REPORT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE TO THE FACULTY COUNCIL

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Committee Members:
Mr. Jonathan Butler, B.S.B.A. and Master’s, Education
Ms. Stephanie Hernandez, M.A., Multicultural Center
Prof. Berkley Hudson, Ph.D., (chair), Journalism
Prof. Camila Manrique, M.D., Medicine
Prof. Ray Massey, Ph.D., Agricultural Economics
Interim President Mike Middleton, Law (Emeritus) and former Deputy Chancellor
Prof. Stephen Montgomery-Smith, Ph.D., Mathematics
Prof. Leigh Neier, Ph.D., Education
Prof. Craig Roberts, Ph.D., Plant Sciences
Prof. Daryl Smith, MBA, Business
Prof. Laine Young-Walker, M.D., Medicine
Mr. Corie Wilkins, B.J., Journalism
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Executive Summary:
Decide Today that Race Relations Is Key Priority. 
Take Discrete Steps to Make that Happen.

Twelve members of the Mizzou community--nine faculty, two students and one staff member with diverse political, spiritual, philosophical viewpoints, backgrounds and ethnic identities--formed the Race Relations Committee of the Faculty Council in April 2015.

Since then, with open hearts and fierce intellectual focus, we created a model that, with support and hard work, can be replicated throughout the campus: small groups of people committed toward naming the problems of race relations and naming the solutions. We know these are unique in some cases, specific to certain departments, colleges, schools and units on campus. Faculty can and must lead the way.

In the spirit of shared governance, faculty and administration need to take steps to create these small groups that replicate our work of the Race Relations Committee. This will not be easy. But it can be done with proper support and incentives from administrators and from faculty. We are talking about a cultural shift, a Mizzou Miracle, as it were. We can become not only leaders locally but nationally. The choice is ours, today.

Many faculty are international experts and specialist in their disciplines. They are not necessarily experts in dealing with race relations or know how to handle the pedagogical issues that either arise or are completely avoided in classes and labs. We need to create a way for all faculty to receive appropriate training along the lines of what could be offered in a Center for Teaching Excellence.

We need to connect with our faculty. Department chairs, deans, Jesse Hall administrators, UM System administrators, and the Board of Curators need to commit to that support, beyond the steps that already have been taken in the last few months and year.

We need to have engaging conversations with all faculty members. If that does not happen, our committee’s work will falter.
We recommend an audio and video project, a la Story Corps, that will capture the stories of race relations from all members of the MU community who are willing to tell their stories. One aspect, would come from students, called “What I Wish My Professor Knew.” This suggestion is an outgrowth of our experience recording our initial videos and the feedback we received from them. We plan to record other videos telling our stories, too.

The Chancellor, Provost and their staffs along with Deans and Department Chairs need to support this work in real, authentic and immediate ways. Individuals have been supportive but collectively support has been lacking and in some cases to the point of disinterest, whether through distraction, conscious or unconscious.

We have a choice today. MU, led by its faculty in shared governance with the administration, can become a local, national or global leader in terms of race relations in teaching, research, service, and economic development. This Mizzou Miracle can happen if we make that our priority.
Racial Truth & Reconciliation at Mizzou: Ending Estrangement from Ourselves & Others
By Race Relations Committee Chair, Berkley Hudson, Ph.D., Journalism

A Mississippi boyhood friend of mine, Jim Carnes, directed for about 10 years Teaching Tolerance, a program of the Southern Poverty Law Center. In terms of race, he said: “We are strangers to ourselves in many ways, let alone being able to understand one another.” One of the goals of our committee has been to find ways to end that estrangement in race relations on our campus and in our community of Columbia.

At the outset, I acknowledge we chose to focus solely on race relations, despite being told by some faculty members that we needed to consider our work more broadly in terms of diversity, intersectionality, and inclusion.

Although Faculty Council committees normally have only faculty members, we decided that it was important to include student and staff representatives. We also decided that about half of the committee would reflect that of the approximately 2,000 full-time faculty, about 1,500 of them identify themselves as white. Based on past experiences and initiatives, we found that some white faculty did not understand the depth of the race relations problems at Mizzou. And even if they saw problems, they did not know how to negotiate those problems in the classroom or lab. We also felt it was important to include on the committee white people who did not think there were racial problems at Mizzou. We did not want to form a committee that was “preaching to the choir.”

However, our fellow committee member Stephanie Hernandez, when she was director of the Multicultural Center, initially cautioned us: “We are not addressing issues of how we are all part of the problem, or including people of other identities who are already marginalized and by not including them are continuing to be marginalized. It is challenging for me to sit in a room where the conversation is putting two identities in position against each other when it is much more complex than that...Students are going to watch the videos we created and students of already marginalized identities on campus [will] ask: where am I in this conversation, who is advocating for me?”

Nonetheless, by focusing on race, we were able to get committee members with a wide range of political, spiritual and philosophical viewpoints to meet weekly, to share their stories, ideas and solutions.

As a result, we have created a model that, with support and hard work, can be replicated throughout the campus: small groups of people committed toward naming the
problems of race relations and naming solutions. We know these are unique in some cases and are specific to certain departments, colleges, schools and units on campus.

We also realized that over the years there have been many committees, many workshops, many administrators whose focus was either on race relations or more broadly on diversity. There were anti-apartheid protests in the 1980s and administration initiatives in response. The Ethnic Civility Task Force made a report in 1991. There was the “MU to the Future. Racism Workshop,” of April 22, 1994. Another task force gave a report on MU faculty diversity in 1999. “Difficult Dialogues” trained many faculty. So has the Interactive Theatre Troupe, founded in 2003 and led by Prof. Suzanne Burgoyne and Prof. Clyde Ruffin--when MU joined a 3-year multi-campus program sponsored by the Carnegie Academy for the Advancement of Teaching and Learning and the American Association for Higher Education.

A decade later, this committee’s specific origins occurred in December 2014 when then-Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin and then-Faculty Council Chair Craig Roberts were driving to a Board of Curators meeting.

Roberts asked Loftin how might the Faculty Council assist him. Days earlier, on Dec. 1, Loftin had held the first in a series of campus listening sessions related to race relations and the aftermath of the killing of Michael Brown by Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson. Loftin told Roberts: help me with the race relations issue.

Roberts said he would propose the Faculty Council to form a race relations committee.

In January, I agreed to chair the committee, but only after I met with Loftin and was assured of his full support. At a two-hour meeting with Loftin and other administrators that included then-Deputy Chancellor Mike Middleton, I asked about the statistics of students of color on campus and faculty of color. Middleton and then-Senior Deputy Provost Ken Dean looked at one another and said: in terms of faculty there essentially had been no change in the percentage of faculty of color on campus, especially African Americans, in the last 15 to 20 years. It is a revolving door, they said. At the same time, the number of students of color had increased.

Not long after that meeting with the Chancellor, in February, I had the opportunity to sit next to President Tim Wolfe at the Faculty Council’s annual breakfast with the Board of Curators. I suggested to the president that it would be a great if we could add into the university system’s strategic plan the theme of making Mizzou a leader in race relations.
He said that possibly could be done. We did not talk again or about that idea until he
would meet with our Race Relations Committee on Oct. 27, just before his resignation.

In Spring 2015, forming the committee took three and one-half months. Craig Roberts
and I met with dozens of faculty, staff and students to find people willing to serve and to
be part of a group in which everyone did not share the same viewpoints. Faculty Council
approved the committee membership in April, and we held our first meeting on May 12,
2015. We began the process of telling our stories about race relations and learning to
listen. After the initial sessions, among the questions I asked committee members were:

How do you assess racial awareness of the MU faculty, especially the white faculty?

How does that awareness influence the quality of educational and campus life?

To what degree is MU and its faculty a local, national or global leader in terms of race
relations in teaching, research, service, and economic development?

The committee members offered viewpoints of race, nationality, upbringing, and when
they became aware of race. It was clear that each committee member wanted to
contribute to improving race relations at Mizzou and was willing to devote time.
However, it was also clear that committee members understood the nature of the
problem at different levels.

For one year, we held meetings sometimes weekly, other times biweekly, meeting
anywhere from one to two hours at a time. For months we met every other week, to
accommodate everyone’s schedules. We alternated between a 7 a.m. start time on
Tuesdays and 1 p.m. on Fridays. And we still meet now.

Initially, our goal was to develop trusting relationships with one another. We created
truly a safe space for all ideas to be explored and heard. That was sorely tested at times
such as after a young white man killed nine African American church members in
Charleston, SC. Once, committee member Daryl Smith, who is African American, said
he was so angry he could hardly stand to be in our meeting room and talk about the
subject of race. As we coalesced as a group, we reached out to our “circle of advisors,”
such as astronomy professor Angela Speck, who chaired the Faculty Council’s Diversity
Enhancement Committee and on which I served; Stephanie Shonekan, chair of Black
Studies; Scott Brooks, sociology professor; student leaders such as MSA President
Payton Head; administrators such as Noor Azizan-Gardner, and community leaders
such as the Rev. Carl Kenney.
As part of that outreach, I and other committee members attended many meetings, including ones Chancellor Loftin held with student leaders in Spring and Fall 2015. In August our committee met for two hours with Chancellor Loftin. I witnessed Loftin, with his fits and starts, become not a professor, but a student of race relations. We saw him falter. And we saw him learn.

In September and October, we created a set of five videos outlining our work. With some difficulty yet with the support of Dr. Jim Spain, vice provost for undergraduate studies and the Academic Support Services office, we were able to get those videos distributed throughout the campus. Some deans and colleges such as the College of Agriculture, Food and Natural Resources, played the videos on portable monitors.

On Oct. 27 at 7 a.m., two weeks after Concerned Student 1950 had blocked President Wolfe’s convertible in the Homecoming parade and after he had not responded to their demands, our committee met for two hours with Wolfe. We asked him, as did each of the guests invited to meet with us, to tell his own personal story of race relations, and he did. One thing that he brought up was the MU-Columbia town-gown relationship and how that influences adversely faculty recruitment and retention in the area of race relations. We agreed we saw the problem, too. And we offered Wolfe our help.

Two weeks, later, on Wednesday, Nov. 11, two days after the resignations of Chancellor Loftin and President Wolfe, our committee met. The trust we had built over months nearly fractured. Then, two more days later, committee member Mike Middleton was appointed as interim president.

During this time, committee members fielded interview requests with media outlets from around the world. As Mizzou became national and international news, links to our videos were published and thousands downloaded them online. One of those sites, Breibart, distorted our videos and our committee’s work.

In November, at the time of the hunger strike by our fellow committee member and the subsequent administrator resignations, we had issued a statement that said this: “While there is some disagreement about the various actions taken, our committee agrees about one thing—students complaining about racism are telling the truth. We have become aware of subtle but extensive racism that occurs with regularity to our students. We have also come to learn with clarity that this occurs on many campuses throughout America and should be taken seriously.”
Media documentation of our work has received positive publicity and reflects deeper understandings that occurred within our group over the months. John Eligon, a *New York Times* national correspondent on racial issues, wrote about that in an “Education Life” section.

Here is an excerpt from Eligon’s Feb. 3, 2016, NYT story:

A meeting last fall serves to illustrate how the experiment works.

Raymond Massey, a white, Bible-quoting professor of agricultural and applied economics who is skeptical of claims of racism on campus, described how he had asked his students what they thought of the university’s latest episode, a slur hurled at a black student group. But instead of addressing that incident, a white student interjected that she had been terrified when demonstrators staged a die-in, lying silently on the floor of the student union in protest of police violence against blacks. She was afraid to get up from her seat. She couldn’t get around them, she said. And she feared if she left, they’d call her racist.

As Dr. Massey spoke, Corie Wilkins fumed. Mr. Wilkins, an African-American in his senior year studying journalism, was unmoved and, in fact, offended. The die-in was peaceful, he argued, and white people didn’t have to worry about facing violence on campus. “Now if this was a black person coming out of work late at night and there’s three, four white guys standing around their car, that, to me, that’s real fear,” he said.

Dr. Massey shot back: How could Mr. Wilkins validate his own fears but not the woman’s? Mr. Wilkins countered: Because there was no history of racist attacks against whites on campus. Back and forth they went, until Michael A. Middleton, a committee member who is now interim president of the four-campus university system, intervened. “We have to understand each other if we hope to be understood,” Mr. Middleton, who is black, told them. “So we need to think through why she felt unsafe and understand that she did feel unsafe and deal with that. Just as we’re asking the white population to deal with the fear a black student has walking across campus.”

Voices eventually came back down. Tempers simmered. This was precisely the type of emotional untangling the committee was working toward.

“If we commit to a better understanding of why we as individuals act, speak, think, behave the way we do,” Mr. [Chuck] Henson said, “we are in a much better position as
individuals to have a culture that we can share. I'm not asking you to change your beliefs. I’m asking you to think about what your beliefs are and why you have them.”

Dr. Massey said that what resonated for him was how quick he had been to embrace the white student’s fear but he had not done the same with black students. “I saw it as a pervasive problem that everybody was looking at their own side and understood their perspective,” he said. “They didn’t understand the other person’s perspective.”

