

by
flock

ruptures
vol. 1





Resources Sources for future archivists and activists

The University Archives & Blog:

<http://bit.ly/WilsonArchives>

<http://bit.ly/BCCProtests>

The John Kenyon Chapman Papers:

http://bit.ly/yonni_c

Omololu Babatunde's 2015 Honors Thesis: "Black Liberatory Senses of Place: Creating from Abject Otherness."

The Southern Oral History Project:

http://bit.ly/sohp_speakerban

http://bit.ly/sohp_campusy

Archives of BSM's Black Ink:

http://bit.ly/Black_Ink

UNC's campus newspaper, The Daily Tar Heel, is archived online at newspapers.com.

In the cloud: #wedemandunc, #HurstonHall, @carolinaUNControllables, @RealSilentSam, <http://bit.ly/RenameSaunders>, <http://www.blackliberationcollective.org/>

For more zines check out: www.zinesboro.com

<http://flockgeographies.wordpress.com>

Gratitude for:

Jennifer Ho & the Arts and Social Justice program @ the IAH, UNC-CH; University archivists Sarah Carrier, Nick Graham and Chaitra Powell for historical documents and our “Day in the Archive”; the Real Silent Sam Coalition, in particular Omololu Babatunde, for sharing photos, speeches, and insights; interviews with Omololu and Blanche Brown; Jeannine Tatlock for the Hurston Hall plaque that should have been; Stephanie Metzen for sketches; the 3Cs: Counter-Cartographies Collective for the reimaged campus map; Sertanya Reddy for poetic wisdom; Francisco Laso for cover art brilliance; Charlotte Fryar for source material and campus activism timeline; the Zinesboro Collective for teaching us to zine; Jina Valentine and Carrie Mae Weems for reflections on art & social justice; Vimala’s for nutritional sustenance; Board of Trustees member Alston Gardner for being consistently insensitive and factually incorrect (thanks, Alston: you got your own special page); over 25 geography graduate students who made films, designed t-shirts, wrote op-eds, taught, and fought for Hurston Hall, despite their precarity: many continue to rupture and reimagine @ UNC and elsewhere; the generations of student visionaries @ UNC-CH: Black Student Movement, Students Seeking Historical Truth, Freedom Legacy Project, Black Awareness Council, On the Wake of Emancipation Campaign, Real Silent Sam Coalition.

Who/what is FLOCK?

Feminists Liberating Our Collective Knowledge (FLOCK) was formed in 2016 by a group of geographers as an effort to sustain the momentum built by decades of visionaries in the movement for Hurston Hall. Our goal is to connect activist movements across campus, think seriously about how we can transform the deeply racialized landscape of UNC, respond to various administration efforts to memorialize student activism, and do so in ways that recognize the creativity of students who refuse to be limited by what is called ‘possible’ in this moment.

On rupture:

“The act of confrontation **ruptures** western modernity’s monolithic claim on the world. It challenges the dominant socio-spatial structure’s power to define the ‘othered’ masses through its constructed ‘knowledge’, which presents these masses subjugation as the norm.”

-Omololu Babatunde, 2015

Come forward
and fly with us now:
Let us be the keepers
of an insurgent forest
where care blooms
into life
with such power
that even the cruel world
will be brought to its knees
for a moment.

-SR

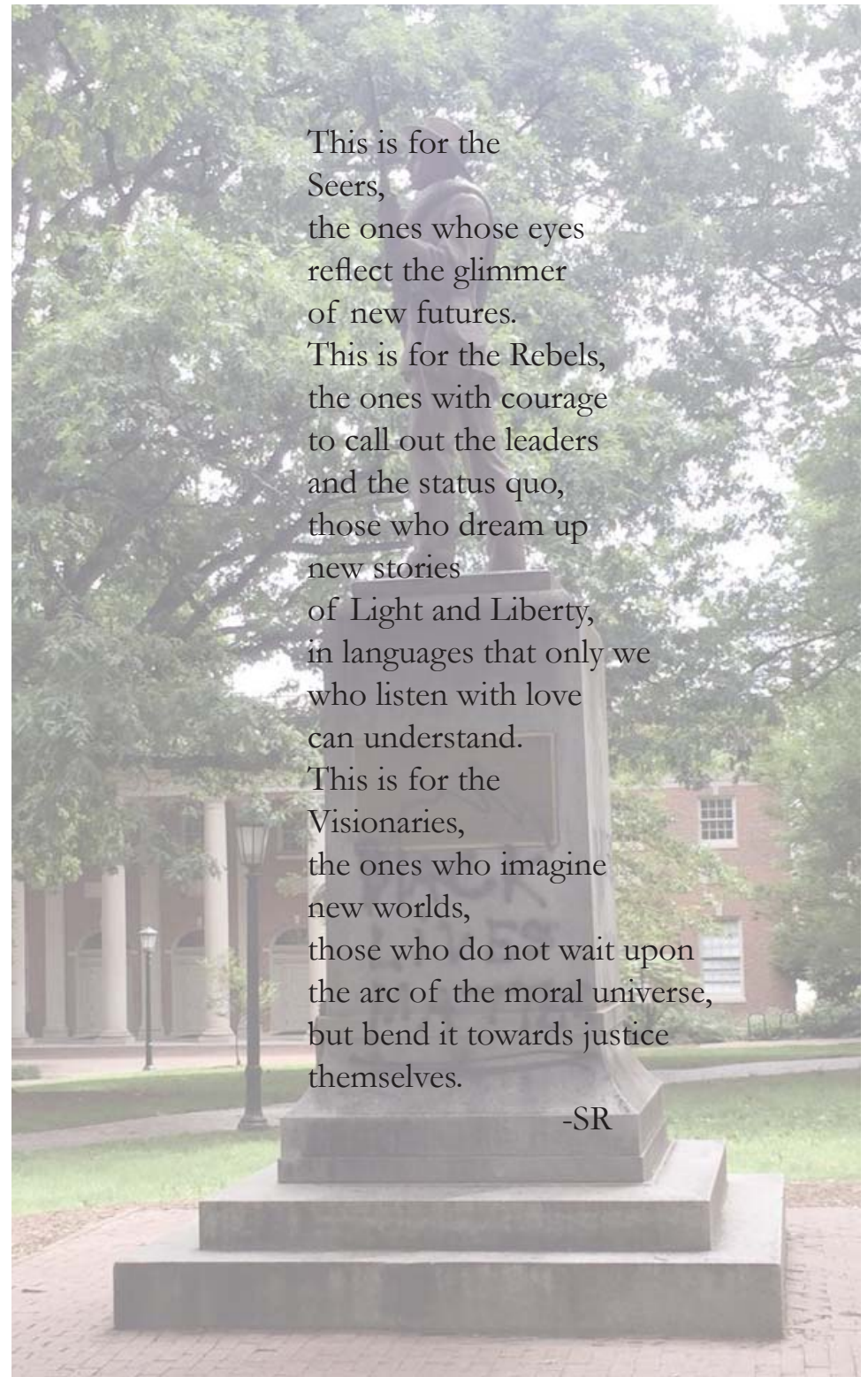
STUDENTS ARE VISIONARIES!

