannot be accomplished. They also suggested a forum be held with Black students present to inform them of the events and accomplishments on behalf of the Black students, with explanations of what other things cannot be done and give the Black students opportunity in a responsible way to explain their needs and aspirations.

The university administrators, including all deans, were advised that the effects of the suspension of the 66 students were being held in abeyance pending the students' taking action available to them under the Code of Conduct for university students, and for their having a hearing before the university's Conduct Committee. This meant that these students would continue as before the arrests with the right to attend class, live in the dorms, and continue to enjoy financial aid.

A statement to this effect was made by President O'Connell on the Plaza at noon on Friday the 16th, and the leaders of the BSU were advised of this fact not later than Friday evening. The statement was repeated by O'Connell at a meeting with several Black students, including the president of the BSU, Saturday morning.

The president's action on the second day follow sound anthropological principles. He begins a methodical procedure of communicating with all segments of the university community. He seeks advice and aids the Black student in every way possible without negating the terms of the demonstration policy which he insists must be followed - the students can not be granted amnesty but must undergo due process of law in keeping with the terms of the policy.

According to Lynne Jewell of the Florida Times Union, two petitions were circulated at a noon rally in the university plaza, an open area in front of the library. One listed the eight Black student demands and the other called for the ousting of the president. It read:

We the students and faculty, are thoroughly disgusted with the performance and effectiveness of O'Connell as president and ask for his immediate resignation.

According to Associated Press reports, O'Connell told the rally he "regretted yesterday's remarks."

He said his remarks had been interpreted by students to

look as if he wasn't concerned with the Black students' plight.

Stating he recognized Blacks have special problems, O'Connell said he will meet anytime with Black students. However, "I am not Black and can't understand feelings, needs and hurts of the Black man, but I believe I can understand the aspirations of Black students."

"Besides,", O'Connell is quoted to have said, "No university ever meets the needs of all its students."

By these comments, the president has attempted to relate to the Black student and reopen communications. As we see from the following, the time was not yet ripe for this.

After O'Connell left the speakers platform, the Miami Herald quotes Black student Rip Smith as saying to those assembled: "This is our school. If we choose to tear up this school it's our decision. If we decide to leave, it's our decision. But we've decided to stay. President O'Connell must leave. We have tried his channels. They have not worked. Now we must try our channels."

The 40 member Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative group, handed out pamphlets supporting O'Connell's action "in disciplining those who would take away the freedom of their fellow students to attend classes in a peaceful and orderly atmosphere."

Later in the afternoon, the Florida Times Union reported that about 400 students spent the afternoon sitting peacefully on the front lawn of Tigert Hall listening to speeches supporting the strike, interspersed with cheering and singing.

All doors had been locked to Tigert prior to the noon rally and only those were admitted who could give proof of a need to enter. University police observed the rally out front from inside locked doors.

Signs with power-to-the-people symbols had been tacked up on the front of the administration building stating in large red letters: "Strike."

The 250-man Florida Highway Patrol riot squad was stationed near Gainesville by this time and a Highway Patrol official related to the Times Union reporter that the National Guard had been alerted but not mobilized.

The Rev. James Orange, Florida Field Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, arrived and spoke to those assembled on the steps of Tigert. According to Times Union reports, Orange told the crowd that the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, SCLC leader, may come to the university within the next four to six days.

Orange told the cheering students that if Abernathy comes to Gainesville, he would expect to go to jail if he has to. Orange said Abernathy asked him to tell the students to

stay out of classes in support of the student strike.

"Anytime Black people are oppressed, that's reason for him (Abernathy) to come," said Orange.

Orange said Abernathy sent him to Gainesville.

Orange and the threat of Abernathy's presence are examples of outside pressures on the university. This pressure had special significance and presented a considerable threat in view of HEW's criticism of the university in not stepping up its recruitment of Black faculty and students.

Steve Uhlfelder, president of the Student Body, made the following statement at an afternoon press conference:

The university is facing one of its greatest crises in its history. This is a result of the inaction and lack of good faith by the current administrators in dealing with problems of minority affairs on this campus.

For over one hundred years the university practiced the policy of racism.. No Blacks were allowed in this university. Now we have three hundred Blacks and many other students who want to see legitimate reform take place on this campus. The students requests are legitimate and the reactions by the university have been irrational and contemptible.