Mr. Wilkins said he learned that tone matters. He cannot get too excited every time he hears something he doesn’t like. “I can admit that that wasn’t the time to assert my point the way I did,” he said.

Now the committee is wrestling with how to export what they are doing. They have released video confessonals of members talking about race and they plan to shoot more. They hope to go to like-minded cohorts to help them grapple with the issues they themselves have struggled with in committee meetings.

“We realize,” Dr. Hudson said, “we are writing a script to how to have these conversations about race.”

During the transition to a new Mizzou administrative leadership team, our committee has continued to meet, but has not been able to form as cohesive connection with administrators in terms of shared governance surrounding our work. However, I have met individually with interim Chancellor Hank Foley, and he pledged his support. Law professor Chuck Henson, when he was the newly appointed vice chancellor for diversity, inclusion and equity, met for two hours with us. And I met with him a number of times and received his support. His office financed pizzas for some of our committee’s outreach meetings to groups of faculty that have included the Department of Agriculture Economics, and the School of Natural Resources, and the College of Engineering. Members of our committee have visited and made presentations to other units on campus including the Journalism School and MU Operations managers. We are scheduling a presentation at the College of Education which has been supportive our work. We have met with leaders of the School of Health Profession working on diversity.

In March, I along with two other committee members met with the Deans’ Council. We asked for their support. We offered to meet with their schools, colleges, departments. Not all have taken us up on that offer.
At our May 13, 2016, meeting committee member Stephen Montgomery-Smith said he had learned in the last year to be “slow to speak, quick to listen.” Daryl Smith asked how can we overcome the psychological barriers that people use as a defense against understanding problems of race relations. Corie Wilkins: “I have learned to ask questions in response to that defensiveness.”

Even before our first meeting, I and other committee members received complaints from staff, students and faculty who felt that they had nowhere to turn to register complaints about what they experienced as racial discrimination. Some came, for example, from Nursing. Surprisingly, some came from students in my own unit, the Journalism School, celebrated for its required undergraduate class in Cross Cultural Journalism.

Once, Chancellor Loftin passed along to me a letter he received from a journalism student who asked to remain anonymous: “I choose to take mostly online classes because it is so uncomfortable constantly having to speak for, and represent an entire race of people in my classes during discussions. It is also uncomfortable when I am paired in groups with students who have absolutely no cultural awareness and try to minimize my contributions to the group. It has been particularly startling to see journalism students with such ignorance since we are the future gatekeepers of news. I ask that your plan moving forward includes specific actions to increase faculty's awareness of student situations like mine. It is sad and ironic that I have had to isolate myself from the classroom in order to complete my education, but my situation is not unique.”

Expressions of help for our committee's work have come from many quarters. Unfortunately, we have not been able to respond to all of them. And, as with other members of the Mizzou community, our committee members also have received hate-filled, threatening emails and phone messages, some of them hyper-sexualized. I tell you this so you can realize the intensity of our opposition, even if from the margins.

As committee members, we did not receive course relief or additional compensation. We received, perhaps, what my late, Southern Baptist mother would call "stars in our heavenly crowns." And we continue to receive the intense satisfaction of having gotten to know more deeply our fellow committee members. We also have become acquainted with many dedicated staff, students, alumni, professors, administrators and supporters of the University of Missouri.
Committee Biographies

These short biographies represent a combination of formal and informal approaches and reflect the basis for many of the stories that committee members shared and explored with each other.

Unless otherwise noted, committee members have participated in weekly or biweekly meetings from May 2015 through May 2016. The committee has continued to meet since May 2016 as well.

Jonathan Butler (May 2015-May 2016)
Jonathan Butler received his Bachelor of Science in Business Administration and Marketing in 2012 from the University of Missouri and then in May 2016, his Master's Degree in Educational Leadership and Administration. Frustrated by what he saw as inadequate programs, policies and actions related to race relations -- on the part of the University of Missouri system and the Columbia campus -- he staged an 8-day hunger strike in November 2015. On Nov. 7 and 8, the University of Missouri football team came out in support of this effort to force the resignation of system president Tim Wolfe. On the morning of Nov. 9, Wolfe resigned. That same day, Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin resigned in the afternoon.

Stephanie Hernandez
Stephanie Hernandez Rivera is pursuing her doctoral degree in the Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis Program with an emphasis in Higher Education at the University of Missouri. She hopes to examine the experiences of Women of Color undergraduate students in higher education. Hernandez Rivera has worked previously as a professional in equity and diversity work and as the Director of a Multicultural Center at the University of Missouri. She is most interested in disparities and inequities in education and how to create initiatives and services for groups that are historically oppressed and invisibilized; specifically people of color groups. She has presented at conferences such as NASPA, MoCPA, Association of Fraternity and Sorority Advisors Conference, and the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education. She has a M.A. in Women’s and Gender Studies from Rutgers University.
Berkley Hudson

Berkley Hudson is an associate professor at the Missouri School of Journalism where he has taught since 2003. He earned his doctorate at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a master's from Columbia University and bachelor's from University of Mississippi. For twenty-five years, including at the Los Angeles Times, he worked as a newspaper and magazine journalist. He is a media historian who has been published in journals such as Southern Cultures and Literary Journalism Studies.

His research focuses on media representation of race, including visual; the American South, and literary journalism, He is the immediate past editor-in-chief of Visual Communication Quarterly. In 2015 he was selected as a Kemper Teaching Fellow. At Mizzou, he chairs the Race Relations Committee of the Faculty Council for University Policy.

His interest in race relations springs from his upbringing in the Civil Rights era of 1950s and 1960s, in Columbus, Mississippi, northeast Mississippi, where his Anglo-Saxon ancestors had arrived in the early and mid-19th century. He was born in the same Mississippi hospital a few years before Craig Roberts was born there, too. They first met at Mizzou.

Camila Manrique

Camila Manrique has been an Assistant Professor of Medicine at the University of Missouri since October 2010. Her postgraduate medical training includes an Endocrinology Fellowship at the University of Missouri, Internal Medical Residency at the University of Missouri, and Residency in Endocrinology at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogota. She is a School of Medicine representative to the Faculty Council. In addition, beginning this school year, she serves as Vice Chair of the Faculty Council.

Ray Massey

Ray Massey is an extension professor in the Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics within the College of Agriculture, Food & Natural Resources.

His father retired from the Air Force when he was 11 years old, and his family moved to a small farm in New Mexico. Circumstances caused their standard of living to fall below the poverty line. They lived in a neighborhood that was mostly filled with people who were of Mexican descent and American Indians. (In the 1970s, he says, all of the
Hispanic people he knew were of Mexican descent — most legally, some illegally in the U.S.) His experience as a white male in poverty, he says, led him to believe that poverty and economic disadvantage was not simply a race issue. His experience with Mexican citizens and immigrants in the U.S. taught him that another race could raise themselves from poverty. His Mexican neighbors had a more difficult time than he did, he says, but they made amazing economic strides. On the other hand, the American Indians with whom he lived were free to migrate anywhere and were recipients of federal subsidies but made modest, at best, economic advances – most remained in poverty. He surmised that race is important; culture more important.

Mike Middleton
Michael A. Middleton was appointed interim president of the University of Missouri System on November 12, 2015, by the University of Missouri Board of Curators. Middleton previously served as deputy chancellor of the University of Missouri-Columbia and is a professor emeritus in the MU School of Law.

As interim president, Middleton serves as the Chief Executive Officer of the University and is accountable to the Board of Curators on all matters.

Middleton served as deputy chancellor during the terms of chancellors Richard Wallace, Brady Deaton and R. Bowen Loftin, a period of rapid growth in the university’s enrollment and research productivity. As deputy chancellor, Middleton provided leadership focused on legal, policy and regulatory compliance, operational performance and dispute resolution.

Middleton joined the faculty of the MU Law School in 1985 after a career with the federal government in Washington, D.C., where he was first a trial attorney in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. In 1977, he was appointed assistant deputy director of the Office for Civil Rights within the former U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

After serving as director of the Office of Systemic Programs for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and as principal deputy assistant secretary for Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Education, Middleton was appointed associate general counsel of the EEOC’s trial division. He returned to his alma mater from St. Louis, where he was director of the St. Louis district office of the EEOC. He helped guide both agencies through major organizational transitions.
Beginning in 1997, Middleton served as the interim vice provost for Minority Affairs and Faculty Development at MU. A year later, he accepted the position of deputy chancellor, a role he held until his retirement on August 31, 2015.

Throughout his career, Middleton has received accolades including: the Distinguished Alumni Award from the MU Black Alumni Organization in 1995, the Harold Holliday Award from the Missouri Legislative Black Caucus in 1998, the Spurgeon Smithson Award from the Missouri Bar Foundation in 1999, a Citation of Merit from the University of Missouri School of Law in 2001, the Chief Justice’s Award from the Missouri Supreme Court in 2003, the President’s Award from the Missouri Bar in 2003, the MLK Dream Conference Trailblazer of the Year Award in 2006, and most recently the MLK Jr. Distinguished Drum Major for Justice Award, the Legislative Black Caucus Public Service Award, and the Trailblazer Award from the Columbia NAACP in 2016. He has also been a member of the American Bar Foundation since 1992 and the American Law Institute since 1999.

Middleton earned a bachelor’s degree in political science from MU in 1968. He is a 1971 graduate of the MU School of Law.

Middleton is married to Dr. Julie N. Middleton, who retired in February 2016 after serving as director of organizational development and an extension professional at MU. Together, they have three children and seven grandchildren.

**Stephen Montgomery-Smith**

Stephen Montgomery-Smith has been at MU for 27 years as a Professor of Mathematics. He identifies as a white conservative Christian, after a powerful conversion experience in 1986 while he was getting his Ph.D. at Cambridge, England. Via his mother’s side, he is descended from Jews who fled Germany soon after Hitler came to power. His father’s side is White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant: WASP. Before joining this committee, he was very uncertain about the reality of racism in America.

**Leigh Neier (May 2015-December 2015)**

Leigh Neier has been a professor in the Department of Learning, Teaching & Curriculum within the University of Missouri College of Education since 2005. She is an associate professor now. Her areas of expertise include school health and academic achievement, health-related education among diverse student groups, and health-related behavior changes as impacted by public health marketing. Neier believes that student well-being results in improved academic performance, and this shapes her work in the classroom and out. She was recognized as a William T. Kemper Teaching
Fellow in 2014 and serves as chair for the Intercollegiate Athletics Committee. Neier shapes her teaching style around the belief that student wellness produces better academic outcomes and that education should take a strengths-based, character-centered approach to student learning and success.

**Craig Roberts**

Craig Roberts was born in Mississippi, then raised in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Louisiana. His academic training began in the humanities with an A.A. degree in Biblical Studies and culminated in the sciences with a Ph.D. in Agronomy and minor in Biochemistry. He is currently a Professor of Plant Sciences with a split appointment of 50% Research and 50% Extension. He was Chair of Faculty Council when the Ferguson-related events began on the MU campus and requested a stand-alone committee to address race relations at Mizzou. Also at that time, he was on the Intercollegiate Athletics Committee at Mizzou and became familiar with race-related issues among student athletes.

**L. Daryl Smith**

Daryl Smith serves on the faculty and staff at the Trulaske College of Business at the University of Missouri. His areas of focus include Diversity & Inclusion, Human Resources Management, Labor Relations and Collective Bargaining, and Leadership Development.

He has a record of success in several industries, including manufacturing, sales and distribution, telecommunications and financial services. His early career included fiscal and operational assignments. He attributes these early experiences to helping shape his broad and comprehensive view of organizations. His work was instrumental in helping Cox Communications reduce employee turnover from over 50% to under 20%. Employee productivity, satisfaction and engagement also improved. With a passion for finding efficiencies and productivity gains, Daryl has made contributions in the area of continuous process improvement. He is skilled in leading and facilitating cost-saving strategies including lean manufacturing, Six Sigma, systems thinking and Total Quality Management.

He is also an industry consultant specializing in leadership and organizational development. His past career assignments include: SVP Global Human Resources at ESPN, VP Human Resources & Training at ARAMARK/Galls and VP Human Resources & Training at Cox Communications.
He has served on over fifty boards, including industry associations and non-profits. He is the Board Vice President for P.E.T. Gift of Mobility in Columbia. He is passionate about causes relative to education, youth, diversity, people with disabilities and families in crises. He is frequently on college campuses as a guest lecturer, executive-in-residence and student mentor. He delivered the May 2010 commencement address at the University of Missouri, Trulaske College of Business.

He holds a Bachelor’s of Science in Business Administration from the University of Missouri in Columbia and a Master’s in Business Administration from Washington University in St. Louis. He has completed executive education programs at Cornell University and Stanford University.

Laine Young-Walker
Laine Young-Walker is the Vice Chair and Associate Professor of Clinical Psychiatry in the department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry.