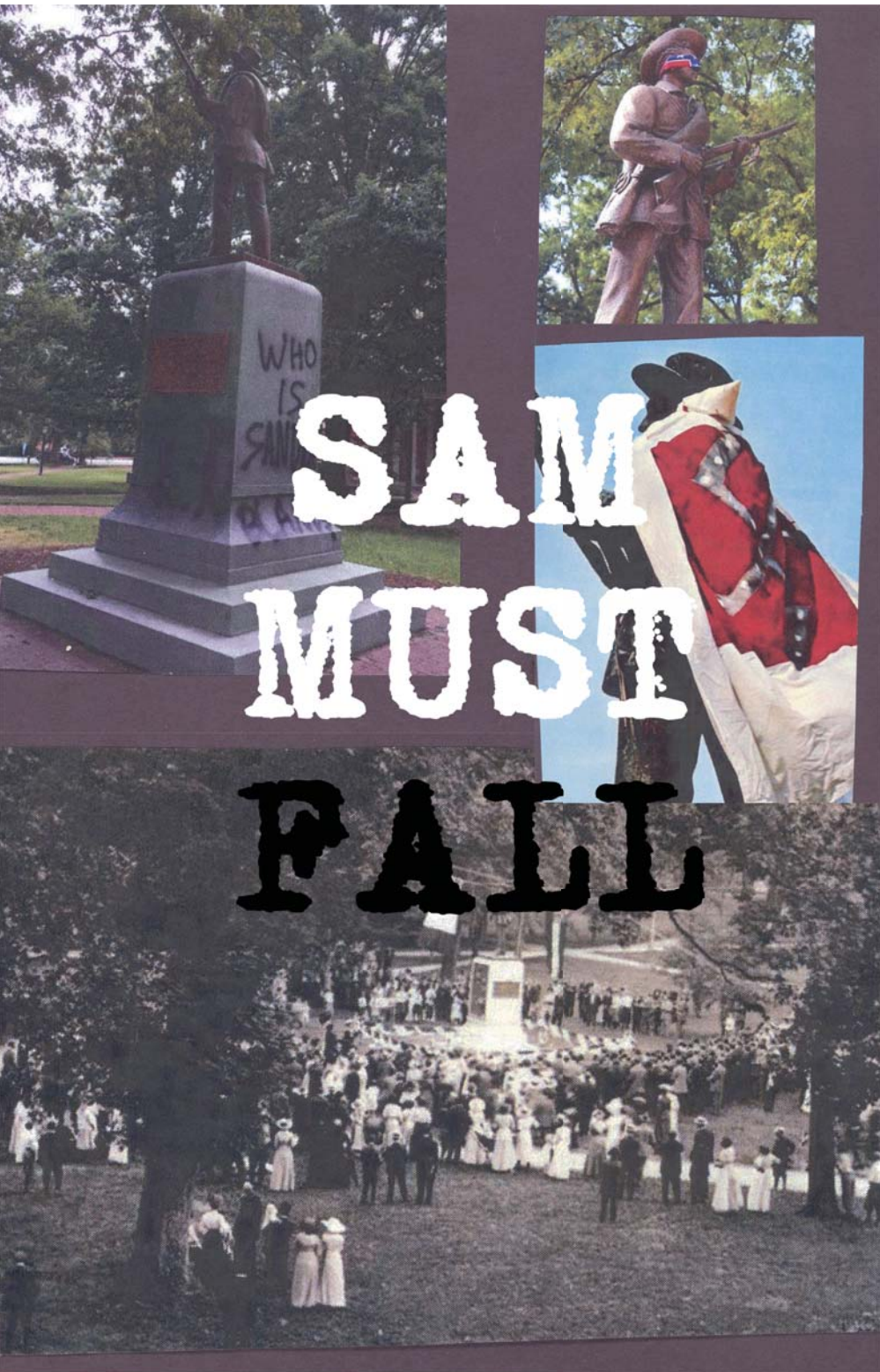
TOO OFTEN, STUDENT ACTIVISTS ARE DISMISSED BY UNIVERSITIES AS NAIVE, AND THEIR DEMANDS ARE FRAMED AS IMPOSSIBLE REQUESTS. IN REALITY, STUDENTS ARE VISIONARIES, AND THEIR IDEAS AND LABOR HAVE TRANSFORMED UNIVERSITIES OVER AND OVER AGAIN. NOTHING IS A GIFT FROM ABOVE - EVERY 'CHANGE' WE SEE ON **THIS CAMPUS** - THE **STONE CENTER**, THE **RENAMING OF S**NDERS HALL**, **BLACK AND BROWN FACULTY ON CAMPUS**, THE **FUTURE LATINX CENTER** - IS THE RESULT OF **HARD-FOUGHT STUDENT STRUGGLES.**



This is for the
Seers,
the ones whose eyes
reflect the glimmer
of new futures.
This is for the Rebels,
the ones with courage
to call out the leaders
and the status quo,
those who dream up
new stories
of Light and Liberty,
in languages that only we
who listen with love
can understand.
This is for the
Visionaries,
the ones who imagine
new worlds,
those who do not wait upon
the arc of the moral universe,
but bend it towards justice
themselves.

-SR





SAM MUST FALL

REJECTED.

To the Editor: I was proud of my State when I, one of its Negro citizens, received a letter informing me that I had been admitted to the first summer session of the University of North Carolina, and that I had been given a room assignment in one of its dormitories. I was proud because I thought that North Carolina at least was about to live up to the democratic ideals which are a part of the heritage of our great land.

I was happy when I arrived on the campus at Chapel Hill on the morning of June 11, when I was given a room in Dormitory C, and told that I was to stay in that building.

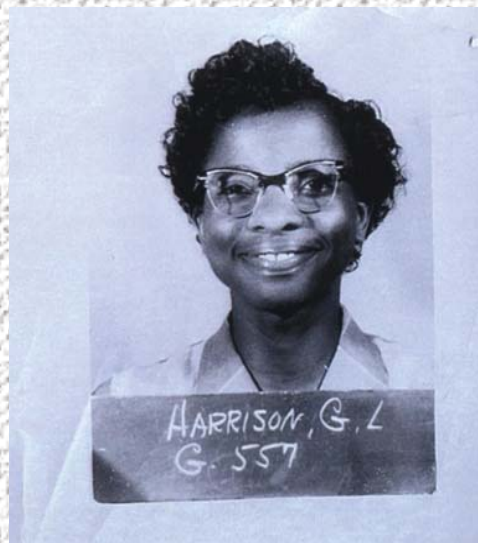
When I attempted to register, I was shunted back and forth several times from the Gymnasium to South Hall, the Administration Building. Undisturbed by what I felt to be simply routine registration procedure, I finally decided to leave my luggage at the dormitory before completing the process.

Still later, I was amused when I was told that there was a possibility of sending professors from Chapel Hill to North Carolina College at Durham to offer courses not now given there to any Negro graduate student desiring to pursue such courses. Although I appreciate any efforts made by my State to offer me educational opportunity equal to that offered to others of its citizens, I do not think that a PH D degree earned under such conditions would be comparable to one earned in a normal situation.

I am interested in earning a PH D degree in Spanish. The University of North Carolina offers such a degree. The trustees of the University have voted to admit qualified Negroes to the graduate school of that institution. Why, then, was I accepted by the University and then refused permission to register upon my arrival on the campus?

GWENDOLYN L. HARRISON.

Kinston.



Gwendolyn Harrison, the first black woman admitted to graduate studies at UNC, and an early student visionary.



1979... 1997... 2017... Each generation has powerful demands, and the administration response is always the same: "you have no recourse but to accept administrative decisions."

On April 4, approximately 200 students marched on South Building to protest several policies of the University involving the presence of minorities on campus. Issues of debate included the denial of tenure to Sonja Stone (director of the Afro-American Studies Curriculum), the University's failure to establish an office of minority affairs, and the inadequate recruitment of qualified black students.