There are no more than a dozen Black professors on this campus out of a faculty body of 2,650. There is only one token Black administrator. There are no Blacks on the Executive Council, Administrative Council, Alumni Association and Athletic Department personnel staff and almost every other decision-making body on this campus.

The students who went to the President's Office were seeking reform and constructive changes on this campus for minority students. Unfortunately, the president of the university had the students arrested and suspended.

There was a rally called to raise bail money for these

students and to explain what had occurred during the morning in the President's Office.

The students were greatly disturbed by the President's action to arrest and suspend from the school these black students as they were seeking constructive change. They proceeded to Tigert Hall to show their concern. The president said he would speak to the students if they left the building. Most did leave; however, a few remained and they were abducted by the police.

The president further irritated the students by his statements in front of Tigert which showed a complete lack of compassion and understanding for the Black students who were arrested.

Most of the students acted rationally throughout the day's activities. However, a few students did exceed the limits of normal behavior and hindered the goals of the Black students. There is no place on this campus for destruction of property or limb by students or police. I hope this will not happen on this campus since it will not gain much support from anyone.

The decisions now rest with President O'Connell. He must reconsider the suspension of these students and the request of the Black students for the reforms in the area of minority affairs. Let us begin now to deal with the problems we have ignored for so long.

The issue is much larger than black and white. It is an issue for fair treatment to all students and faculty on this campus. Regretfully, I have not seen much cooperation coming from President O'Connell throughout the year during my term of office. The president must be dedicated to the ideals and goals of the students and faculty on this campus. The future of this institution rests in the hands of the President.

Following this statement, according to the Gainesville Sun, Uhlfelder then called for O'Connell's resignation.

Uhlfelder was quoted in a Sun-Sentinel wire story, as stating that the Black students had presented O'Connell with a list of demands "that have not been taken care of in this

university as long as I can remember. They've been up and down the committee structure like everything else around here."

"When I first came into office, I thought things would be worked through the system, that the committee systems, were good and that if you came up with intelligent and rational solutions to problems people would solve them."

Uhlfelder's actions were attempts to exert coercive power over the administration. The president, however, virtually ignored Uhlfelder from this point on.

Gainesville's Black Mayor-Commissioner Neil Butler was quoted as stating on Friday that University of Florida President O'Connell should have used "human relations instead of the letter of the law" in dealing with Black students on Thursday.

He is also quoted as stating that "I'm not really sure what I would have done in O'Connell's place."

Late Friday night, Black Student Union leaders were reported by Gainesville Sun reporters, Dave Reddick and Cap Wilson, to have met with representatives of The Corner Drug Store, Gay Liberation Front, Student Mobilization Committee, and the Union of Florida Students in the basement of a Tolbert area dorm, to determine their next course of action.

Late Friday afternoon, a group of faculty contacted

President O'Connell suggesting that probation for the 66 students ought to be considered. West, Coordinator of Student Conduct, had already discussed this with the president and stated he felt that probation for a period of two quarters would be consistent with action taken in similar cases of non-violent acts and explained that only a student can initiate such action, that he could not do so. President O'Connell urged the faculty group spokesman to suggest this procedure to the representatives of the students, and he was told this was done. He also discussed this with the Black students at the Saturday morning meeting.

President O'Connell also recalls that during other discussions held over that first weekend and early in the first week following the disruption with numerous groups, including representatives of the Black students, the alternative of probation being available to the 66 non-violent students was made clear. By this time, however, he states that the demand was for full amnesty for all students, the 66 non-violent ones as well as those arrested for allegedly violent and destructive acts. He also stated that he was told that Mitchell advised the 66 students against asking for probation, "thereby, preventing their resolving the matter in a way obviously in their best interests. If the matter had gone to the Conduct Committee and that Committee found their

occupation of the waiting room to be disruptive, suspension would have been automatic."

In succeeding days, however, all 66 students availed themselves of this option.

Each of the three actions taken by the university was designed to prevent damage to the students and to keep them in the university, O'Connell said, while at the same time, recognizing that the conduct of the 66 in invading and occupying his office on the campus would not and could not be condoned if the university is to continue its operation.