She is from Kansas City. She was raised in an all-black neighborhood but went to primarily white Catholic schools from kindergarten to 12th grade. In her own words, she “navigated two worlds (the primarily black one at home and the primarily white one in academia) without much difficulty, or I was just oblivious.” She was impacted greatly by stories her mother told from a young age about marching in protests and being spit on during the Martin Luther King era. But, she said she dismissed her mother’s “tirades” because her experience was not similar. She attended the University of Missouri. Until college, she had struggled with the issues of race that her mother expressed because her experiences were not negative. As an adult African American female, she has been called nigger, looked at suspiciously in stores, and pulled over by police (when traveling with her father) for reportedly speeding when they weren’t. She has watched media stories about the numerous assaults on African Americans and gets frustrated that in 2016 we are still dealing with some of the things that our ancestors dealt with years ago.

Corie Wilkins (May 2015-May 2016)
Corie Wilkins is a spring 2016 graduate of the University of Missouri, hailing from the south side of Chicago. The son of Joy and Hank Wilkins, he was brought up in a home that stressed the value of integrity, scholarship, and paying it forward. It was in Chicago that Corie saw many societal issues he knew were crippling his community and needed to be changed. This included but was not limited to poverty, substance abuse, and yes, racism. All these elements helped give Corie a passion for the people, which ultimately lead to his decision to pursue broadcast journalism. He chose journalism as an avenue to tell the stories of the people he saw growing up who seemed to be forgotten and to
ultimately help them. He was homeschooled for a majority of elementary school and was blessed to attend a high school that actively addressed differences within the student body in regards to race, sexual orientation, and other “isms.” It wasn’t until attending the University of Missouri that he had to begin to implement his training.

Corie faced multiple instances of racism while at Mizzou--from being called a Nigger to being randomly accused of stealing and searched when no other students were. His passion for social justice for all, unity amongst all people, and a strong sense of accountability heavily influenced his work with the Race Relations Committee. Now, Corie is in his first year of a three year Master’s of Divinity program at Duke University. He plans to use his degree to go into social reform and activism within poverty and substance abuse, prison, and youth ministry.
Committee Member Insights

Jonathan Butler
1. On Oct. 8, 2015, Provost Garnett Stokes met with our committee. Jonathan told us at that meeting in the Mizzou Student Center: “People think I’m angry. I’m not. I may be the most optimistic person in this room in terms of believing that positive change can happen.” The next day, Jonathan and Concerned Student 1950 would block in protest President Tim Wolfe’s convertible in the Homecoming Parade. They would list, beginning from 1839, key moments in Mizzou’s racial history.

Stephanie Hernandez
1. The group itself was reflective of the larger campus culture. People of Color understand how racism impacts their lives. And as much as we explain it, many of the White people in the group did not seem to get it or even believe it.
2. Conversations about race exist in a Black/White dichotomy particularly in Missouri – hearing members of the group say Asian Pacific Islander people and Latinx people did not experience racism was difficult.
3. It was interesting that although the experiences of People of Color were not always seen as valid in contributing to the system of racism, White people were able to use individual experiences to support their own positions in not acknowledging racism, or not acknowledging it for certain groups.

Berkley Hudson
1. If we are willing to tell our stories related to race and if we are willing to listen deeply and patiently to others tell their stories, then miraculous things can happen, in our lives and eventually on our campus.
2. The university has struggled for its 177-year history with the issue of race relations. So has Missouri, our nation, and the world. This is an intractable problem. But we have no other choice except to engage in the uncomfortable and essential work of gaining a better understanding of how to answer the question that Rodney King in Los Angeles raised. In response to widespread rioting after police officers had been acquitted of brutality charges related to King’s 1991 arrest, he asked: “Can we all get along?” To work to answer that question and to find solutions is better than other alternatives: to live fearfully and to remain isolated from our fellow human beings and our own selves or at worse, to choose to live with misunderstanding, hate, and even violence.
3. For complex reasons, university officials, faculty, students, staff, alumni, supporters and the collective consciousness of the citizens of Missouri continue to resist overtly and covertly in making race relations a priority. We choose, instead, to focus our financial energies and social capital elsewhere. We do so at our collective peril.

Camila Manrique
1. In our academic community, African Americans (and for that matter other minorities, too) are frequently marginalized and insulted by other people actions.
2. There is a problem with race relations. We need to acknowledge it to be able to move forward.
3. Diversity does translate into inclusion.
4. On many occasions, the racialized aggressions happen under an umbrella of blissful ignorance and the aggressors should be made aware of it.
5. It is important, extremely valuable and constructive to take the time to listen and to get to know the other sides of the race-relations argument.
6. The majority of our campus community wants to build a more diverse and inclusive campus, and we can capitalize on this fact.

Ray Massey
1. People empathize with the experiences and facts of people they know. Promoting facts without relationship are of limited value in reconciling disparate groups. Developing rapport with members of another group enhances understanding of how the same set of facts can be interpreted in different ways. Rapport requires time and humility, listening and musing.
2. White people don’t know want to talk about racial issues because missteps are likely to bring the charge of racism against them. One of the worst accusations that can be leveled at someone today is to say that they are racist. The judgement of “racist” stops communication and entrenches people in their positions.
3. I am unconvinced that institutional racism (defined as “a pattern of social institutions — such as governmental organizations, schools, banks, and courts of law — giving negative treatment to a group of people based on their race.”) is a current problem on the MU campus. I am convinced persons (students, staff and faculty) give negative treatment to those of other races.

Mike Middleton
1. Honest personal interactions between people with different perspectives and life experiences can lead to greater respect and understanding:
2. We are more alike than different.
3. Our student population is extremely intelligent and extremely passionate.

Stephen Montgomery-Smith
1. Black people in the USA systematically experience racism from white people. They think this is so obvious that they assume that any white person who denies the reality of this racism must be lying, and is themselves racist.
2. There are many well-meaning white people who really think the stories of racism are a liberal conspiracy, and they are genuinely bewildered and hurt when they are labeled as racist.
3. There is such a thing as implicit, or subconscious, bias. Almost all people suffer from this to some extent. People are generally unaware of their implicit biases.
4. It may be that this implicit bias is what causes many well-meaning white people to be suspicious of the accounts they hear from other racial minorities about the racism they experience. It seems that a preponderance of evidence can persuade these well-meaning white people that racism is real. But it seems to take an overwhelming amount of evidence, time and patience, and building of relationships and trust.
5. There is also racism towards other minority groups, such as Hispanic and American Asians. But I know a lot less about this than I do about racism towards African Americans.

Leigh Neier
1. Groups of faculty need to address race relations issues outside of their respective colleges and divisions.
2. This type of opportunity—to join a race relations dialogue group—should exist in a Center for Teaching Excellence. While I know that we do not have a center at the present time, it would seem that a future center would be the perfect place (with possible incentives attached for faculty participation) to gather individuals who continue to hone their craft.
3. The Race Relations Committee has proved that hard conversations can happen if we are willing to build trust among colleagues whose experiences are different than our own.

Craig Roberts
1. There is an entire science of racism, complete with controlled experiments, technical jargon, and scholarly community.
2. Within the white vs. non-white interaction, bias and misunderstanding are commonplace. The white majority does not understand modern racism, and for
explainable reasons. The non-white minority does not understand why the white majority fails to understand, and for explainable reasons.

3. There are hundreds of “good faculty” in both “camps” who do not understand each other. This lack of understanding can be expressed judgmentally as “ignorance” or sympathetically as “unawareness,” and the choice of terms depends on the degree of love accompanying the expression.

4. Since being on the Race Relations Committee, I have begun to look at my family history as more than tracing genealogy and identifying country of origin. I have found myself paying attention to, and even looking for examples of racial tensions experienced my American ancestors. Here are a couple of significant examples. On the maternal side, one of my great great grandfathers was Jesse McCrary (Columbus, MS); he owned 3 slaves and fought as a Confederate soldier in the Civil War. On the paternal side, one of my great great grandfathers was Antone Stenner (Ludell, KS); he was murdered while plowing his field by Black Coyote, a Cheyenne warrior married to Buffalo Calf Road Woman (credited with shooting General Custer at Little Bighorn).

L. Daryl Smith
1. Hearing and learning from others – whether we share similar or dissimilar perspectives and experiences
2. I am learning that the issues of race are so deep. Change will come slowly. Each of us must intentionally establish and grow close personal relationships with people of different races. We change hearts and minds one person at a time.
3. I have learned that this work is challenging and frustrating, but it is worth it.

Laine Young-Walker
1. Open communication and dialogue is critical to advance issues of race relations.
2. Where people come from (their history)–in regards to their thoughts and beliefs about race–can change.
3. Changes can happen one person at a time.

Corie Wilkins
1. We must all come to the table and listen first! White people, historically, you all have done most of the talking, whether your voice was warranted or not. Now, you definitely need to learn to come into spaces and not say a word until asked to. This isn’t always the case, but frankly black people are tired of being told how to think, feel, and act in response to situations that affect us far greater than most white people will ever understand. That being said, black people also must not be
so domineering in conversations that we lose sight of both the common goal or
the fact that we are also working to teach just as we are working to affect
change.

2. We must learn to better check our emotional responses. This work is frustrating,
angering, and it hurts. It’s hard, plain and simple. However, when we blow up, we
can sometimes act irrationally. That ultimately causes more harm than good in
many cases. Make no mistake about what I’m saying, passion is always
necessary to effect change. It is often loud, unapologetic, blunt, and aggressive,
but again, it isn’t necessarily anger. Just as people must be cognizant of whether
passion or anger is being channeled, it is also necessary as an onlooker to be
aware of this as well. We must all come to the table assuming good faith until
proven otherwise.

3. You have to be prepared to piss people off, to get pissed off, and to have hard
conversations. This work has consequences -- some good, some not so good.
From the minute you choose to engage it, there is no going back. You cannot be
of lackluster conviction with this. If you are, stay home! I’ve had people turn their
backs on me as a result of stating unpopular opinions I deemed necessary and
truthful. Some of my comrades have lost friends or had relationships strained
because of this. All in all, I wouldn’t change a thing. This work is costly, and you
better count the cost before you step into it. Not only that, but before you dare
question others, think long and hard about what they’ve had to sacrifice to do
what it is they do.
Recommendations

Stephanie Hernandez
1. MU needs intensive education (not “training”) on understanding pedagogy styles for faculty and how to establish community in their classrooms.
2. We need intensive education for faculty on how to understand how their own identities, inform their positionalities, and contribute to their power dynamics in the classroom.
3. We need intensive education for faculty on understanding how to create community within their classroom settings and support students of varying identities.

Berkley Hudson
1. A presentation by Duke University’s Dr. Benjamin Reese, given to Mizzou administrators and leadership in December 2015 and then offered in Spring 2016 for the campus community, needs to be repeated campuswide again. Race Relations Committee members of all viewpoints found his talk, informed by scholarship on implicit bias, enlightening. He is Duke’s vice president for Institutional Equity and is president of the National Association of Diversity Officers of Higher Education.
2. Faculty need support—from other faculty, from administrators and department chairs—in learning how to address issues of race relations, but they have to be willing to take the time to learn how to negotiate the difficult conversations that need to occur in their classrooms, labs, and the professions and industries that they serve. Race relations affects every discipline.
3. Create across the entire campus small groups of faculty, staff and students who have varying outlooks and who are willing to commit time to name common problems and solutions of race relations in their departments, schools and colleges. Support those groups financially and in other ways. Reward participants through tangible incentives including course relief, tenure and promotion credit, and “gain-sharing.”

Camila Manrique
1. The experience of our Race Relations Committee has been extremely valuable. It should be reproduced at different levels in our campus.
2. The members of our committee can serve as liaisons in our own schools and departments to develop initiatives to engage faculty members willing to listen and to learn.
Ray Massey

1. We must recommit to the university as a marketplace of ideas and refuse to indoctrinate. During student and employee orientation training, we should have debates between people who cogently represent multiple perspectives — even those with whom we, as a whole, disagree. Good arguments are more effective than one-sided arguments in changing minds. We should clearly define “safe spaces” as places where intellectual debate occurs — not where ad hominem attacks are tolerated or where any particular position is affirmed. No idea should be safe at a university.

2. We should dismiss all diversity officers. Diversity officer positions put too much responsibility on one person or office and allow the institution as a whole to ignore the problem (“Someone else is taking care of it.”). Top down approaches do not address heart issues such as racism. Diversity officer actions intimidate rather than persuade. Diversity officers cause Missouri citizens to complain about highly paid, unproductive administrative positions at MU which, in turn, causes them to discount the assertion that MU is not doing enough to counter racism.

3. We must facilitate conversations between people of different races. Major guidelines that need to be taught in orientation classes are:
   a. Never judge anyone as racist. Testify to inappropriate behavior. Explain how actions affect you. But, the judgement of “racist” creates barriers to further communication.
   b. Refuse the ad hominem attack. I have heard “He is a Clarence Thomas black” used to dismiss conservative black voices.
   c. Teach logic.