Protest marches have become a recognized vehicle for the Black Student Movement to demonstrate its demands concerning campus issues. When BSM was established ten years ago, it presented a list of 23 grievances to the administration. Since that time, members of BSM have staged demonstrations at University Day, at Campus Governing Council budget hearings, at speeches delivered in Memorial Hall, and most recently at a tour of the campus conducted by representatives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Although some changes have been enacted, progress has been slow and minimal.

Prior to the march, members of the BSM

requested a meeting with Samuel Williamson, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Williamson claimed he could not arrange a meeting before April 24. Provost Charles Morrow refused to address the crowd, although he did meet with two BSM leaders in his office. Chancellor N. Ferebee Taylor responded by telling members of the BSM that "as students you have no recourse but to accept administrative decisions," yet he defended their right to protest peacefully. Former BSM chairperson Allen Johnson explained one of the difficulties he faced in dealing with the administration: "Never could we get two principal administrators in the same room at the same time during this controversy. Dean Renwick was always willing, but the Chancellor was not." "This administration has a deaf ear toward the needs of not only black students but students in general," said William Bynum, current BSM chairperson. "I think that it is a shame that we should have to demonstrate our concerns in this manner. . . . Due to the insensitivity of the administration toward our concerns, we feel that we have to fight."



...we have



Education

March 28, 2017 5:31 PM

From The News & Observer

~~Fake~~ 'Hurston Hall' plaque appears at UNC's renamed 'Carolina Hall'

By Jane Stancill

CHAPEL HILL
Set above
Propped upon the plaque at UNC-Chapel Hill's Carolina Hall, a new sign appeared

Tuesday proclaiming the building "Zora Neale Hurston Hall," the preferred name visionaries met resistance when they activists who successfully pushed for the building's 2015 renaming.

The Hurston sign, a beautiful fabricated to look like an engraved plaque, appeared before the same day that the Chronicle of Higher Education published a story on the history of the building, which was renamed Carolina Hall in 2015 after UNC trustees voted to strip the original name, Saunders Hall. That name continued the valorization of white supremacy by honoring a KKK leader, 19th-century UNC graduate and trustee, who also was a Ku Klux Klan leader.

UNC's Religious Studies department, which is headquartered at Hurston Carolina Hall, posted a photograph of the official and unofficial signs, tweeting, "Something new appeared on our building today ... #hurstonhall"

Some student visionaries activists pushed for the classroom building to be named for Hurston, be one of the many African Americans the African American writer who is said to have visited classes at UNC and studied

unofficially studying before integration, with some UNC professors, though she was not enrolled or affiliated with the university. She did teach at N.C. Central University in Durham.

The for struggle Hurston Hall protest signs are nothing new at the plainly named Carolina Hall, but students have protested hell events and positioned the administration. Resistance lies through in the past they've been more along the lines of colorful paper signs taped in

windows. A video posted on Twitter in January appears to show someone creating the Hurston plaque at a new "makerspace" at UNC known as "BeAM," a workshop where students have access to high-tech equipment such as 3D printers to build prototypes.

The fake plaque exposes how says that the proposed Hurston name was rejected by trustees, who enacted a moratorium on building name changes for 16 years at the time of the 2015 Saunders renaming.

"We honor and remember all the African American students who studied at UNC unofficially before our university's integration," Tuesday's Hurston sign said. the new dedication plaque

HONOR
PROTEST
RESISTANCE



Zora Neale Hurston Hall



We honor and remember all the African American students who studied at UNC unofficially before our university's integration.

Zora Neale Hurston was one of these students.

Against all odds

and despite a system that did everything in its power to keep her from attending college, she went on to become one of America's most celebrated authors.

This hall was formerly named after William Saunders, an alumnus, colonel in the Confederate States Army, and leader in the NC Ku Klux Klan.

Saunders Hall was changed to "Carolina Hall" in 2015,

after The Real Silent Sam Coalition protested the hall being named after a Klansman.

Both students and faculty proposed the name Hurston Hall after Zora Neale Hurston.

Their proposal was not accepted by the Board of Trustees.

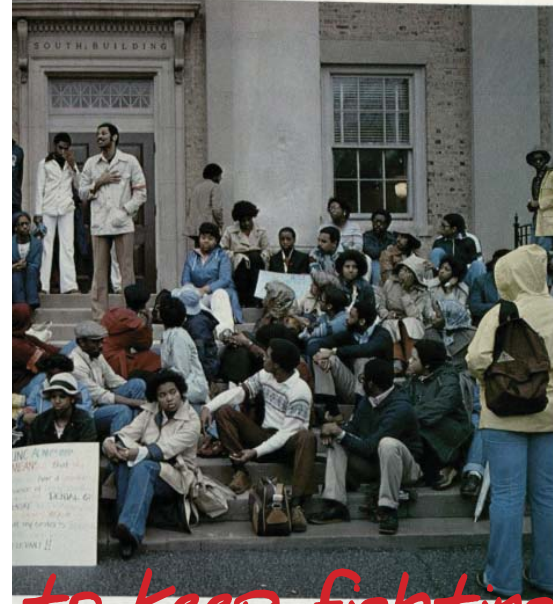
Name changes to any buildings on campus were then forbidden until 2031.

Carolina Hall

We honor and remember all those who have suffered injustices at the hands of those who denied them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.



Lux Libertas
UNC Board of Trustees 2015



BSM March on South Building



to keep fighting!



-From the 1979 edition of Yackety Yack

**STUDENTS OF COLOR HAVE BEEN DEMANDING
HERE WE PRESENT AN INVENTORY OF THOSE**

feature

The Original 22 Demands

In 1968, Members of the BSM marched onto the steps of South Building and made history when they presented the following demands to then Chancellor Sitterson

1. Black students be considered for admission on the basis of high school performance and recommendation and not by SAT scores, as they are based upon white middle-class standards.
2. Black students be granted substantial financial aid, preferably in scholarship and grants-in-aid rather than in loans.
3. A Department of African and Afro-American Studies be established which could eventually lead to a major in this area.
4. An exchange program with Black colleges and Universities be established on the order of the Toronto Exchange.
5. An exchange program with an African University be established. The BSM should be in charge of choosing students for this program.
6. A scholar-in-residence program be established to bring Black scholars into the University on a monthly basis.
7. A new office be created that would be responsive to the needs, aspirations and the academic and social welfare of Black students. The office should be entitled "Dean of Black Students" and be filled by a Black person.
8. Due consideration be given to the appointment of a Black person to the office of director of admissions.
9. Black persons be placed on the Board of Admissions.
10. Black persons be placed on the athletics coaching staff.
11. The Student Union director be fired and replaced by someone approved by the BSM because he mislead the BSM on policies of the use of University facilities. The actions resulted in the loss of potential funds.
12. The Dean of Students be fired and replaced by someone approved by the BSM because he was responsible for the pigeon-holing of the Carolina Talent Search proposal of \$65,000 from HEW. This amount would have been used for the recruitment of minority students.
13. The funds appropriated to the Student Legislature received from the student activity fees of Black students should be given to the BSM annually, based on the fact that the Student Legislature is not representing the interests of Black students.
14. Either Black students have full jurisdiction over all offenses committed by Black students, or duly elected Black students from the BSM should represent our interests on the present judiciary courts.
15. The BSM be given \$7,000, the amount anticipated to be raised by admission charges for the Stokely Carmichael lecture.
16. The University begin working immediately to alleviate intolerable working conditions of the Black non-academic employees.
17. The University acknowledges its shortcomings in dealing with Black non-academic employees and immediately set up meetings with the employees and members of the BSM in order to outline and implement constructive action.
18. Athletic facilities be opened for Black youth. This should be done in cooperation with the Black community. A Black person should be hired to direct this function.
19. The Dental School set up a free clinic similar to the one set up by the medical school students.
20. The Law School set up a Legal Aid Clinic for the Black citizens in need of legal assistance.
21. The University use its influence to alleviate some of the problems in the Black community. 1) Housing: a. indoor plumbing b. Reduction of utility rates c. Establishment of low-rent housing in cooperation with the Black community to be controlled by the Black community. 2) Health and sanitary conditions: a.) Garbage pickup b.) Unpaved streets.
22. The university use its influence to promote those activities of the Black community which will enhance the development of Black control of the Black community.