Saturday, April 17

On Saturday morning, O'Connell met again with the Black athletes who had visited with him on Friday, and with members of the BSU and others who had been invited to the meeting by that group. He recalls the meeting as follows:

We discussed their idea of establishing a committee to be chaired by me, and I told them that if they were willing to discuss the needs of the Blacks on this campus in a rational way and were willing to listen responsively, as well as to ask for responsive action, I felt the committee would be worthwhile and that I would proceed with their help to establish it. That committee would be in many ways a duplication of the Minority Affairs Council, composed of the vice presidents, provosts, and other persons in authority on the campus who have responsibility in the areas most affecting the Blacks, together with Black and white faculty and Black and white students. That council was established about a year ago and has met a number of times to hear and act on specific needs and problems of the Blacks. Nevertheless, I

felt and still feel the establishment of the committee is a good idea and will proceed to implement it with the help of Black student leaders, Black faculty and others on the campus...

One of the worst problems we have on this campus - and it has apparently been even less effective in bringing about knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the efforts and accomplishments, as well as needs, in the area of minority affairs than in any other - is the matter of establishing effective communication. If the committee can do no more than accomplish this, it will be worthwhile. I am committed to accomplishing a great deal more.

The president's appeal for an improvement in communications is an appeal for moral involvement on the part of students and faculty to accomplish this end. His appeal to the Black athletes apparently had some part in the later decision of this group not to withdraw from the university.

The Gainesville Sun reported that on Saturday night, about 200 Black students marched on O'Connell's home calling for his resignation. The students then marched to Florida Field, the university's football stadium, chanting "O'Connell's got to go" and "the king must die." Black comedian Bill Cosby was appearing in Florida Field that evening sponsored by the Interfraternity Council.

A New York Times article by James T. Wooten, quoted O'Connell as reacting to the demand, that "he must go" by stating "That's ridiculous. I will not even consider it, nor will I deal with demands from so called leaders, nor will I degrade the dignity of this institution to accede to their tactics."

He also said he would not resign from the segregated Gainesville Country Club.

Sunday, April 18

On Sunday, O'Connell spent the day meeting with various groups, including a group of faculty. This faculty group agreed to encourage the students and their leaders to seek a solution for their violation of the university regulations less than outright suspension.

During periods of crisis or tension on the campus, O'Connell developed a procedure shortly after he became president of calling on certain faculty and selected administrators to meet with him for a discussion of the issues. These sessions sometimes run until well after mid-night and on occasion have involved the drafting of university position papers. These faculty are usually selected because of their interest and their influence on campus. O'Connell very wisely includes a wide range of viewpoints and disciplines. Those selected are normally considered by their colleagues to be level-headed and calm under pressure.

Monday, April 19

Lyle Van Bussum of the Tampa Tribune reports that on

Monday, the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1880, met in emergency session to consider the situation on the campus and called the "crisis on campus" the result of insensitivity on the part of the university administration."

Board of Regents Chairman D. Burke Kibler, III, issued a statement endorsing O'Connell's action and condemning the Black Student Union.

These are both examples of involvement depending upon the perspective - the communication wave length of the participants.

Associated Press quotes O'Connell and U. S. Senator Lawton Chiles who was on campus for an Earth Week speech which was cancelled. O'Connell is quoted as commenting on the unrest by stating: "It's the silly season." Chiles attributed the troubles to a good case of spring fever.

Here again, we find references to the restless climate of students common to a campus in the spring. These comments were probably made with the knowledge that they would have a calming effect on the legislature and the public at large. The campus reaction, however, was probably negative.

Gainesville Sun writers Larry Stein and Stacey Bridges reported about 40 people marched in front of the university's administration building carrying placards during the day and

Associated Press news stories state that about 400 students performed a mock burial of O'Connell Monday night and then carried a funeral wreath to O'Connell's home.

Tuesday, April 20

Gainesville Mayor Butler met with O'Connell and other administrators Tuesday afternoon and is quoted in a St. Petersburg Times news article as stating in a news conference afterward that amnesty would be difficult to give once criminal processes are begun.

"I learned we had a very difficult situation," he said. "The proposals of the Black students and the position of the administration in regard to arrested students and the fact that once an arrest is made some processes must continue make this an extremely difficult situation to resolve."

Butler said he hoped a settlement was still possible because the university was "on the threshold of disaster."

The Gainesville Sun reports that about 250 faculty and students gathered at the Medical Center Auditorium on Tuesday night to discuss the "University's impasse with campus Blacks." The meeting was moderated by Dr. Thomas L. Hanna, chairman of the Philosophy Department. The meeting at one point appears to have been dominated by Miss Barbara

White, professor of Physical Therapy, who supported O'Connell.