4. Repurpose “white privilege” to “American blessing.” The tests that I have seen on white privilege do not cover predominately racial issues but rather issues of culture and family. Turn “privilege” to “blessing.” Seek the better use of good resources (blessings) rather than a false guilt of those who have resources that can be used.
   a. Those who rail against privilege speak of “privileges” in negative terms intended to elicit guilt for the privileged but then seek the same privileges for themselves without guilt.
   b. We should involve the Christian community in this repurposing. Christians should recognize and celebrate the blessings God has given them. Christians should recognize that God gives blessings to enable them to serve those less fortunate.
Mike Middleton
1. We must have honest personal interactions between people of different backgrounds with a greater population on campus to provide perspective and open dialogue.
2. We need to communicate and illustrate the importance of inclusivity as it relates to diversity – it is one thing to get diverse students, faculty, and staff to campus, but it is more important that they stay, and we must retain them by making them feel included and respected.
3. We must work to make our students part of every conversation to enhance their learning experiences on campus.

Stephen Montgomery-Smith
1. The primary problem at MU is the black/white racism issue. The other race issues are also deserving of our attention, but the problems between black and white people are so huge.
2. Generally, MU administrators tell people what they want to hear. The whole culture needs to change to where university administrators mean what they say and say what they mean. In particular, those administrators who fake their understanding of the race issue should acknowledge this and immerse themselves in truly learning it the hard way (e.g. awkward and lengthy conversations with people from other backgrounds).
3. The time we spent in the Race Relations Committee was a true journey. All of us came to see many aspects of the race issues differently. This journey needs to continue. Most Americans have no idea of how others reason out their beliefs about race and generally tend to demonize those who think differently.
4. I don't think there are quick answers. We have a lot more learning to do.
5. However, it seems to me that one powerful technique would be to have forums where different racial groups can share their experiences with the majority culture. This will have to be done often and probably with several different venues and styles. We should also be patient to wait for people to see things differently.
6. There is a large body of research that shows people are subconsciously biased. It has been medically shown that we use different parts of the brain for people whom we consider to be "like us" and "unlike us." Hence, a white person can easily be biased against a black person without even realizing it. To the black person, this bias is obvious. But if the black person challenges the white person, the white person will deny they were biased, and actually believe that they were
not biased. This creates an intolerable situation for everyone. (The situation also happens the other way around - black people may be biased against white people. However because of power dynamics, and also because white people only encounter a few black people everyday, the effect upon the black person is far more profound.)

7. This subconscious bias is particularly problematic in tense situations, such as when police stop someone. For example, research has shown that people are far more likely to respond to a perceived threat of gun violence from a black person.

8. I also believe that subconscious bias plays a role when white people evaluate claims of racism from black people. For example, if a white person goes to a school principal and complains their son or daughter is being bullied, and the school principal ignores the complaints, it is quite likely that white people hearing the story will feel a sense of outrage even if they haven't seen all the evidence. But when a black person complains of being treated unfairly, white people are likely to initially assume the complaint is unfounded.

9. I believe this issue of subconscious bias needs to be seriously addressed. If people can realize they are subconsciously biased, and can do so without feelings of guilt, then we can stop blaming each other, and instead work towards a real solution. In particular, I believe that all law enforcement officers should receive training in subconscious bias.

10. Of course, we also need to realize that some people are consciously and purposefully biased. But if we can successfully deal with the subconscious bias, that will go a very long way towards solving the problem.

Leigh Neier

1. A Center for Teaching Excellence could provide the opportunity for faculty to join a race relations dialogue group.

2. Through a future Center, faculty could be incentivized to participate in discussions that would gather individuals who want to continue to hone their craft.

3. Student athletes could be great resources and additions to small groups focused on race relations.

Craig Roberts

1. The problem is faculty unawareness of the magnitude, nature, and regularity of racism on our campus (and most college campuses in the US). The "umbrella suggestion" would be for our MU administration to lead this campus in increasing awareness. Find a way.
2. Explore fresh methods. Think innovatively. Do not adopt methods known to result in limited success. For example, do not purchase factory products intended to educate the faculty then impose mandatory training with these products, which will be parodied.

3. The Race Relations Committee needs to meet with decision makers to discuss the delivery of messages developed by the Race Relations Committee.

4. The Race Relations Committee needs to continue brainstorming about new tools and developing these tools.

L. Daryl Smith
1. Each academic unit and staff function (if they have 25 or more employees) should have a 2017 Operating Plan relative to race relations. The plan would include specific and practical steps to improve race relations and specific measurements to track progress.
2. Each unit should also complete cultural assessments relative to race relations.
3. Each unit/department should conduct race relations forums with a trained facilitator.

Laine Young-Walker
1. We should realize that you can’t reach everyone and we need to work on changing, one person at a time.
2. We need to find ways to have open, honest dialogue on issues of race.

Corie Wilkins
1. You simply need more black faculty. I’m not interested in your rationale of why you don’t have them or how difficult it is to get them. Not only are others tired of hearing it, but I’m at a point now where I actually get angry because I feel like my intelligence isn’t being respected. Move with a sense of urgency and do whatever the hell it takes to get these professors and faculty members. Let me tell you guys something you already know: Mizzou is the laughing stock of academia across the country. It’s disgusting, and we need to do whatever it takes to get this stain off our leger. It’s ugly, and it stinks.
2. There needs to be more emphasis placed on finding students who are interested in seeing tangible changes come to their university. These students needn’t necessarily be “student leaders on campus.” They do need to be intelligent, humble, and ready to do the work. These are students who have their ear close enough to the ground to constantly present the perspective missing from your board meetings and fancy forums. They will also keep you honest about what you said your goal was. This was my function on the Race Relations Committee,
and I believe it helped make a difference. These are the people that will help keep a sense of personability within the organization.

3. There needs to be greater emphasis within the individual colleges to recognize, address, and combat racism in all its forms. Students go about it because when the authority in the room allows it, whether by omission or commission, it sends an innate sense that the action is okay. Students don’t feel free to learn the way they best can. That’s a problem any way you slice it. The problem looks different in engineering, as it does in medicine, as it does in humanities. Therefore, approaches must be created general enough to reach all, but tailored enough to be applied in specific programs.
Video 1: The Race Relations Committee Mission

Craig Roberts, Ph.D
Professor
Division of Plant Sciences
The committee wants to make the campus aware, particularly the faculty, aware of the magnitude of the race problem at Mizzou. We have 2,000 faculty that are full time faculty, 1,500 of whom are white. And really the committee has several goals. But its main goal is to address this in a way that the majority understands it's a severe problem. It's not just a series of incidents, it's a way of life problem for many of our students of color.

Berkley Hudson, Ph.D
Associate Professor
Missouri School of Journalism
At its most basic, the committee's mission is to take on a huge task which is to name the problem as it relates to race relations and to name possible solutions.

Ray Massey, Ph.D
Extension Professor
Agricultural Economics
One of the things that we're trying to address is just kind of unseen racism in which we treat one race different than another race.

Camila Manrique, MD
Assistant Professor of Medicine
Many of the things that we have talked about and we have recognized are not even overt aggressions. They are just little things that as part of daily life actually make a difference to African American people.

Corie Wilkins
Undergraduate Student, Journalism
We want to make sure the faculty are aware of and understand different incidents of racism. And also their own potential bias or lack thereof. But more than anything, we just want the faculty to understand how to work well with different groups of people. And we're tailoring our approach to reach them.
Camila Manrique, MD
Assistant Professor of Medicine
And that is a starting point. I mean, I acknowledge that we are not going to change the world in the committee. But I think at least we can change the climate among the MU faculty relating to racial aggression. And that probably will be viral and go and change the life of some other staff and students here at MU.

Video 2: Describe the Racial Landscape

Stephanie Hernandez, M.A.
Coordinator of the MU Multicultural Center
I just think it's very tense place, very racially tense. I think that there's not a lot of acknowledgment at times for what students are experiencing.

Craig Roberts, Ph.D
Professor
Division of Plant Sciences
I think you'll find that it's more than just a series of isolated incidents. We're not looking at 100 dots, we're connecting the dots. When you connect the dots, you see a picture. And it's a picture of disrespect. It's a picture of disregard for students of color.

Corie Wilkins
Undergraduate Student, Journalism
The campus as a whole is very intolerant. But especially when we talk about issues of race.

Jonathan Butler
Graduate Student, Education
I think about the pain of people calling me the N word walking down the street. I think about people flipping me off as I go through Greek Town, just to make it to another building on campus, for no apparent reason. I think about people making snide remarks to me as I walk through the Student Center.

Corie Wilkins
Undergraduate Student, Journalism
I've been called a nigger here more times in my three and a half years here than I have back in Chicago. And I felt more racism and more prejudice in my short time here than my 17, almost 18 years back home. I think that says a lot about not only the campus
climate here, but I think that's very reflective of the city's racial climate and just the nation's. It is a very racially hot, tense time in America.

Mike Middleton, JD  
Deputy Chancellor Emeritus  
Professor Emeritus of Law
But it is not unlike the racial climate on this campus when I was a student here back in the '60s. There are points in history where the remnants of that white supremacist philosophy that has infected our culture has effects that produce a vocal, visceral reaction. I mean, they call it black rage. So we are at one of those points in history where young people are frustrated, angry, and eager to speak out and call out the nature of the problem. I did it as a young person in the '60s. My parents did it in the '20s and '30s. My grandparents and great grandparents did it in the late 1800s. It builds up to the point where it has to express itself. We need to figure out how to create a society where those things don't happen.

Video 3: Changing the Racial Landscape

Laine Young-Walker, MD  
Vice Chair, Associate Professor of Clinical Psychiatry  
Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
The only way that there will be any change is if we as a people agree that we have to, number one, open ourselves up to beliefs about things that we didn’t always know. And understand that we don’t know everything. And honestly communicate about the things that are tearing us apart as a people.

Berkley Hudson, Ph.D  
Associate Professor  
Missouri School of Journalism
We have to gain an awareness of what matters. And for me, if we look at the central values that we hold true at Mizzou of respect, responsibility, excellence and discovery, I think that all connects with a deeper understanding of race relations. We have to be respectful. We have to make discoveries about one another. We have to be responsible in making those discoveries. And we have to be excellent in that.
Leigh Neier, Ph.D  
Assistant Teaching Professor  
College of Education  
I think one of the first steps is to show up for our students. And by show up, I mean show up to events that are planned by the Legion of Black Collegians. Show up to speakers that the Multicultural Center hosts. Show up to the listening sessions and the other events that the chancellor’s office hosts to get an idea of what the students are feeling. I think it is on us as faculty members to show up, to prove, to demonstrate that we do care about these issues.

Daryl Smith, MBA  
Assistant Teaching Professor of Management  
Director of Diversity/Inclusion  
Trulaske College of Business  
Every day in our classrooms, we have an opportunity to influence our students. And influence our students in a number of ways. Certainly we will talk about the lesson of the day. We’ll talk about research. But it is really important that we also set a great example for our students when it comes to issues of social injustice. And specifically around the issue of race. Our students live in an environment where they see these micro and macro aggressions relative to race. And if they don’t see role models, if they don’t see examples of leadership, faculty, staff taking intentional and appropriate action to end racism, then we run the risk that students will feel that, hey, this is acceptable. This is okay.

Berkley Hudson, Ph.D  
Associate Professor  
Missouri School of Journalism  
You know, I think we recognize from meetings, our committee meetings that, you know, yes, there are dollars that have to be allocated to this. At the same time, there’s some things that do not take any money. It doesn’t take any money to be courteous, kind, respectful to someone in terms of the area of race relations. That requires not millions of dollars. It requires nothing but our own willingness to look at ourselves and see how we’re relating to other human beings around us in the human race.
Video 4: Response to Skeptics

Jonathan Butler
Graduate Student, Education
For people who don't think this is an issue, a very short answer is that you're part of the problem.

Mike Middleton, JD
Deputy Chancellor Emeritus
Professor Emeritus of Law
How can anyone deny that there is a race relations issue on this campus? Are they not listening to the people who are saying there is? Are they calling all these people liars? That's as bad as calling all of them racists. This is a problem because a huge part of our community agrees that it is a problem.

Leigh Neier, Ph.D
Assistant Teaching Professor
College of Education
I challenge them to really listen to the students. Really listen to their cries. Listen to their voices that are trembling with fear, that are trembling with anger, that are trembling with disgust, that are trembling with questions if they should even be here at Mizzou.

Corie Wilkins
Undergraduate Student, Journalism
It's a shared experience when you can hear people say that they've been locked out of buildings because of their race or because they're scared to walk to their car in broad daylight because of their race. When people get physically threatened, spit on, kicked for protesting. And trying to create a better life for themselves while here. And for, you know, students to come. When you can see all of that and make a conscious decision to ignore it, you're probably part of the problem.