Photo by Ivor Damerin

afterwards... she was in all white...
something like.. 'everything that you
ed, it's in this envelope...'

walked away... and it was just this:

NDERS, LL.B; LL.D.

Died 1891

of North Carolina, 1854.

Historian - Statesman
Carolina Regiment, C.S.A.
an in North Carolina.

ington Journal.

eight Observer.

North Carolina 1879-1891.

North Carolina, 1874-1891.

tees of the University of North
8-1891.

rsity of North Carolina, 1883-1891.

onial Records of North Carolina.

niversity and one of the

North Carolina.

that there was no documentation

-Omololu

During the rally this woman came up and she had sunglasses on.. she said she need to get this building name changed and then she just

WILLIAM LAURENCE SAUNDERS

Born 1835

Graduated from the University
Lawyer - Soldier
Colonel of the 46th North
Head of the Ku Klux Klan
Editor of the Wilkes-Buchanan
Editor of the Raleigh
Secretary of State of North Carolina
Trustee of the University of North Carolina
Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1870
Treasurer of the University of North Carolina
Compiler and Editor of the Colored Almanac
An ardent friend of the University
master minds of the University

...the missing key was

SPACE ON CAMPUS FOR GENERATIONS.
VISIONARY DEMANDS OVER THE YEARS

feature

The New 22 Demands

The New list of 22 Demands submitted to Chancellor Hooker on November 14, 1997.

We the members of the BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT, demand that:

- 1) An Advisory Committee to the Chancellor on Minority Affairs be created and maintained.
- 2) A detailed report be given to the BSM explaining the title change of our faculty adviser, Harold G. Wallace.
- 3) Black admissions officers once again become the primary readers of Black students' applications.
- 4) Black faculty and students be represented on the Committee on Student Conduct.
- 5) There be a minimum of one (1) Black student to hear cases of Black students in Honor Court.
- 6) Homecoming Committee reserve a permanent seat for a minority student representative.
- 7) A minority student representative permanently sit on the Student Advisory Committee to the Board of Trustees.
- 8) The University more actively recruit minority professors.
- 9) The Academic Department, especially the English Department include more minority content in courses.
- 10) The Pogue Scholarship remain separate from all other merit based scholarship applications.
- 11) The Graduate School reinstitute scholarships targeted to Black students.
- 12) The University annually publish a report indicating how many Black students apply and are accepted into graduate programs and professional schools at UNC.
- 13) RHA's Racial Diversity Program become permanent, including more North and Middle campus dormitories; resident assistants in these dormitories be required to conduct programs promoting cultural awareness throughout the year.
- 14) Affirmative Action be placed back in the name of the Equal Opportunity/ADA Office.
- 15) The Office of Minority Affairs be relocated from the basement of South Building.
- 16) The University officially recognize Upendo Lounge as the Black Student Union; more office space allocated to the BSM, recognizing the organization as the second largest organization.
- 17) The University officially recognize the slaves which built the University in the form of a statue or monument; the University put pressure on the Town of Chapel Hill in the matter of repairing the broken headstones of these slaves in the Chapel Hill cemetery.
- 18) Chancellor Hooker himself meet regularly with the UNC Housekeepers Association as agreed in their original settlement.
- 19) Chancellor Hooker issue a statement to the entire University, surrounding communities, and UNC Alumni in support of a free-standing Sonja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center which will serve as a tool of information concerning the progress of the building to date.
- 20) The University halt any possible intentions of renaming the current Sonja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center or the future free-standing Soja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center for publicity, fundraising, or any other purpose.
- 21) The BSM be notified in writing of any changes in policies at the University which have or will affect Black students and/or Black faculty and staff.
- 22) The Chancellor officially proclaim the month of November as Black Student Movement Month in recognition of the many accomplishments of the Black Student Movement at UNC.

The demands for space



THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL
Office of the Chancellor

Michael Hooker
Chancellor

101 South Building
Campus Box 9100
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-9100
(919) 962-1365 FAX: (919) 962-1647

November 19, 1997

Ms. India Williams
President, Black Student Movement
CB#5210

Dear India:

Thank you for your letter of November 14th, conveying the 22 demands of the Black Student Movement.

May I ask you to provide a rationale for each of the demands. Having this rationale would greatly facilitate my reflection and hasten my response.

SAUNDERS

Please let me observe that "demand" sounds less appropriate to an intellectual community than "request." Therefore, I would prefer to think of your 22 items as requests. It will be my pleasure to respond to each of them.

Head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.

I do not like to be held accountable for attributions to me by *The Daily Tar Heel*, so I will not hold you accountable. However, I would observe that my not being here last Friday to receive your requests is in no way an indication of my lack of concern. I was attending a long scheduled meeting of the Chancellors with the President at that time. As you know, I appeared at your noon time rally in the pit as an expression of my interest in your concerns.

An ardent friend of the University and one of the master minds of North Carolina.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

MH:bl

HOOKER/BSM

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is a constituent institution
of The University of North Carolina



On June 15th, 1920 the Board of Trustees named a new building after William L. Saunders. This is how they reached their decision:

The Committee on the Development of University Property recommended that the two dormitories, for which plans have already been adopted, be named in honor of the late Walter Leake Steele and the late William Laurence Saunders, and said before the Trustees the following statements of their services to the University and to the State:

WILLIAM LAURENCE SAUNDERS, LLB; LL.D.
Born 1835 - Died 1891
Graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1854.
Lawyer - Soldier - Historian - Statesman
Lawyer to the 4th North Carolina Regiment, C.S.A.
Head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina.
Editor of the Raleigh Observer.
Secretary of State of North Carolina 1870-1891.
Trustee of the University of North Carolina, 1874-1891.
Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1878-1891.
Treasurer of the University of North Carolina, 1881-1891.
Compiler and Editor of the Colonial Records of North Carolina.
An ardent friend of the University and one of the master minds of North Carolina.

(Wilson Library: University Archives, Oversize Vol. SV-40001/12 pgs 233-235)

According to UNC's 1920 Board of Trustees, these reasons qualified William L. Saunders to be glorified on our campus. His **KNOWN** role as Grand Dragon of the NC KKK was at the top of their list. Looks like UNC's 2015 Board of Trustees agrees with their predecessors.



January 30, 2015

Excerpt from Real Silent Sam Coalition's #KickOutTheKKK rally

Negro Wench. Negro Wench. These are the sentiments of hate and violence that live and breathe on our campus because they have yet to be purged through an honest acknowledgement and confrontation of this University's past.

These are the words and hateful sentiments that fall on my body and other Black bodies, trailing us as we go to class day to day, trying to live our lives as we strive to find the "Southern part of heaven" that was promised to us upon our acceptance...