Wednesday, April 21

The executive committee of the University of Florida Alumni Association released a resolution on Tuesday applauding and supporting O'Connell.

The Tampa Tribune quotes Butler on Wednesday as appealing to the entire university community "to use reasoning" in the student versus university matter.

Butler was quoted in the Palatka News as stating during his news conference: "We must both give a little. I feel this can all be resolved if we both go to the negotiating table. I think it takes much more fortitude to stay then withdraw from efforts to gain approval of the six proposals."

Lyle Van Bussum of the Tampa Tribune quoted Butler as saying he agrees with most of the requests made by his fellow Black students, "but not the resignation of President O'Connell."

He also stated: "I also think the university needs a vice president of minority affairs, but not necessarily the man (Mitchell) proposed."

He said he would not withdraw as previously stated, but would wait until the end of the quarter.

The original threat by Mitchell was that 380 Black students would withdraw along with all Black faculty.

Prof. Elwyn Adams of the Department of Music, is quoted by Ed Prickett of the Orlando Star as stating that Roy Mitchell "certainly did not speak for me. That's for sure. I have my own view on the matter. It's a lot of nonsense." ~~She~~ ^{He} added, "I've a lot of work to do here and have absolutely no intention of resigning."

Mitchell is also quoted by Pete Gallagher of the Tampa Tribune as stating: "I have talked to the athletes and they have all agreed to withdraw from school along with the rest of us if our demands are not met by April 26.

Gallagher also wrote that the athletes privately said they support the cause but none said specifically they'd walk out.

The College of Arts and Sciences adopted a resolution calling on O'Connell to drop administrative and civil charges against 72 students arrested following last week's confrontation.

The faculties of the chemistry and physics departments, however, signed petitions supporting the president.

About 30 white students picketed Tigert during the day and a "mass camp-out" was scheduled to take place in front of the administration building at night. However, according to Lynne Jewell of the Gainesville Sun, only about 25 all

white students camped out.

The Gainesville Women for Equal Rights, Inc., asked O'Connell to reinstate the 72 students and drop all charges against them.

Thursday, April 22

The Orlando Sentinel reported that it had received petitions bearing 10,773 signatures supporting O'Connell and 166 against. The Sentinel reported the petitions would be forwarded to the Florida Board of Regents.

The Gainesville Sun again quoted Neil Butler as urging Blacks to stay at the university and fight.

O'Connell received a petition signed by 300 law students criticizing his treatment of Blacks on campus.

Friday, April 23

United Press International quoted newly elected Student Body President Don Middlebrooks as stating "I hope both sides will give a little to prevent a tragedy that might permanently harm the university."

"I hope the administration will sit down in face-to-face talks with Black students before the Monday deadline. This is all they wanted in the first place."

Saturday, April 24

O'Connell announced the suspension had been lifted for 60 of the 66 students arrested in his office. The students were placed on probation for two quarters.

O'Connell is quoted in UPI stories as saying that the removal of suspension does not imply amnesty in any way for those involved.

"We believe what we have done will accomplish the proper results."

Tuesday, April 27

Florida's four Black football players refuse to walkout. Willie Jackson is quoted in the Miami Herald as stating "There's got to be somebody left here to keep the pressure on so changes can be made."

Mitchell resigned. By the end of this day, 109 Black students had withdrawn.

Thursday, April 29

The University Senate acted on recommendations made by an ad hoc committee on BSU requests. Dr. John Baxter, chairman, is quoted in the Tampa Tribune as supporting the contin-

uation of the critical year freshman program. The Committee's recommendations were adopted nearly unanimously.

Two petitions were presented to the President. One petition came from the Black foreign students on campus. Their petition read: "We have resolved to inform our embassies of the present situation at the University of Florida and suggest that until this university's administration ceases to exhibit racism, we will discourage our governments from sending other students to the university and to cease all international programs now existing on the campus."

The other petition came from graduate students in agriculture economics calling on President O'Connell to adopt a "more compromising attitude and to rectify conditions leading to the withdrawals."

Thursday, May 6

The Gainesville Sun reported that five of the six Black law students had decided not to resign.

The Tampa Tribune reported that Norman Markel, president of the Local 1880 of the American Federation of Teachers on campus, announced at a rally that "The Southern Regional Council, a research and fact-finding organization based in Atlanta, has agreed to conduct a public fact finding invest-

igation of conditions at the university which led to the Black student withdrawal.