Daryl Smith, MBA
Assistant Teaching Professor of Management
Director of Diversity/Inclusion
Trulaske College of Business
So as much as we would like to have already solved this problem that we call “the race issue,” we simply have not. And we must address it. When we see examples of racial injustice, I think we must acknowledge it. We must call it out. And we must take some intentional action to address it. I think it's critically important that we do that at this time.
Video 5: Response to those who call for greater action

Berkley Hudson
Associate Professor
Missouri School of Journalism
To students who are angry and frustrated, I can say I share your anger, and I share your frustration. We also have to understand the embedded nature in the institution in terms of racial discrimination. It's embedded in the culture, and it takes a lot of effort to change that.

Stephen Montgomery-Smith, Ph.D.
Professor Mathematics
You know, even since the Civil Rights Movement, it's been a big problem that hasn't been solved. And so for people to really sit down and really think hard about how they can make changes, I think is an important thing to do. Because things that have been done in the past just don't seem to have worked.

Craig Roberts, Ph.D.
Professor
Division of Plant Sciences
This is an electric topic. This is a topic where people are polarized, and we must be careful and develop the right tools. Not just develop tools quickly so that we can say we've done something and check it off the box.

Laine-Young Walker, MD
Vice Chair, Associate Professor of Clinical Psychiatry
Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
So there has to be some amount of understanding and patience to the process. But also those on the committee and not on the committee need to be committed and dedicated to moving forward. To not getting stuck just because something is hard. But to moving forward with an action plan.

Leigh Neier, Ph.D.
Assistant Teaching Professor
College of Education
I hope students will not lose faith. I hope students will recognize that at the end of the day, we truly all do care about those same core values. Respect, responsibility, discovery, and excellence.
Jonathan Butler
Graduate Student, Education
Racism won't get cured overnight because it wasn't created overnight. This is a generational and societal construct that has happened over years. But what we can do is at each of our different levels to start to make an impact.

Mike Middleton, JD
Deputy Chancellor Emeritus
Professor Emeritus of Law
There are systemic and pervasive problems that exist today that result from that ugly history that most of us are aware of. So the trick is coming to an understanding of that history and the reality of the situation we face today. And then even more importantly and more difficult, figure out how to undo that system that produces the results we see today. And it took 400 years to build it. We've been working at it for 50 years to undo it. So we're at the very early stages of a culture change in this country and in this community.
White to White: Why “Good Whites” Do Not See Racism

Summary of Podcasts by Race Relations Committee white member Craig Roberts
in conversation African American committee member Corie Wilkins
To be released, September 2016

● The statements below are generalizations. Each statement will not interrupt itself to issue a disclaimer that acknowledges exceptions.
● Because of the specific activities at Mizzou, the discussion below is framed in a black-white (binary) context. Other types of racism occur, but they are not addressed here.
● Prerequisite: Consider that whites in our environment do not understand racism. Consider that blacks do not understand why whites do not understand racism.

Personal experiences

The cliché here is “lived experiences.” Men, we do not understand what it is like to be a woman in the workforce, a young lady walking alone across campus, etc. Professors, we generally do not understand the hardship of a student-athlete. Whites, we do not understand what it is like to be black. This lack of understanding makes racism difficult to see.

Not listening unconditionally

For whatever reason, we do not listen well. We often listen conditionally. As long as the conditions are comfortable, we listen well and even add our own pleasant comments. When the conditions are uncomfortable, we begin prepping responses in real time, sometimes defensive responses: “I have black friends,” “my parents did not let us say the N-word,” etc.

Overt incidents

Good whites discuss racism in terms of extreme incidents of racism—lynching, physical abuse, assault. Some of us reveal this in our comments: “When was the last time a black man was lynched in Columbia?” “Slavery ended in 1865.”

When good whites see these extreme incidents, they become upset and demand that justice be done. After the racist perpetrators are arrested, good whites breathe easy, comforted in the assurance that all is again under control. Rest easy; racism is being handled.

The fewer overt incidents mask the thousands of subtle incidents, which make up the “way of life” racism—the daily slight, the bias, the assuming less of black people, etc. The subtle racism is difficult to detect for white people.
Victim silence

If a victim tries to describe the constant-but-subtle discrimination, he/she experiences great pain. A naïve listener, which is the majority of white people, can be dismissive, often with minimizing the comments: “we all get called names” and “I have been stopped by the police ... so what?” This response causes the victim to shut down—no more talking. As a result, the problem is not discussed and remains misunderstood.

Credibility questions

If you are trying to persuade someone on any point, it is important that you be credible. But you can you lose credibility. How so?

One way is to make inaccurate statements—lies, misrepresentations, exaggerations, skews, or simple misunderstandings. If your listeners find out that you are inaccurate, then they will doubt the hard-to-see points you are trying to make—racism is threatening our students, is embedded into our culture, is continuous.

This is not a principle unique to racism. In all discussions, when we are trying to convince someone of our viewpoint, one weak argument can do more damage than many strong arguments combined.

Bullhorn effect

When progress is sluggish or even halted, it can be revived by extreme measures. One extreme measure is a protest, which draws attention to the issue.

However, like any action, a protest has pros and cons. The pros of a protest are as stated—it makes an issue impossible to ignore. The cons are that a protest can turn away many listeners. The bullhorns and the screaming can end the listening.

This is often seen on campus in Speaker’s Circle. Preachers arrive and yell Bible verses at the crowd. While street preaching has a place, it often turns off would be listeners.

Fear of talking

Because white people generally do not detect racism (except for blatant incidents), and because they do not experience racism, they do not regard this issue as affecting their lives. So they don’t discuss it. Because they don’t discuss it, they use the wrong wording when they attempt to make comments. (Recently, someone in a lunch discussion used “riot” when referring to a protest.) Then they feel the huge penalty for improper speech. So they all shut up. The issues is not discussed further.

Lefting and Righting the issue

MSNBC vs. Fox News. Sometimes conservatives argue that racism is an issue that liberals are using to gain votes, to capture a non-existent moral high ground, etc. One staff worker for
Donald Trump told me this last Sunday (April 17). People are often polarized by politics before the discussion begins.

**Broadening the topic**

Recently, conservative preachers lobbied legislators in Jeff City to pass a bill that would protect them from performing same-sex marriages; most of their congregants agree. These same preachers are trying to stamp out racism; most of their congregants agree.

I have had many discussions with these individuals. If we do not uncouple race from homosexuality, at least for this discussion, we drive away those listeners who do not wish to celebrate “sin” but want to learn more about racism.

**Busy, focused faculty**

In the modern American university, faculty must fund their own research. They are constantly writing grants. They are also teaching classes, grading tests, writing lectures, training graduate students, advising undergraduate activities, and serving on committees that keep the university functioning. The faculty are the university, and the faculty are obligated to co-govern the university.

After hours on campus, faculty members volunteer in many community activities. Honor flights. Fire departments. Food banks. Family sports. Churches. Scouts. Homeless shelters. Environmental organizations. When faculty members interrupt their commitments to the community in order to work on racism, they are making a decision to neglect other noble causes and needy people. So they don’t interrupt their commitments. As a result, they do not spend the time needed to understand racism.

**Personal innocence**

If you are a person with good intentions, you tend to see the good in others. You maintain a positive outlook and project that on others, believing that others have good intentions. You don’t want to see racists and in some cases become Pollyanna. The result is denial that racism is a serious problem.

Moreover, if you have good intentions, you may deny having bias. You may believe that your good intentions give you a pass when it comes to the subtle products of racism. You may cut off the conversation before you examine yourself.

**Uncredited empathy**

When someone else’s lived experience is difficult to comprehend, the inability to understand is not due to apathy. When an issue cannot be handled quickly or by simple measures, the inability to handle it in a timely fashion does not stem from a lack of caring. There are some
issues that are complex and difficult to detect and address, even by good-hearted people. Unawareness does not equal apathy.

If we accuse people of being apathetic, of deliberately turning their heads away, when those people simply do not understand the current racial climate (the magnitude, regularity, and culture of racism), we have accused them falsely. It is not likely that people who are falsely accused will want to remain engaged.

**History and patriotism**

Many Americans hold the founding fathers in high esteem. Many see criticism of Thomas Jefferson as unpatriotic. It was because of Jefferson and the others that we won our independence from England. They risked their lives, and we are all beneficiaries. So the “soft vandalism,” while it may be harmless in terms of physical effects, can stop the listening before it begins. It is a turn off to some people, even if it is correct.

**Black use of N-word**

But when we are trying to discuss racism with people who do not understand, we often begin the discussion by considering data and objectivity, credibility and consistency. In these early discussions, messenger is being critiqued as much as the message.

The would be listener perceives the black use of the N-word as a double standard. The white listener sees a group claiming that the N-word should never be used, then being used by that same group. It gives the impression of inconsistency. Somehow this needs to be part of the discussion.

**Jargon**

Jargon is conclusive language. It is not explanatory. It is not the raw data.

Often jargon can be used in the wrong way—to gain the upper hand in a confrontational argument. Should I get cornered, I simply whip out the technical terminology, unknown by the newbie, which gives the impression that I am well versed on the subject but the newbie is clueless.

Also, jargon can be accusative. A parent from southern Missouri called me and told me that the dorms had posters that called on every passerby to “name your privilege.” That type of approach is fine for those familiar with the discussion. But for others, it is an in-your-face approach. It is not persuasive. It is not the best way to explain white male privilege.

**Perceived hypocrisy**

People who enjoy white male privilege in our environment often don’t realize they are privileged. They have never thought about white privilege, or even privilege. When they see anyone who is wealthy, of any race, they regard that person as privileged.
What is missing is the most basic understanding of racism. This is square one material—no understanding at all. Do we think that only poor people are mistreated? The wealthy can be mistreated because of skin color. The educated people can be mistreated because of skin color.