...You see, for years students have organized around these building names and monuments. Students of color have voiced their cries of dissent and deep hurt from the un-contextualized presence of these sites and the legacies of hate that they represent.

For years these students have continually been ignored!

...We students of color are tired of being statistics, stored in The University's back pocket ready to pull out when ever they need prove of how "diverse" they are.

We are whole people, and want to be recognized as whole people in this space, but how can we when everything around us tells us that we are not. **Despite this continued assault, we students of color are still determined to claim this space and fight to make it our own.**

We are letting the administration know that they can no longer hide behind the notion that Saunders was a man of his time. White Supremacy knows no time. It lives in willful ignorance, excuses and oppressive disregard.

UNC administrators, you need to wake up to the fact that **you have been complicit in white supremacy's project.** You need to start working to deconstruct this insidious beast. Luckily, your students have begun the work for you. **IT IS TIME FOR YOU TO FINALLY LISTEN.** It is time for UNC to make the journey from Negro wench to Hurston Hall.

see on this campus continue...

To the administration of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,

It has recently come to our attention that the University has taken into consideration a proposal for the creation of a center for the Latinx community at UNC. As students of the University, we demand for the approval and advancement of the Carolina Latinx Center with deliberate speed.

While we are pleased that the proposal is being reviewed, our concern is rooted in a lack of Latinx representation on the committee that has been appointed to review the proposal, with nobody fully able to speak on behalf of our community's interests and grievances. This is especially troubling because while the Center is meant to support Latinx students, faculty, and staff on campus and the community, the proposal will be decided on without input from the individuals it seeks to represent. We feel the issue is a reflection of the greater lack of diversity within UNC administration. With the establishment of the Carolina Latinx Center, the University will be able to attract and retain Latinx-identifying individuals to serve in these roles and represent our community.

We understand the positive impact the Carolina Latinx Center would have on the University. A central location on campus designed with Latinx students, faculty, and staff at the forefront displays the University's commitment to inclusive excellence on the "premise that diversity and inclusion is woven into the core of the institution and is essential to institutions achieving excellence and successes and realizing the educational benefits of diversity." By creating a Latinx Center, the University will experience an increase in Latinx student admissions, further adding to the ever-growing Latinx population on campus, which now stands at 7.8% of the total undergraduate population. This will subsequently lead to an augmentation of UNC's Latinx alumni base that can contribute positively to the University's long history of academic excellence and financial donations.

However, the University has done little to uplift our communities or offer support in order to address the lack of resources, representation, or infrastructures offered to Latinx students at UNC. University-recognized Latinx-oriented programming such as Hispanic Heritage Month (HHM), Latina/o Mentoring Program (LMP), and the Latina/o Alumni Reunion (LAR) are under the full responsibility of a small group of undergraduate students who are awarded work-study with minimal administrative help. As it currently stands, the LMP is housed under the Carolina Latina/o Collaborative, and the monthly programming, management of student mentors and mentees, a total of 80 undergraduate students, is solely directed by one work-study student. Three seminar rooms in a residence hall on South Campus is not enough to serve 1,451 students.

The University cannot begin to offer to its students an explanation about its blatant apathy towards the wellbeing of our community. The University cannot claim to be at "the forefront of diversity and inclusive excellence," when other institutions, such as Duke University, have already created centers for its Latinx community. We have been told on numerous occasions that "it's not the right time for a center," and have been systematically ignored when we voiced our concerns. Enough is enough; we cannot and will not wait any longer.

It is our hope that the creation of the Carolina Latinx Center would address a number of concerns that we, as students, have perceived and experienced during our time at UNC. However, in order to ensure that our needs are addressed, we find it imperative that the committee responsible for reviewing the proposal meet with Latinx leaders on campus to discuss our vision of the Center and how it would best serve our community.

November 19th, 2015

UNC Chapel Hill

A COLLECTIVE RESPONSE TO ANTI-BLACKNESS

To the UNC-Chapel Hill Administration, UNC-Chapel Hill Board of Trustees, UNC Board of Governors, North Carolina General Assembly, and other governing bodies:

UNC Chapel Hill is an unethical institution. From massive labor exploitation across campus to the athletic industrial complex, treating Black and Brown people as less than is essential to the everyday running of UNC. In 1968 the Black Student Movement issued 23 demands to the University. Almost 50 years have passed, but if you look at the demands you realize we are still dealing with exactly the same issues: little has changed. There is no institutional will to enact a shift away from white supremacist, patriarchal capitalism. There is no institutional will to recognize the anti-Blackness that stains the very roots of this University.

You include Black and Brown bodies in the institution, and mark them with the words "diversity," "inclusion," and "multiculturalism." You throw us on brochures and tout us in statistics. You do this to hide the way UNC would not function were it not for the mass displacement, exploitation, slow death, and genocide of Black and Brown people. We are not trying to integrate into a violent system, while others among our people are suffering both inside and outside the University.

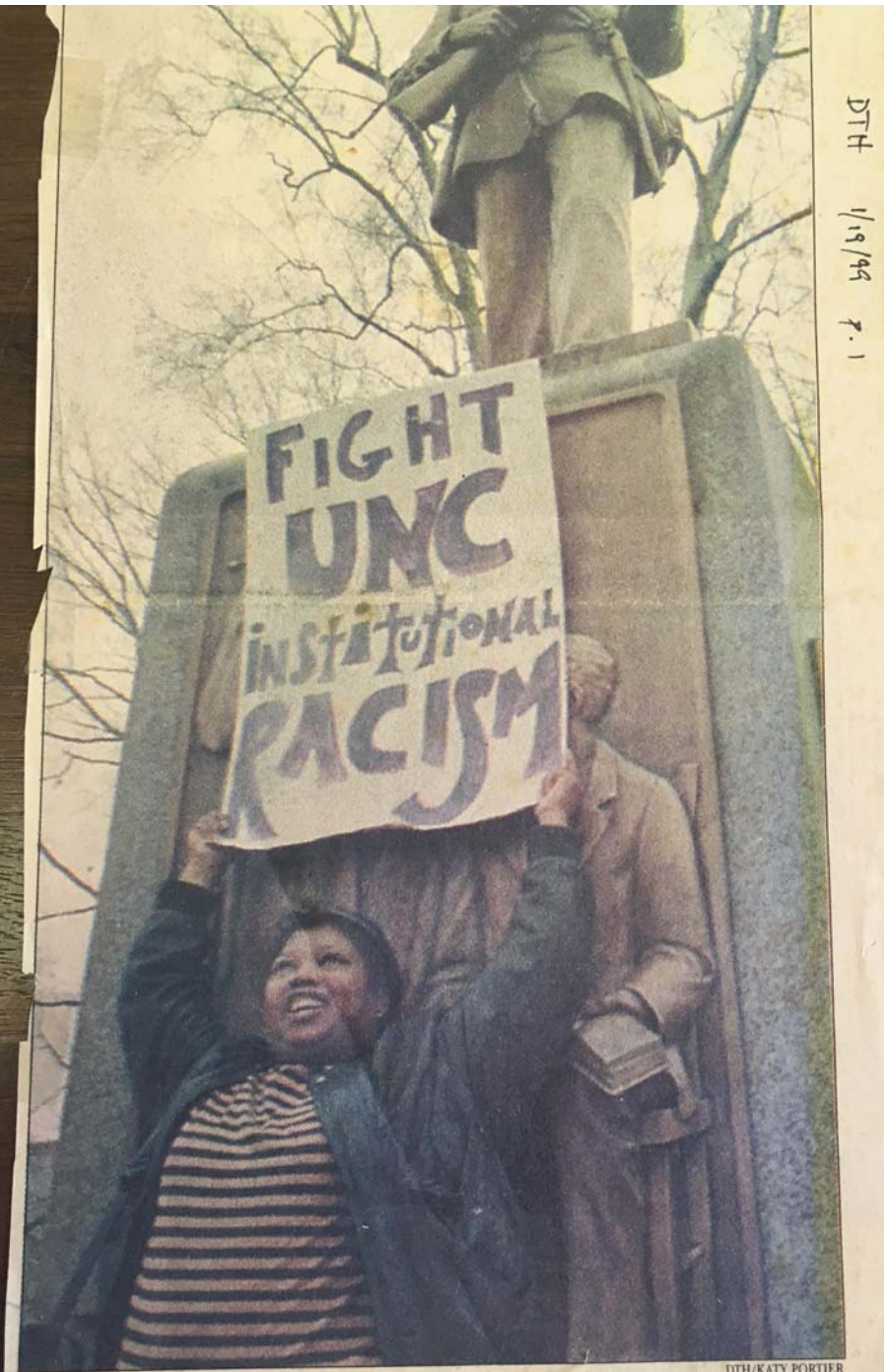
For this reason, it is high time that serious structural alterations be made to higher education. Our aspirations are untainted: free tuition via a University open to all, abolition of the police and prisons, free and collectivized housing and food, and more. There are many smaller steps needed to realize this, so here we set out a program to lay the groundwork for this vision. Many of these demands are not new. Hence, we honor the workers and students in groups such as Student Action with Workers, Students United for Immigrant Equality, Sierra Student Coalition, and the Board of Governors Democracy Coalition, among many others, and reiterate some of their demands to the University, too.