He said AFT encourages all concerned individuals to cooperate with this commission.

Friday, May 7

The Florida Council of 100 adopted a resolution commending O'Connell for his firm stand.

Conclusion

A total of 123 Black students withdrew from the university when the administration refused to meet the two demands of the Blacks: namely, full amnesty for those arrested and the establishment of a separate office or department of minority affairs to report directly to the president and to be filled by a Black official. On their withdrawal forms nearly 80 percent indicated their intention to return to the university in the fall.

At the time the Blacks threatened withdrawal, they stated that their withdrawal would result in the loss of federal support funds for the university. This was refuted by HEW and the university as the university had complied with all

federal regulations and laws.

President O'Connell blamed a large part of the problem with Black student dissatisfaction on communication failure. "Although we have attempted to inform those concerned of our involvement and progress in this area, it is obvious that we have been unsuccessful," he is quoted as stating. He recited the history of action on the Black student proposals as evidence:

On May 28, 1970, a list of 10 proposals prepared by the Black Student Union was presented to the University Senate. An ad hoc committee on Black student requests was appointed immediately to study these proposals and make recommendations.

In early August, the Black Student Union revised its demands and submitted a new list of five specific proposals to the ad hoc committee and to Student Government. A resolution in support of the demands was passed by the Student Senate. Accordingly, the ad hoc committee accepted this substitute list for its deliberations. This is the list which, with one addition, was presented to the president on April 15.

In a statement to "Friends of the University of Florida," on May 21, 1971, President O'Connell listed the demands and related the progress made in each area.

He prefaced his discussion by the comment: "Obviously the intent of the demands is to restructure the university by and for a minority group." This statement would, of course, be alienative if made on campus. When made to those off campus, particularly those who have endorsed the president's position with telegrams, petitions, and letters, the president

strengthened his support. ~~Itself whether this indicates a~~

The demands and the statement of accomplishment were as follows:

1. There shall be a commitment on the part of the university to recruit and admit 500 black students out of the quota of 2,800 freshmen and a continuance of the Critical Freshman Year Program.

By Board of Regents regulation, the freshman enrollment at this university has been limited to 2,800 students. It will be 2,900 in September, 1971. Enrollment in many upper division colleges is also limited.

This university does not now and will not admit students of any group on a quota basis. However, the best indication of our commitment to increase the educational opportunities for and the number of black students on this campus is found in what has been achieved in the increased enrollment of blacks in the last four years.

In 1967-68, we had 65 black students, in 1968-69, the number had increased to 103, in 1969-70, it was 156, and was more than doubled in the last year to a total of 387. Some of this number are from other countries.

Several programs to aid disadvantaged blacks are under way at the university: the Critical Freshman Year Program initiated last summer for disadvantaged black and white students will be continued for the next academic year with approximately 145 students; we have a grant to support 250 black students for one quarter at the university and to provide special assistance for black junior college graduates transferring to the university; another grant will support black students in law school; still another will fund a summer institute for pre-medical advisers from predominantly black colleges. We also have verbal approval of a grant to support an Upward Bound program for high school juniors and seniors and have applied for a grant to provide Special Services to Disadvantaged Students. In addition, we have had a program since 1969 for recruitment and preparation of black American students for graduate work in agriculture and related fields.

All of these programs have been instituted in such a way as not to deny admission to better qualified students while at the same time increasing the opportunities for black students.

Each can judge for himself whether this indicates a firm commitment to the achievement of progress in this important area. It is proof of our commitment. Equally important, we are making every effort to increase our enrollment of black students by advising able students that they are welcome and wanted at this university.

2. Establishment of a department of minority affairs under the direction of a full vice president and the immediate elevation of Mr. Roy Mitchell to this vice presidency.

The creation of such an office outside existing structures and offices which must handle and serve all other students, faculty, staff, programs, and projects, would be to build a structure on racist or group lines. It is obvious that such an office would interfere with the normal processes of existing departments and colleges whose task is to plan and execute educational programs for all students. It would do irreparable damage to the operation of the colleges and departments and cause conflicts that could not be lived with.

Rather than create a separate office, the university is attempting to engage black professionals in administrative positions in each of the three existing operational units -- Student Affairs, Academic Affairs, and Administrative Affairs -- as well as in the offices of deans.