Effect of dominant view

Impression of normalcy.
# Selected Timeline of Events Related to Race Relations

**KEY:**
- **Gold:** Mizzou/Campus Events
- **Red:** National Events
- **Black:** Statewide Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>University of Missouri is founded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Missouri enacts “separate but equal” educational law.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>MU President John H. Lathrop emancipates his “negro man slave” Elijah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>21 international students from Cuba, Russia, Australia, Germany, Mexico, Argentina, Japan, Egypt and the Philippines come to MU to study medicine, engineering, agriculture and law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Two Chinese students come to study journalism, at the opening of the Missouri School of Journalism, the world’s first.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 12, 1938</td>
<td>U.S. Supreme Court rules that the segregated Missouri School of Law must admit Lloyd Gaines, an African American, if there is no comparable education near him in Missouri, which there isn’t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 19, 1939</td>
<td>Lloyd Gaines disappears after leaving his Chicago apartment, never to be seen again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 13, 1939</td>
<td>Lucile Bluford, an African American woman, files the first of 11 lawsuits against the University of Missouri to be admitted as a journalism student.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Lucile Bluford wins U.S. Supreme Court case, but Missouri School of Journalism closes the graduate program claiming it cannot run properly due to the amount of professors and students drafted for war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February, 1949</td>
<td>MU students vote to support admission of African American students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Gus T. Ridgel is the first African American student to enroll at the University of Missouri. He is a master’s student. His enrollment year, 1950, would provide in 2015 the inspiration for the name of students who launched protests, largely related to race relations on campus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1951</td>
<td>Gus T. Ridgel is the first African American student to graduate from the University of Missouri with a graduate degree. His focus is in economics.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Arvarh E. Strickland, Ph.D., becomes the first African American faculty member in the university’s history. He teaches history. At that time, no course on African American history had ever been taught at MU. When he died 44 years later, meetings were conducted in the Strickland Room in Memorial Union, classes were taught in the Strickland Building, the distinguished scholar Prof. Wilma King held the Strickland Professorship, and a black studies program regularly offered a broad array of courses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Lucile Bluford is awarded a Missouri Honor Medal from the Missouri School of Journalism of the University of Missouri.</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 2, 2010</td>
<td>Two white male students are arrested as suspects for dropping cotton balls in front of the Gaines/Oldham Black Culture Center on campus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 26, 2012</td>
<td>Trayvon Martin, 17, an African American, is shot and killed by George Zimmerman, a white police officer, in Sanford, FL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 23, 2012</td>
<td>Jordan Davis, 17, an African American, is shot and killed by Michael Dunn, 45, a white man, in Jacksonville, FL, over an argument about loud music. Dunn since has been sentenced to life in prison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20, 2014</td>
<td>Ersula Ore, an African American professor of English at Arizona State University, is arrested for walking in the middle of the street by a white police officer. Dash cam videos showed officer slamming Ore to the ground violently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 17, 2014</td>
<td>Eric Garner, 43, an African American man, dies in Staten Island from an illegal chokehold after he was arrested by white police officers. Garner's last words, “I can't breathe” becomes a rally cry for civil rights activists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 9, 2014</td>
<td>Michael Brown, an African American teenager, is shot and killed in Ferguson, MO, by white police officer Darren Wilson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1, 2014</td>
<td>Chancellor Loftin organizes first listening session for students affected by events in Ferguson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 12, 2014</td>
<td>Chancellor Loftin asks Faculty Council Chair, Craig Roberts, “Can you help me with this racism problem?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 6-7, 2015</td>
<td>Willie Franklin, black preacher from Corinth, TX, visits with Faculty Council members about severity of racism. These discussions built momentum for stand-alone, council committee to deal with race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 29, 2015</td>
<td>A white northwest Missouri man is charged with felony assault after alleged racial slurs directed at a black waitress.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 7, 2015</td>
<td>University of Oklahoma Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity members are recorded yelling chants that used the n-word and other racial slurs. The chapter was closed, and two members are expelled by the university's president.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 31, 2015</td>
<td>Bucknell University in Pennsylvania expels three white students for racial slurs said on-air during a radio broadcast.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spring 2015</td>
<td>Race Matters, a group concerned about fair treatment for minorities, begins to critique policies that affect race relations both in the city of Columbia and on the MU campus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1, 2015</td>
<td>A noose is discovered hanging in a tree near Bryan Center Plaza at Duke University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4, 2015</td>
<td>Federal probe finds Ferguson police bias.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17, 2015</td>
<td>White student at the State University of New York's Purchase campus is arrested for spray-painted swastikas and nooses on the walls of three freshman dormitories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 12, 2015</td>
<td>Freddie Gray, an African American, is arrested in Baltimore by white police officers for possessing an illegal switchblade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 19, 2015</td>
<td>Gray dies due to injuries that resulted when he was transported by the police and was not restrained with a seatbelt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 17, 2015</td>
<td>Dylann Roof, a white male, 21, kills 9 African Americans at a Bible study at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, SC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 10, 2015</td>
<td>Sandra Bland, an African American woman, 28, is arrested in Prairie View, TX, by a white police officer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 13, 2015</td>
<td>Bland is found dead her jail cell. Police said her death was due to suicide by hanging, but her relatives disputed that claim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept. 12, 2015</td>
<td>MSA President Payton Head, an African American, posts on his Facebook page about racial slurs yelled at him on campus. He said: after he verbally was assaulted: &quot;It’s time to wake up, Mizzou.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 17, 2015</td>
<td>A white University of Mississippi alum is sentenced to six months in federal prison for his role in the hanging of a noose on a statue of the university’s first black student in February 2014.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 24, 2015</td>
<td>The first “Racism Lives Here” rally in Speakers Circle is held in response to Chancellor Loftin’s response – six days after Head’s Facebook post.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 1, 2015</td>
<td>The second “Racism Lives Here” rally in Student Center calls for MU administration to take actions to solve racial discrimination on campus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 5, 2015</td>
<td>The Legion of Black Collegians’ 2015 Homecoming Royalty Court is harassed by an intoxicated white Mizzou student who yelled racial slurs at African American students during rehearsal. MU officials said the student subsequently was “removed” from campus but at the time would provide no more details about what removal meant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 6, 2015</td>
<td>Jesse Hall sit-in demonstration protests racism and administrative inactive action on campus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 7, 2015</td>
<td>A #PostYourStateOfMind demonstration calls to remove the statue of Thomas Jefferson on Francis Quadrangle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 8, 2015</td>
<td>Loftin announces start of mandatory diversity and inclusion training for students admitted beginning spring semester 2016.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 11, 2015</td>
<td>Third “Racism Lives Here” rally on top of Turner Avenue parking garage is cut short by the MUPD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 12, 2015</td>
<td>The University of Southern California School of Cinematic Arts receives a $10 million endowment from the George Lucas Foundation to recruit students from underrepresented minority groups. The donation created The George Lucas Foundation Endowed Student Support Fund for Diversity and will support African American and Hispanic students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 14, 2015</td>
<td>Professor Angela Speck, chair of the Faculty Council Diversity Enhancement Committee, proposes to recommend that all students take a three-credit-hour General Education diversity course.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20, 2015</td>
<td>Concerned Student 1950 issues a list of demands, including Wolfe’s removal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20, 2015</td>
<td>College Republicans organizes a #StandWithJefferson demonstration and petition to keep Jefferson’s statue on campus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 21, 2015</td>
<td>UM System Board of Curators holds closed meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 24, 2015</td>
<td>A swastika is drawn with feces in Gateway Hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2015</td>
<td>The University of Kansas’ student-led Rock Chalk Invisible Hawk organization issued a list of 15 demands. These demands are mostly</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 2015</td>
<td>Students from scores of campuses across the nation and world via social media support the University of Missouri with the hashtag #WeStandWithMizzou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2, 2015</td>
<td>Graduate student Jonathan Butler starts an indefinite hunger strike which he says he will stop only if Wolfe resigns or is fired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3, 2015</td>
<td>Wolfe says he is concerned about Butler’s safety.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 4, 2015</td>
<td>Students boycott Student Center in support of Butler.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 4, 2015</td>
<td>English Department votes no confidence in Loftin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 4, 2015</td>
<td>Loftin issues a statement to support Butler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 5, 2015</td>
<td>Students walk out of class in support of Butler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 5, 2015</td>
<td>Faculty Council expresses concern over university leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 6, 2015</td>
<td>MU departments and organizations show support for Concern Student 1950 and Butler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 6, 2015</td>
<td>Wolfe apologizes to Concerned Student 1950 for not responding to them sooner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 6, 2015</td>
<td>Student protesters meet Wolfe in Kansas City. Wolfe tells them, “Systematic oppression is because you don’t believe that you have the equal opportunity for success.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 6, 2015</td>
<td>Students incur racial slurs outside Mizzou Rec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 7, 2015</td>
<td>Students protest on campus during Meet Mizzou Day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 7, 2015</td>
<td>Mizzou black football players announce boycott of football-related activities until Wolfe resigns. The rest of team and Coach Gary Pinkel announce their support the following day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 8, 2015</td>
<td>Gov. Jay Nixon issues a statement on MU protests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 8, 2015</td>
<td>Wolfe says he will not resign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 9, 2015</td>
<td>MSA Executive cabinet calls for Wolfe’s removal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 9, 2015</td>
<td>Wolfe resigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 9, 2015</td>
<td>Concerned Student issues new demands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 9, 2015</td>
<td>Loftin resigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 10, 2015</td>
<td>MUPD investigates Yik Yak threats saying: “Some of you are alright, don’t go to campus tomorrow.” and “I’m going to stand my ground and shoot every black person I see.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 10, 2015</td>
<td>Chuck Henson, a trial practice professor of law, named interim vice chancellor for Inclusion, Diversity and Equity at MU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 11, 2015</td>
<td>MUPD arrests Hunter Park, a white student at Missouri Science &amp; Technology freshman, as a suspect for “terroristic threat” on YikYak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 12, 2015</td>
<td>Black Culture center sign vandalized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 12, 2015</td>
<td>Mike Middleton, an African American, named interim UM System president.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 12, 2015</td>
<td>Hank Foley, who is white, appointed interim MU chancellor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 12, 2015</td>
<td>Roughly 200 Yale students protest on campus because they feel the school is not doing enough to address institutional racism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 19, 2015</td>
<td>An estimated 100-200 people protested on the UC Berkeley campus in order to demonstrate solidarity with black students on campuses across the country, including the University of Missouri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 20, 2015</td>
<td>Curators host a listening session for students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1, 2015</td>
<td>MU creates office for Civil Rights and Title IX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 11, 2015</td>
<td>Missouri State Rep. Rick Brattin proposes a bill to revoke the athletic scholarships of any athlete “who call, incites, supports or participates in any strike or concerted refusal to play a scheduled game.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 11, 2015</td>
<td>An MU faculty and staff group called Black Collective/Allies holds first meeting, and they have been meeting since. Stephanie Shonekan, chair of the Black Studies, and Kristin Kopp, associate professor of German, founded the group.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 17, 2015</td>
<td>David Mitchell, associate dean for academic affairs and Huston Professor of Law, named chair of the UM System’s diversity, equity and inclusion task force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2016</td>
<td>Ithaca College president Tom Rochon resigns months after student group People of Color at Ithaca College organized protests and demanded his resignation. The group stood in solidarity with The University of Missouri and followed suit with protests and walkouts in order to oust Tom Rochon after failing to adequately respond to several racially charged incidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 27, 2016</td>
<td>Interim Chancellor Hank Foley gives State of the University Address, saying that the university is taking steps “to make matters of diversity, inclusion and social justice a real priority.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1, 2016</td>
<td>Brown University released the final version of Pathways to Diversity and Inclusion, an action plan to improve race relations on campus. The plan will spend $165 million on various measures, including to double the number of faculty members and graduate students from historically underrepresented groups by 2022, to fund research focused on race, ethnicity, and social justice, and to support curriculum-related initiatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 5, 2016</td>
<td>MU Concerned Student 1950 receives the 47th NAACP Image Award.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 24, 2016</td>
<td>The Board of Curators, voting 4-2, fires Prof. Melissa Click of the Department of Communication. The board says her “conduct was not compatible with university policies and did not meet expectations for a university faculty member.” The action partly came as a result of a controversy that arose as part of Concerned Student 1950 demonstrations after the resignation of President Tim Wolfe on Nov. 9, 2015. That day, Click confronted two student journalists who were documenting events on Carnahan Plaza. A video of that confrontation went viral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 2016</td>
<td>UM System plans to hire auditing company to review diversity, equity and inclusion within the system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 23, 2016</td>
<td>UM system hires Kevin McDonald of Rochester Institute of Technology as the Chief Diversity Officer. Subsequently he was named interim vice chancellor for Inclusion, Diversity and Equity at MU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 4, 2016</td>
<td>Benjamin Reese, Duke University vice president and president of National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education, gives presentation--“Explicit to Implicit Bias: Personal and Professional Responsibility”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 6, 2016</td>
<td>Filmmaker Spike Lee’s documentary about MU protests, “2 Fists Up”, premieres at the Missouri Theatre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 2016</td>
<td>Chuck Henson steps down as the interim vice chancellor for Inclusion, Diversity and Equity at MU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 5, 2016</td>
<td>Alton Sterling, 37, an African American, is shot several times at a close range while being restrained by two white police officers. Police were responding to an anonymous call claiming Sterling was selling CDs and brandishing a gun outside of a convenience store in Baton Rouge, LA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6, 2016</td>
<td>Philando Castile, 32, an African American, is shot four times in his vehicle by Jeronimo Yanez, a Hispanic police officer in St. Anthony, Minnesota. The aftermath of the shooting was live-streamed on Facebook by Castile’s girlfriend, Diamond Reynolds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7-8 2016</td>
<td>Micah Johnson, 25, an African American military vet, kills five white Dallas, TX police officers and leaves seven others wounded during a peaceful protest after deaths of two African American men in Louisiana and Minnesota.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2016</td>
<td>Mandatory Citizenship@Mizzou sessions are held in Jesse Hall for all new undergraduate students. A session was held previously in January for a smaller group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 25, 2016</td>
<td>Missouri School of Journalism announces immersive student development, diversity and recruitment program to create a pipeline for diverse new talent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 13, 2016</td>
<td>MU and UM officials pledge to allocate $1.3 million toward recruiting and retaining minority faculty members and also say they set aside $1 million to hire minority post-doctoral fellows with an aim toward hiring them as full-time faculty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 15, 2016</td>
<td>Sandra Bland’s family reaches a $1.9 million in wrongful death lawsuit in Texas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 30, 2016</td>
<td>MU Association of Black Graduate and Professional Students to unveil marker commemorating the 1927 lynching of journalism school custodian, African American James Scott.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Selected Works Cited


Selected Bibliography
Suggested by Race Relations Committee Members

Race and University Life: Readings for MU Faculty and Staff
http://libraryguides.missouri.edu/racism, Compiled by Rachel Brekhus, Ellis reference librarian

Speeches


This is a speech delivered by former U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at the Cleveland City Club in 1968.

Podcasts

Videos
Race Relations Committee videos, October 2015.
The Race Relations Committee mission:
Views: 15,131
Loads: 135,168
Finishes: 4,614
<iframe src="https://player.vimeo.com/video/143048173" width="640" height="360" frameborder="0" webkitallowfullscreen mozallowfullscreen allowfullscreen></iframe>

Describe the racial landscape:
Views: 6,839
Loads: 34,204
Finishes: 1,867
<iframe src="https://player.vimeo.com/video/143048169" width="640" height="360" frameborder="0" allowfullscreen mozallowfullscreen webkitallowfullscreen>"</iframe>

Changing the Racial Landscape:
Views: 2,104
Loads: 2,845
Finishes: 530
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Response to skeptics:
Views: 23,048
Loads: 560,679
Finishes: 6,392
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Response to those who call for greater action:
Views: 2,505
Loads: 15,821
Finishes: 764
<iframe src="https://player.vimeo.com/video/143048171" width="640" height="360" frameborder="0" allowfullscreen mozallowfullscreen webkitallowfullscreen>"</iframe>

Books


Articles


**Documentaries and Films**


Appendix

- Letter and transcript from MU President Lathrop emancipating his “ negro man
  slave” Elijah in 1865……60
- Charts on racial and ethnic breakdown of faculty and students……62
- TIME Magazine essay by Berkley Hudson……69
- Jan 4, 2015 Roberts letter to Faculty Council……72
- Martin Luther King Jr. Letter from a Birmingham Jail……75
- Feb. 19, 2015 Jonathan Butler email to Craig Roberts and Berkley Hudson……98
I hereby emancipate and set free my negro man slave
Elijah, aged 45 years, and release and discharge him from all
duty or obligation to render servile or labor for me or for
any one claiming under me.