Critically, this is a living document that will be modified and added to, evolving over time. We invite you to join us in visioning and rebuilding education for the better. Our demands are as follows.

Gone are the days where we ask for what is p

Tear it down, or v

#WeDem



DTH/KATY PORTIER

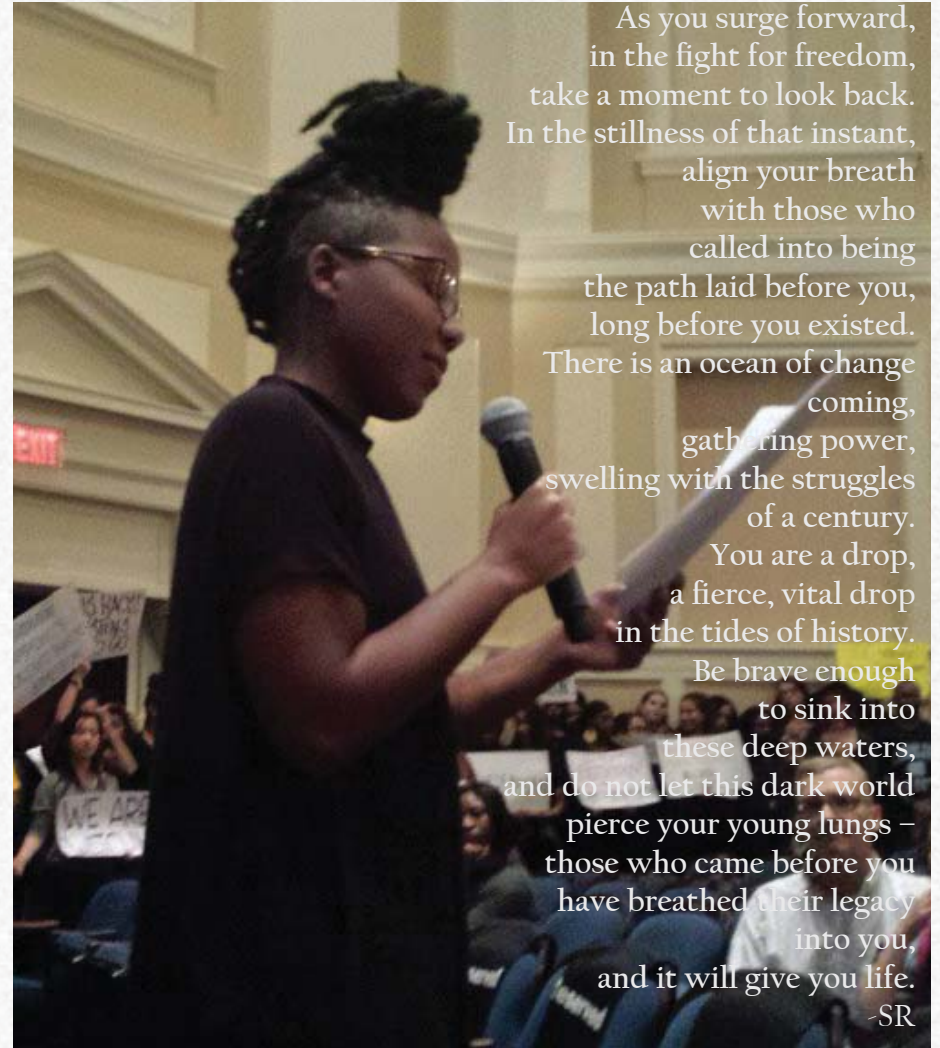
Dorothy Elaine Massey protests Silent Sam, seen by some as a racist representative of students who fought in the Civil War, during the Martin Luther King Jr. Day march Monday.

BREAK OPEN THE IMPOSSIBLE!

CHANGE IS NEVER LINEAR, NOR IS IT INEVITABLE.

WE SEE HOW THE UNIVERSITY WANTS TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO OR EVEN TAKE BACK OUR WINS, THROUGH CYCLES OF INSTITUTIONAL MANIPULATION, CONDESCENSION AND REPETITIVE RHETORICS THAT LIMIT POSSIBILITIES.

WE SEE AND RECOGNIZE THESE RHETORICS AND TACTICS. WE KNOW CHANGE IS POSSIBLE, AND NECESSARY, AND REQUIRES US TO BREAK-THROUGH THE UNIVERSITY'S CYCLES OF ENDLESSLY DEFERRED FUTURES.



As you surge forward,
in the fight for freedom,
take a moment to look back.
In the stillness of that instant,
align your breath
with those who
called into being
the path laid before you,
long before you existed.
There is an ocean of change
coming,
gathering power,
swelling with the struggles
of a century.
You are a drop,
a fierce, vital drop
in the tides of history.
Be brave enough
to sink into
these deep waters,
and do not let this dark world
pierce your young lungs –
those who came before you
have breathed their legacy
into you,
and it will give you life.
-SR

ast due to us: we are here to take what is ours.

ve shut you down.

landUNC

We will not forget
We will not be silent

STUDENTS DO THE WORK IT TAKES

Fess Up, Silent Sam!

There is a conspiracy of silence concerning the racist history of the University of North Carolina. Meanwhile, black workers and other African Americans still frequently encounter a "plantation mentality" in their daily lives. This racism is sometimes open and direct. More often it is camouflaged and paternalistic--"sugar coated," as civil rights activists described it during the 1960s.

Keith Edwards, the UNC Housekeepers, the Black Public Works Association, and the students and faculty who fought for a free standing Black Cultural Center have called those in power to account for their racism. Yet these struggles are only a beginning.

Aycock Residence Hall--completed in 1924--named for Charles B. Aycock (1859-1912), leader of the white supremacy campaign that ushered Jim Crow into North Carolina at the turn of the century. Governor of North Carolina 1901-1905.