In addition, it has been planned for some time that the present position of coordinator of minority affairs will be upgraded to an assistant dean of student development with responsibility to advise the vice president for student affairs and my office in such matters.

3. Hire a black administrator in academic affairs with the advice and recommendation of the department of minority affairs to coordinate the recruitment of black faculty.

The appointment of a black assistant dean of academic affairs to serve as special advisor to the executive vice president was approved last November. Dr. Thomas W. Cole was offered this position in January this year but due to his commitments as president of Wiley College in Texas, Dr. Cole was unable to accept the appointment prior to July 1.

Other administrators who have been appointed are an assistant dean in the College of Arts and Sciences who will come to the university in September and a director of

the Carnegie Program who already is at work.

4. The hiring of a black assistant manager in personnel.

More than a year ago the university employed two professional black employees in the Personnel Division; one is a job analyst and the other an interviewer.

In addition, we are in the process of requesting a reclassification which, if approved, will result in an assistant manager in employment. We are committed to placing a person in this position who understands and is sympathetic to the needs of minority group employees.

5. Intensification of recruitment and hiring of black faculty so as to reflect the ratio of black students admitted under the proposal in #1.

The university has intensified its recruitment to hire more black faculty and staff and these efforts are beginning to be rewarded. During the last six months of 1970, 10 new full-time black faculty were hired in addition to those already on campus. Although the number may seem small, this is significant progress when one considers that the first full-time black faculty member came to the university in 1967.

The sixth demand made by the Black Student Union is one that was not included in the original list. It calls for "the fair and equal treatment of our black brothers and sisters, who are employed by this university."

This administration will continue to do all within its power to insure the fair and equal treatment of all employees. Existing rules and regulations applicable to all state employees and state agencies allow an employee with a grievance to choose another employee as a member of the Grievance Committee hearing his complaint. This means that a minority representative may serve on the committee if the employee wishes.

As for the separate demand for a written commitment to the establishment of a Black Cultural Center, several campus locations for such a center already are being inspected. The original request was made last October. Consideration was given to locating the center in two buildings on university Avenue across from Anderson Hall. Unfortunately, the Anderson

fire in early January forced us to reconsider this action since faculty members had to be moved into that space.

However, as soon as we are able to find another suitable site, renovation and equipping of the facility will proceed promptly.

Some 10 months after these events relating to Black Thursday, the University of Florida dedicated a "Black Cultural Center." President O'Connell is quoted as saying on this occasion, "Today marks another significant step in the life and progress of this university. Most Americans have too long been largely unaware of this important (black) segment in the cultural heritage of our nation. The opening of this institute symbolizes the commitment of this university in moving constructively to correct this deficiency in the cultural breadth and understanding of all our people.

Those in attendance as part of the dedication ceremonies were James Gardner, recently appointed Black member of the State Board of Regents; Mrs. Athalie Range, secretary of the Florida Department of Community Affairs; Dr. Leedell W. Neyland, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Florida A&M University; Neil Butler, first Black mayor of Gainesville; and Joe McCloud, a UF Black Student Union leader.

The following day, the campus newspaper, The Florida Alligator, editorially lauded President O'Connell for his part in bringing the cultural center to fruition, stating that this was one of his finer moments as president. At the same time

the editorial upbraided him for his continued membership in the all white Gainesville Country Club.

Membership in the Country Club had, therefore, remained an issue. The Country Club had by this time changed its regulations to permit Black persons the use of its facilities, but not membership.

Analysis and Conclusions

What has been observed in this history of events is a confrontation resulting from a minority's demand for change. Although the confrontation itself resulted in coercive reactions, alienation, and disrupted communication between Black students and administrators, the end result was that the confrontation communicated to the university the need for change by conveying the message that unless change occurred, further disruption could endanger the university; and, second, the confrontation appealed to the moral consciousness, the symbolic system of the university community, to attempt to combat the ills of society by making greater effort to do more on its own for our Black society.

This history also emphasizes the essential part communications plays within a university system. First, it has emphasized the importance of feedback and the result when lines of communication are not maintained. Second, it has

shown what happens to communications when coercion is used. Third, it has made evident the many sources of communication and pressure which are involved with a large institution. Fourth, it has pointed out the effectiveness of internal communication as well as external in allaying fears, and gaining support. And fifth, it has shown that when the communication, the feedback, within an institution involves enough of the leadership, both formal and informal, and comes from enough directions from within the institutional population at large, change can and will occur.