Witnesmy hand and seal,

January 4, A.D. 1865.

Whip

R. L. Dodd

[Signature]

[Bar}
Transcription of 1865 Letter from John H. Lathrop, President, University of Missouri, 1841-1849 & 1865-1866

I hereby emancipate and set free my negro man slave Elijah, aged 48 years; and release and discharge him from all liability or obligation to render service or labor for me or for anyone claiming under me. Witness my hand and seal, January 4. A.D. 1865.

John Hiram Lathrop was born on January 22, 1799 in Sherbune, New York. He attended Yale University and taught at schools across the Northeast. Lathrop served as the first president of the University of Missouri beginning in 1841; he kept this role until 1849. He then served as the first chancellor of the University of Wisconsin. After nine years in this position, he left. Lathrop also served for one year as the president at Indiana University. In 1865, he returned to Missouri and was elected president of the university once more; he held this position until his death on August 2, 1866.


Faculty Statistics Overview
Prepared by Ray Massey, September 12, 2016

Based on numbers supplied courtesy of Mardy T. Eimers,
Vice Provost for Institutional Research & Quality Improvement

1) Percent in each race of all ranks and races.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Non-resident</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>White</th>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>166</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>1,386</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>1,431</td>
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<td>2008</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>1,449</td>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>1,459</td>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>216</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1,532</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>1,527</td>
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<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>1,532</td>
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<td>2015</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>1,476</td>
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2) Trend of each race over time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Tenure Status</th>
<th>White/Caucasian</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Hispanic/Latino</th>
<th>Black/African American</th>
<th>Non-resident Alien</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Ranks</td>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>-8%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>-31%</td>
<td>-25%</td>
<td>700%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On Tenure-Track</td>
<td>-36%</td>
<td>-18%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>-40%</td>
<td>-60%</td>
<td>-31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Tenure Track</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>150%</td>
<td>133%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>800%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>-17%</td>
<td>238%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>-11%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>-33%</td>
<td>-100%</td>
<td>400%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On Tenure-Track</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>-100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>-50%</td>
<td>157%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Tenure Track</td>
<td>176%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>-80%</td>
<td>400%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>-8%</td>
<td>-80%</td>
<td>400%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assoc. Professor</td>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>-3%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>-29%</td>
<td>200%</td>
<td>1000%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On Tenure-Track</td>
<td>-77%</td>
<td>-67%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>-65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Tenure Track</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>200%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>106%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>-30%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1200%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asst. Professor</td>
<td>Tenured</td>
<td>On Tenure-Track</td>
<td>-31%</td>
<td>-6%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>-44%</td>
<td>-27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Tenure Track</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>333%</td>
<td>143%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>133%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>-19%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Other = Native American, Hawaiian, 2 or more, or not specified

a) All faculty have increased 12%.
   i) Tenured faculty have remained constant (+1%).
   ii) On Tenure Track faculty have decreased 31%.
   iii) NTT faculty have increased 60%.
   iv) It is clear that MU is moving towards use of NTT faculty to fulfill its mission.

b) Tenured professors
   i) Black has the largest decrease in tenured full professors at 33% (excluding non-resident alien) compared to an 11% decrease for white faculty.
   ii) Asian and Hispanic/Latino full professors both increased from 2006 to 2015.

c) Associate Professor
   i) Black has the largest decrease in tenured associate professors faculty at 29% compared to an 3% decrease for white faculty.
   ii) Number and percentage of Asian and Hispanic/Latino full tenured associate professors both increased from 2006 to 2015.
   iii) Untenured associate professors are down in all races except Hispanic/Latino. The 100% increase is due to adding 1 additional untenured associate professor.

d) Assistant Professor
   i) The percentage of Black and Hispanic/Latino untenured assistant professor have increased 30% and 67%, respectively. All other races have decreased over the last 10 years.
   ii) The percentage of Black and Hispanic/Latino NTT assistant professor have increased 143% and 333%, respectively. All other races have increased at a maximum of 63%.

e) Notes:
   i) Other contains races that are present in very small numbers (Native American and Hawaiian) and categories that have changed over time (2 or more added in 2010). The observations below do not consider them because their number is so small (maximum of 34 in 2013) that small numerical changes result in large percentage changes.
   ii) Non-resident alien faculty (92 in 2015) outnumber black faculty (55 in 2015) and Hispanic/Latino faculty (64 in 2015) but are not discussed because their employment status is complicated by factors such as visa requirements.
3) Retention Analysis

a) White faculty shows the trend of different ranks for a group that is declining over time. There are more full professors than associate professors who exceed the number of assistant professors.

b) Asian faculty shows the trend of different ranks for a group that is increasing over time. There are more full professors than associate professors who exceed the number of assistant professors.

c) Hispanic/Latino faculty shows the trend of different ranks for a group that was underrepresented but currently growing “normally.” There are more assistant professors (due to hiring decisions) than associate professor who exceed the number of full professors.

d) Black faculty shows an irregular trend of different ranks. It shows no discernable progression of rank.

e) I do not know of a statistical measure that would give insight into the rank structure of black faculty. The number are sufficiently small that a qualitative study of reasons would provide more insight than a quantitative, statistical study.

4)
Student Race Statistics Overview

1) Total Enrollment

a) White enrollment was given a separate axis because if all races are on the same axis, all other races are confined to the bottom and indistinguishable.

b) Black and White enrollment has plateaued since 2012.

c) Asian enrollment has been relatively flat for 10 years. This is interesting given the number of Asian faculty.

d) Hispanic/Latino, 2 or more races and non-resident international have increased without plateaus for 10 years.
2) Percentage Changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Undergrad</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
<th>First Professional</th>
<th>First-time College</th>
<th>FTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Indian or Alaskan Native</td>
<td>-62%</td>
<td>-62%</td>
<td>-63%</td>
<td>-71%</td>
<td>-15%</td>
<td>-59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-12%</td>
<td>-60%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American, non-Hispanic</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>-14%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>144%</td>
<td>160%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>150%</td>
<td>146%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, non-Hispanic</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Resident International</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>294%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>800%</td>
<td>284%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) First Time College Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unknown/ Not Reported</th>
<th>-65%</th>
<th>-80%</th>
<th>-57%</th>
<th>-23%</th>
<th>-92%</th>
<th>-67%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

a) White enrollment was given a separate axis because if all races are on the same axis, all other races are confined to the bottom and indistinguishable.

b) First time black student enrollment peaked in 2012 and has retreated to 2009/2010 level.

c) First time Hispanic student enrollment consistently but slowly increases from 2006 to 2015.
A Look Inside Mizzou’s Crucible of Race

Berkley Hudson

I grew up white in Mississippi where my ancestors first arrived to a crucible of race in the early 19th Century. My ancestors owned slaves. My father’s Main Street Service Station had three restrooms: Gentlemen, Ladies and Colored. After college, I left Mississippi and wended my way around America as a journalist.

Now, I teach at the University of Missouri, and I chair the Race Relations Committee of the Faculty Council on University Policy.

Mike Middleton, a descendant of slaves, grew up black in Mississippi. His ancestor was among the first African Americans to become lawyers during Reconstruction. After Middleton earned his undergraduate and law degrees at the University of Missouri, he worked for the U.S. Justice Department. Later, he returned to his beloved Mizzou, first to teach, then to serve as Deputy Chancellor.
Now Middleton is the interim president of the University of Missouri System with its four campuses. He was selected after one of the most difficult weeks since the school’s 1839 founding as the first public university west of the Mississippi.

Middleton serves on the race relations committee with me and 10 other faculty, students and staff. We, along with many others, are searching for ways to resolve misunderstandings and fear about race in a place still known as Little Dixie, once a junction point in the Civil War. We’re south of the Grits Line of Interstate 70,100-plus miles from Ferguson, Missouri. You already know versions of that story.

Our group was formed earlier this year, prompted by a plea for help from former Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin after he held the first in a series of listening sessions devoted to the events in Ferguson.

No one has been shot or killed here on campus. But, as with many other places in America and the world, there is an ongoing murder of our collective spirit when we fail to take the time to listen to one another’s soul-breaking stories about race, ethnicity and culture.

“I’m already getting emails calling me a racist,” Middleton said. “How am I a racist because I am concerned about students who are being called names? We never talk, respect the legitimacy of each other’s viewpoints. Everything is a harsh sound bite or slogan. We’re not listening, not talking honestly, not respecting each other. We need to slow down and think, and be rational intelligent human beings and try to resolve this problem. Let’s be truthful. Let’s be real.”

Since May, often two hours a week every week, our committee has sought to have conversations that must be had. Our sessions are closed to ensure frankness.
More than one of us is a big-hearted, white conservative, evangelical Christian. That includes an agricultural economist, originally from New Mexico. A young black kick boxer comes from Chicago. Already he has defied the black male odds by being alive. (He is not in jail but headed to graduation.) An atheist, Latina endocrinologist is from Bogota, Colombia.

There’s a business professor and former executive who has been stopped “driving while black” more than a few times near St. Louis. There’s an African American child psychiatrist from Kansas City, a white and Christian mathematician from Britain whose Jewish grandparents survived the Holocaust, a white teacher of teachers, a rescue expert who is white and was born in the same Mississippi hospital as I, and a Puerto Rican from New Jersey, the first in her family to go to college—and complete her master’s.

Among our number also is graduate student Jonathan Butler, an African American who went on a hunger strike that toppled the university’s two leaders. Daily during his strike, his social media posts quoted the Bible. His actions were independent of our group. Not all of us supported his life-and-death strategy. To a person, though, we supported him. Many prayed for him; all of us were relieved when he ate once again.

Weekly in our group, we have asked questions such as these: If you deny that racism is an intractable problem in America, are you a racist? If you use a bullhorn to yell to a university system president who hasn’t responded to your entreaties, are you hateful? Delusional? A crybully?

Most recently, we’ve asked: Can we agree to stay around the table, to stay in the room, to have the difficult conversations?

Each school day, I walk past gray stone columns with bas-relief images of two of the university’s founders, James Rollins and John Lathrop, white slaveholders who were visionaries about the transformative role of higher education in America. As I look at the bronzed visages of the dead, bearded white men, I ponder this:

If we cannot find a way to write a script for others to have these conversations at Mizzou, will we continue to see that white pickup truck, parading around town and shouting as loud as any bullhorn, with its unfurled, large American flag and Confederate flag? And will the bullhorns of demanding students continue to blare?

*Berkley Hudson is associate professor at the Missouri School of Journalism.*

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TIME Ideas hosts the world’s leading voices, providing commentary on events in news, society, and culture. We welcome outside contributions. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the views of TIME editors.
Jan. 4, 2015

Colleagues,

I have been waiting to send this email until after finals week and even after the holiday season. Please read it.

Listening Session

In November, Mizzou students, staff, and faculty were invited to a listening session in Jesse Wrench Auditorium. The session was “for the community to share thoughts, feelings and ideas about Ferguson.”

I attended, along with several other faculty members. Most of us were surprised and disturbed by what we heard. The conversation did not center on Ferguson but shifted to the larger issue of racial discrimination at Mizzou. There were two open microphones in the auditorium, where student after student would stand, request anonymity, then recount incident after incident of racism at Mizzou. The comments were orderly for the most part. As each student spoke, hundreds of other students would nod in agreement. Most of the accounts involved racial slurs from white students. Some accounts involved faculty.

It was a painful session. I left the auditorium with the conclusion that these students were not exaggerating. Others like me reached the same conclusion. Poor race relations, even racism, is a wider problem than we realized.

A Confession

I’m going to speak plainly here and request that you do not circulate this note. Before that listening session, I believed our African American students were telling the truth—they would occasionally hear insults—but also thought that they might be overreacting to a few scattered comments. I am embarrassed now for thinking that. Also, I was under the impression that only a few students were upset. Again, I was wrong. Racial tension is widespread. Many of our African American students feel that they are regarded by white students and faculty as inferior. Many live in fear, including older, mature students as well as military veterans.

After that night, I began discussing the listening session with a couple of African American students I know well. One of them has become like a son to me; he has grown close to my family in his time at Mizzou. As I was discussing this, I commented
that “we white people” don’t always get it; we don’t always realize the things we say. He replied, “I don’t hold that against you, Craig.”

Obviously, his reply disturbed me. It told me that there is something in my speech, maybe even in my thinking, that is unintentionally discriminatory. I don’t know what it is. But I am going to find out and fix it as best I can.

If it is this way for me (and my family), who has no tolerance for racism, maybe it is this way for other white faculty. Is that possible? Our black students say “yes,” and that this lack of awareness should be a high priority for our campus.

Follow-up Conversations

Next week, a friend of mine is coming to visit. His name is Willie Franklin. Willie had a rough upbringing and has a long, hard luck story. He has helped me understand race relations in the past. He is someone I trust.