Swain Hall (Department of Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures)--completed in 1914--named after David Lowry Swain (1801-1868), Governor of North Carolina and President of the university from 1935 to 1868. Swain led the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 that disenfranchised free black citizens. While president of the university, Swain's wealth increased dramatically. In 1850 he owned nineteen slaves. By 1860 Swain owned thirty two slaves and was one of the richest men in Chapel Hill. Following the War Swain...

Saunders Hall (Religion and Geography)--completed in 1922--named after Colonel William L. Saunders (1835-1891), the building was designed for the departments of History and Sociology. Saunders graduated from the university in 1854, studied law under Judge William Horn Battle, and rose to the level of colonel in the Confederate army under Robert E. Lee. Following the war he returned to Chapel Hill where he directed the activities of the North Carolina Ku Klux Klan during 1867-70.

Mitchell Hall (Geology)--completed in 1964--named after Professor Elisha P. Mitchell (1793-1857). Mitchell taught chemistry, mineralogy, and geology at the university from 1818 until his death. Although a native of Connecticut, Mitchell owned four slaves by 1820, eighteen in 1840, and twenty in 1850. It was under Mitchell's direction as Bursar of the university that slaves built the stone walls surrounding the campus.

Cameron Avenue--paved in 1927--named after Paul Cameron, a wealthy planter and businessman of Orange County. Paul Cameron became the richest man in North Carolina when he inherited the vast holdings of his father, Duncan Cameron, in 1853. This inheritance included the family plantation "Fairintosh." Duncan Cameron served on the university Board of Trustees and was elected the first chairman of the Executive Committee in 1858 and from 1875 to 1888. Paul Cameron was the largest slaveholder in Orange County.

Ruffin Residence Hall--completed in 1970--named after Paul Cameron was the largest slaveholder in Orange County. Paul Cameron was the largest slaveholder in Orange County. As Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court Thomas Ruffin wrote: "The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect."

"If you are silent about your pain, they'll kill you and say you enjoyed it."



-Zora Neale Hurston

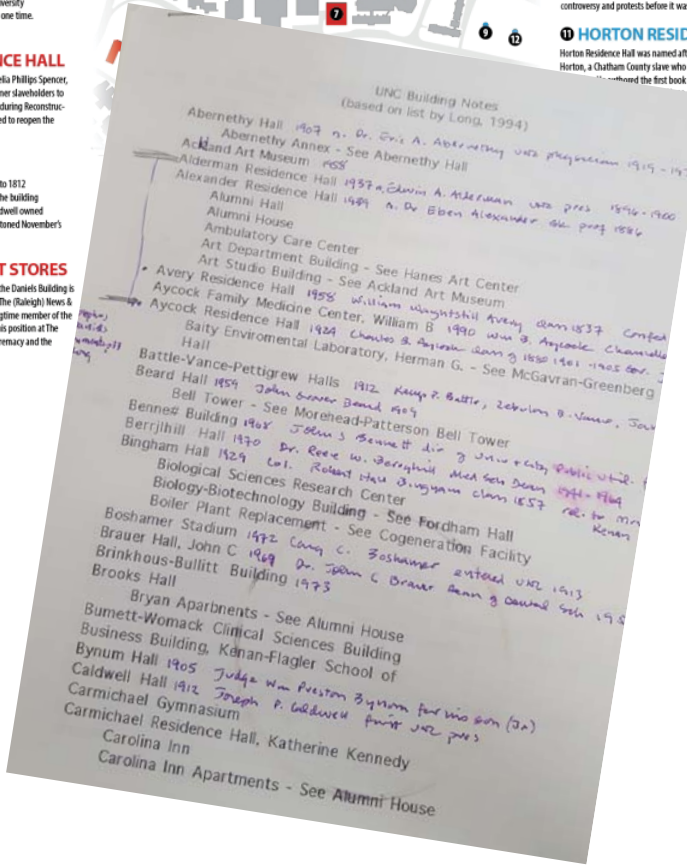


ES TO REVEAL...

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AT UNC

The Real Silent Sam Coalition called for the University to contextualize the history of its buildings. The Daily Tar Heel's Projects and Investigations Team has provided more information about the namesakes of some buildings that the University identified as having a history related to racism or slavery. In some cases, The Daily Tar Heel also included buildings that celebrate the black men and women who helped build campus.

- 1 SAUNDERS HALL**
Saunders Hall is named for William L. Saunders, a colonel in the Civil War and a chief organizer of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina. Saunders was also secretary of state in North Carolina for a period of time and served on the University's Board of Trustees from 1874 until 1891.
- 2 AYCOCK RESIDENCE HALL**
The dorm was named after Charles Aycock, a former governor. Aycock supported segregated schools and the disenfranchisement of black people.
- 3 SILENT SAM**
The monument was erected by UNC to honor the students and alumni who died during the Civil War. Julian Carr, a North Carolina businessman, spoke at the inauguration for the statue and recalled that he "horse-whipped a Negro wench" by the monument.
- 4 CAMERON AVENUE**
Cameron Avenue, which runs through UNC's campus is named after Paul Cameron, who was a University trustee and the state's largest slaveholder at one time. He owned 470 slaves.
- 5 SPENCER RESIDENCE HALL**
Spencer Residence Hall was named for Cornelia Phillips Spencer, who worked with William Saunders and former slaveholders to reopen the University after it closed in 1871 during Reconstruction. Spencer's tireless work ultimately helped to reopen the University in 1875.
- 6 CALDWELL HALL**
Joseph Caldwell, UNC's president from 1864 to 1872 and from 1876 to 1885, is the namesake of the building that houses the philosophy department. Caldwell owned and sold slaves. The Ku Klux Klan stored November's house in 1869.
- 7 DANIELS STUDENT STORES**
Known by most students as Student Stores, the Daniels Building is named after Josephus Daniels, the editor of *The Raleigh News & Observer* in the early 20th century and a longtime member of the University's Board of Trustees. Daniels used his position at *The News & Observer* to campaign for white supremacy and the disenfranchisement of blacks.



- 8 UNSUNG FOUNDERS MEMORIAL**
The Unsung Founders Memorial was created by artist Do-Ho Suh to commemorate the people of color who helped build the University. It features bronze figures that hold up a stone tablet with seats around it, suggesting that the memorial could be used as a table.
- 9 WILSON CALDWELL MEMORIAL**
One of UNC President David Swain's slaves, Wilson Caldwell, worked several jobs at UNC. He eventually would open a school for black people in the area.
- 10 SONJA HAYNES STONE CENTER FOR BLACK CULTURE AND HISTORY**
Named in honor of Sonja Haynes Stone, former associate professor at UNC and the director of UNC's African and Afro-American Studies curriculum, the building was the subject of years of controversy and protests before it was built.
- 11 HORTON RESIDENCE HALL**
Horton Residence Hall was named after George Moses Horton, a Chatham County slave who taught himself to read and write. The first book ever published by a slave, *Poems by George Moses Horton*, was published in 1845.

12 OLD METERY
Renamed Joseph Caldwell, 1812 and from 1816 to 1818, including November 1818. A new monument to honor Caldwell owned November

WHO SAID IT BETTER?

Student Visionaries

"We don't just want for the building to be renamed and then that's it. (It's) a step in the right direction toward addressing these racial wounds that are open and bare."

- DTH April 2014

"This movement is about the future of this university. It is about facing the violent, racial history of UNC-Chapel Hill, of the state of North Carolina and of the United States. This is about power. This is about a struggle over who belongs at this university and who gets to make decisions about what happens here."

- March 2015

"The Real Silent Sam strives to denounce the invisibilized white supremacist narratives that undergird UNC...By instigating further conversation on alternative histories, we are attempting to address the collective historical amnesia we suffer from as a community."

- April 2014

"We created our own memorial to show what Saunders was: a murderer, a slave owner and the emperor of the KKK"

DTH October 7, 1999

"The building makes Saunders out to be a good humanitarian, but he was a white supremacist"

- April 2001, DTH

University Admin

"We've got a history, and we're living with it," said Richard J Richardson, the university's provost. "But we're also moving beyond our history and heading toward an exciting and diverse future."

- Source: Chronicle of Higher Education, 1999

"We wanted a name that we could reach back to where we started, where we've been, where we are and where we are headed," board Chairman Lowry Caudill said.

- Chairman Lowry Caudill on Board choosing "Carolina Hall" in 2015

[Chancellor Carol Folt] refused to give an opinion on the ongoing discussion about renaming Saunders Hall.

"I wouldn't be doing my job if I were always stating my opinion."

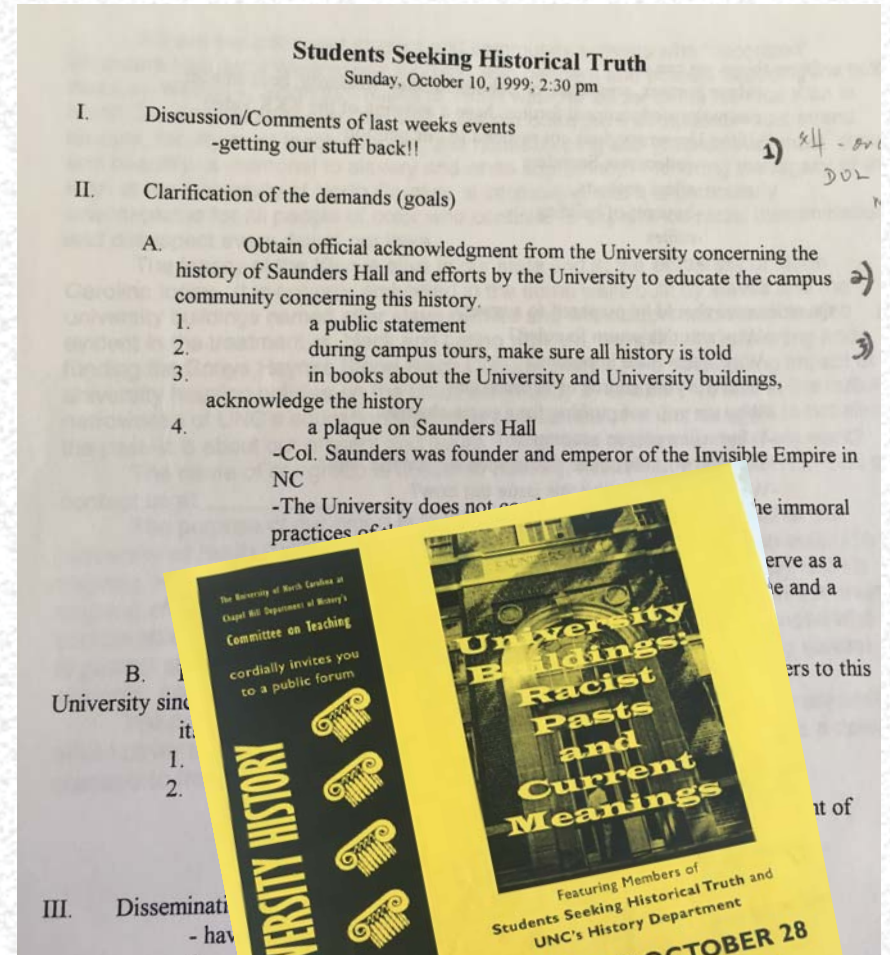
- April 24, 2015 - Daily Tar Heel

Trustee Alston Gardner said though the Saunders controversy had swirled for years, it is appropriate to tackle it now.

"This is the time to face the issues of race and place," he said. "We embrace the discussion and we believe the university is a fantastic venue for that - much better than Starbucks and a 45-second conversation with your barista."

- The News + Observer
March 25, 2015

HISTORICAL TRUTH



STUDENTS SEEKING

During the late 1990s and early 2000s a student group called Students Seeking Historical Truth organized and looked to contextualize UNC's racialized campus landscape. In October 1999 Students Seeking Historical Truth organized an anti-racist "decoration" of Saunders Hall in which they hung a KKK banner on the building. Pictured here (right) are meeting notes in the week leading up to the group's "decoration" of Saunders Hall, and a flyer advertising a panel discussion entitled "University Buildings: Racist Pasts and Current Meetings."



DON'T BE DETOURED!

University administration intentionally works to distract and deter students by obscuring their path and vision.

While they send them/us on detours - taskforces, 'special' meetings with deans, etc. - they intimidate and stifle student creativity and solidify histories that neutralize and erase the hard-fought victories of student activism.

Don't be detoured!
We must map our own
paths!



THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT
CHAPEL HILL

Black Cultural Center
(919) 962-9001

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
CB# 5250
Frank Porter Graham Student Union Bldg.
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27599-5250

CONTACT: Toija Riggins, Minister of Information (BSM)
ADDRESS: UNC- Chapel Hill, CB #5250, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514
PHONE: 962-8345 or 962-9001
DATE: August 30, 1991

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CHAPEL HILL--

The Black Student Movement, Black Cultural Center and Campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill will be marching to the Chancellor's Office on Tuesday, September 3rd at 12 noon.

This act is planned to commemorate the life and legacy of Dr. Sonja Hanes Stone - a former African American Studies professor whose ultimate death has mobilized the campus into immediate social awareness and political action.

Students will be making demands to the University Chancellor, Paul Hardin. The demands include: 1) the immediate construction of a Black Cultural Center named in honor of Dr. Stone 2) the installment of an endowed chair position, also in her honor 3) the expansion of the current African/African-American Studies Curriculum to departmental status.

Dr. Stone came to UNC-CH in 1974 as the director of the Curriculum of African/African American Studies. She immediately began to educate the University of the glaring inadequacies and omissions of the history and culture of African-Americans. At that time, her social activism background as reflected on her vita was an asset to the University because Black Intelligentsia and Black Activists were often one and the same.

Dr. Stone's death has been a blow to the entire campus community, especially the African-American sector. As we realized with the passing of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that there would be no replacement for him, we also realize that there will be no replacement for Dr. Sonja Haynes Stone. This is why Dr. Stone is revered so highly in the campus community as a true leader in higher education.

Division of Student Affairs

faculty decision

not possible in short run - need money

"If I listened to everyone who said ^{not possible} ~~it wouldn't be here~~" - Priscilla

STUDENT ACTIVIST SURVIVAL GUIDE

1. When invited to meetings in administration HOMES and OFFICES (?!?!), **DO NOT GO!** Meet on neutral ground or preferably, in your space.
2. DO YOUR OWN RESEARCH.
3. Create **queer** and **POC** spaces.
4. Use **Horizontal Leadership** & **Reverse Stacking** methods in your group meetings.
FIND PEOPLE and CREATE SPACES that validate your existence.
5. Share your **RAGE!**
6. collectivize care & responsibility
hang out → chill → turn up
7. You are **CREATING HISTORY**, so **write - document - witness** --- your own history ('cause someone else will try to rewrite/erase it)