I want to invite you all to visit with Willie if you can and wish to do so. Willie and I are meeting on Tue, Jan 6, with some faculty early in the day and administrators late in the day. But we will be in the Conley House on **Tue, Jan 6 between 10:30 am to 3:30 pm** (although out for lunch at some point). Also, I am looking for a volunteer who might host Willie in the Conley House on Jan 7 from 3 to 5 pm; I have meetings at that time, and we need to book that time tentatively for a 2nd “open house.”

I realize that we are booked for a meeting at 9 am on Jan 7, and that this is our break period. But racial discrimination needs to be addressed. When you hear the stories, you will probably agree that it is a multifaceted problem. You would also conclude that addressing it needs to involve Faculty Affairs, Student Affairs, Diversity Enhancement, and even Academic Affairs—nearly all of Council.

Disclaimer #1

Willie was a student at the University of Oklahoma, and before that, a small college in Arizona (I think). He was on the football team and the track team. He is now a preacher. Willie is not here to talk about sports or the Bible. He is here to help us understand—anyone who wants to learn more—about the black-white issue, such as the prevalence of it, how it has affected him and other students, and how he has dealt with this. I trust him.

Disclaimer #2

We already have the Chancellor’s Diversity Initiative. We already list “Respect” as one of our core values. We already have a Diversity Enhancement Committee. So why have these meetings? These small group sessions are happening already—outside of Council and outside of the diversity efforts. They organized by small groups and
individuals—student organizations, the Chancellor. Because the meetings are focused on racism, specific aspects are described in detail; the details and the issue of racism are lost in the broader discussion of “lack of respect.”

There is a place for these discussions. For those who wish to participate, let’s try this approach—first with an outsider who is familiar with campus life and who has a story to tell. Then let’s meet and decide if this looks like an interesting approach. If so, we can decide together what might be a second step, such as visiting in private with some students. There are students who are reluctant to speak to us. But if we promise confidentiality, they may agree to speak off the record.

Again, this is our winter break. And we have many things to do. So do not feel pressure from me. But please do feel encouraged to drop by Conley House on Tuesday. I will be glad to see you.

Craig Roberts
Chair, MU Faculty Council on University Policy
Professor, State Forage Specialist
Division of Plant Sciences
108 Waters Hall
University of Missouri
Columbia, MO 65211
My dear fellow clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unsound and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all of the criticisms that come my way, my secretaries would be engaged in little else in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine goodwill and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliate organizations all across the south—ones being the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Whenever necessary and possible we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates.

Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented and when the hour came we lived up to our promise.

So I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited...
Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute

(2)

here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here.

Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the
eighth century prophets left their little villages and carried their "thus
with the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home town; just as
the Apostle Paul left his little village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of
Jesus Christ to practically every hamlet and city of the Greco-Roman world,
I too am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my particular home
town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am convinced of the interrelatedness of all communities and
states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens
in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We
are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment
destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never
again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator"
idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered
an outsider anywhere in this country.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham.
But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the
conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of
you would want to go beyond the superficial social analyst who looks merely
at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate
to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place
in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is
even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro
community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) Collection
of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive. (2) Negotiation. (3)
Self-purification and (4) Direct Action. We have gone through all of these
steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial in-
Justice enfolds this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Rev. Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. Like so many experiences of the past we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blame without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?" We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that with the exception of Christmas, this was the largest shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action,
we felt that this was the best time to bring pressure on the merchants for the needed changes. Then it occurred to us that the March election was ahead and so we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that Mr. Connor was in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. At this time we agreed to begin our nonviolent witness the day after the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move irresponsibly into direct action. We too wanted to see Mr. Connor defeated so we went through postponement after postponement to aid in this community need. After this we felt that direct action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn’t negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. I just referred to the creation of tension as a part of the work of the nonviolent resister. This may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word tension. I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. So
The purpose of the direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. We, therefore, concern with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been begged in the tragic attempt to live in an analogue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that our acts are unwise.

Some have asked, "Why didn't you give the new administration time to act?"

The only answer that I can give to this inquiry is that the new administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one before it acts. We will be sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Mr. Boutwell will bring the millenium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is much more articulate and gentle than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to the task of maintaining the status quo. The hope I see in Mr. Boutwell is that he will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from the devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered urgency from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait." It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." It has been a time-accusing wilderness, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "Justice too long..."
delayed is justice denied. We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independ-
ence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup
of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never
felt the stinging tears of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen
vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and
brothers at whim when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize
and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the
vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers motherting in an air tight
cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find
your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your
six-year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has
just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little
eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the
depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and
see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing
a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a
five-year old son asking in agonized pathos: "Daddy, why do white people
treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross country drive and find
it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your
automobile because no motel will accept you when you are humiliated day in
and day out by ragging signs reading "White Only" and "Colored Only"; when your first
name becomes "niggar" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are)
and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never
given the respected title "Mrs.;" when you are harried by day and haunted by
night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance
never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodyness"; then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the blackness of corroding despair. I hope, Sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us consciously breaking laws. One may well ask, "how can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just and there are unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that upholds human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority, and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I-it" relationship for the "I-thou" relationship, and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound,
but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn’t segregation an existential expression of man’s tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness. So I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.

Let us turn to a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of cunning methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters and there are some counties without a single Negro registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?

These are just a few examples of unjust and just laws. There are some instances when a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I was arrested Friday on charge of parading without a permit. Now there is nothing wrong with an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade, but when the ordinance is used to preserve segregation and to deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest, then it becomes unjust.

I hope you can see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do.
This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly, (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming "nigger, nigger, nigger") and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was seen sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar because a higher moral law was involved. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks, before submitting to certain unjust laws of the Roman empire. To a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience.

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." Thus "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. But I am sure that if I had lived in Germany during that time I would have sided and comforted my Jewish brothers even though it was illegal. If I lived in a communist country today where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I believe I would openly advocate disobeying these anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Ku Klux Klans, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative
peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you. In the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct actions" who paternalistically feels that he can set the time-table for another man's freedom who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and that when they fail to do this they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a Saul that can never be cured as long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its pus-flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposing creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But can this assertion be logically made? Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like
condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical dealings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn’t this like condemning Jesus because His unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to His will precipitated the evil act of crucification? We must come to see, as federal courts have consistently affirmed, that it is immoral to urge an individual to withdraw his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest precipitates violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth of time. I received a letter this morning from a white brother in Texas which said: “All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great of a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost 2000 years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth.” All that is said here grows out of a tragic misconception of time. It is the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually time is neutral. It can be used either destructively or constructively. I am coming to feel that the people of ill-will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and persistent work of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy,
and transform our pending national crisis into a creative peal of brotherhood.

Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of the extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and, of a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and because at points they profit by segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness, and hatred and becomes perilous close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad’s Nation movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces saying that we need not follow the "do-nothings" of the complacent or the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. There is a more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I’m grateful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of nonviolence entered our struggle. If this philosophy has not emerged, I am convinced that by now many streets of the South would be flowing with floods of blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who are working through the channels of
nonviolent direct action and refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes, out of frustration and despair, will seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies, a development that will lead inevitably to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom; something without has reminded him that he can gain it. Consciously and unconsciously, he has been swept in by what the Germans call the Zeitgeist, and with his black brother of Africa, and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, he is moving with a sense of cosmic urgency toward the promise land of racial justice. Recognizing this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand public demonstrations. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometimes; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city halls; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his expressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in infamous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not been authoritarian. But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. Now this approach is being dismissed as extremist. I must admit that I was initially disappointed in being so categorized.

But as I continue to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love—"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice—"Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Was not Paul
an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ — "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist — where I stand I can do none other so help me God." Was not John Bunyan an extremist — "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a hatchery of my conscience." Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist — "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist — We held these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal. So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified. We must not forget that all three were crucified for the same crime.

The crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thusly fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this. Maybe I was too optimistic. Maybe I expected too much. I guess I should have realized that few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those that have been oppressed and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden and James Beaty have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic and understanding terms. Others have marched with us down meanless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy,roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of angry policemen who
They, unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Rev. Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Springhill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I say it as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause, and with deep moral concern, serve us the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that
each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say, "Follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatan injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevances and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "those are social issues with which the gospel has no real concern," and I have watched as many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which makes a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

So here we are moving toward the end of the twentieth century with a religious community largely adjusted to the status quo, standing as a tail-light behind other community agencies rather than a head-light leading men to higher levels of justice.

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On scorching summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of intolerance and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave the clarion call for deft once and hatred? Where were their voices of support when tired, bruised and weary Negro men
and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?n

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment, I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church I love her sacred walls. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blanched and scarred that body through social neglect and fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the Church was very powerful. It was during that period when the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the Church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Wherever the early Christians entered a town the power structure got disturbed and immediately sought to convict them for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators." But they went on with the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven," and had to obey God rather than men. They were small in number but big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." They brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial combat.

Things are different now. The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church,
the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church’s silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are.

But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I am meeting young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.

Maybe again, I have been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to status-quo to save our nation and the world? Maybe I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true ecclesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone through the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been kicked out of their churches, and lost support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have gone with the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. These men have been the leaven in the lump of the race. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the Gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in
Birmingham, even if our motives are presently misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with the destiny of America. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries our fore-parents labored here without wages; they made cotton king and they built the homes of their masters in the sight of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedoms because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

I must close now. But before closing I am impelled to mention one other point in your statement that troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I don't believe you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its angry violent dogs literally biting six unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I don't believe you would so quickly commend the policemen if you would observe their ugly and inhuman treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you would watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you would see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you will observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I'm sorry that I can't join you in your praise for the police department.
It is true that they have been rather disciplined in their public handling of the demonstrators. In this sense they have been rather publicly non-violent. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the last few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. So I have tried to make it clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But not I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Maybe Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather publicly nonviolent, as Chief Pritchett was in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of flagrant racial injustice. T. S. Eliot has said that there is no greater treason than to do the right deed for the wrong reason.

I wish you had condemned the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of the most inhuman provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, courageously and with a majestic sense of purpose, facing jeering and hostile mobs and the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be the old oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two year old woman of Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride the segregated buses, and respond to one who inquired about her tiredness with ungrammatical profundity: "My foot is tired, but my soul is rested." They will be the young high school and college students, young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders courageously and non-violently sitting-in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience
sake. One day the South will know that when these dispossessed children of
God sat down at lunch counters they were in reality standing up for the best
in the American dream and the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian
heritage, and thusly, carrying our whole nation back to those great wells
of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of
the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written a letter this long, (or should I say a book?),
hr's afraid that it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure
you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a com-
fortable desk, but what else is there to do when you are alone for days in
the dull monotony of a narrow jail cell other than write long letters, think
strange thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that is an overstatement of the
truth and is indicative of an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me.
If I have said anything in this letter that is an understatement of the truth
and is indicative of my having a patience that makes me patient with anything
less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that
circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as
an integrationist or a civil rights leader, but as a fellow clergyman and a
Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice
will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from
our feet-drenched communities and in due not too distant tomorrow the radiant
stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all of
their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood

[Signature]

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Birmingham Jail Treatise

of

Martin Luther King Jr.

Correction Control Sheet

Pg. 1
last line
no period after 'invited'

Pg. 3
last line
strong economic withdrawal

Pg. 5
line 3
bogged down

Pg. 6
line 6
slogging darts

Pg. 8
line 3
insert question mark after 'sinfulness'

line 12
insert 'man' for 'men'

line 7 (fr. bot) insert 'on a charge'

Pg. 11 B
line 6 (fr. bot) insert 'There is the more...'

Pg. 13
line 12
dash after 'for the same crime'

line 13
small case 's' on 'the'

Pg. 14
sentence edited '...been disappointed with the church

I do not say that as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the Church.

Pg. 18
insert '...foreparents labor in this country...'

Pg. 19
line 7
But now...

line 1 (fr. bot) resorted
Hello Mr. Roberts and Mr. Hudson,

My name is Jonathan Butler and I am a graduate student here at the University of Missouri. I have been one of the student leaders from MU4MikeBrown and the National Alliance of Black Student Educators that has been a representative at the student leader discussion with Chancellor Loftin since the listening session he hosted on December 1, 2014. In one of the last meetings we had with the Chancellor both of you indicated that you would be available for outreach on the discussion of improving the campus climate and engaging with the race relations committee within faculty council, that was just recently created and now being headed up by Mr. Hudson. So I wanted to reach out to both of you and see if we could setup a time to meet and further discuss the initiatives that faculty council is working on to improve the campus climate at the University of Missouri and also what assistance I may be able to lend in any of your endeavors.

I look forward to hearing from and working with you both very soon.

Jonathan L. Butler, BSBA
University of Missouri | Masters of Education ’16’ | Higher Education
Graduate Assistant | Department of Student Life | Student Government Services

"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." — Nelson Mandela