

THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT:  
AN AFROCENTRIC NARRATIVE HISTORY  
OF THE STRUGGLE TO DIVERSIFY HIGHER EDUCATION, 1965-1972

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By  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT: AN AFROCENTRIC NARRATIVE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE TO DIVERSIFY HIGHER EDUCATION, 1965-1972**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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In 1965, Blacks were only about 4.5 percent of the total enrollment in American higher education. College programs and offices geared to Black students were rare. There were few courses on Black people, even at Black colleges. There was not a single African American Studies center, institute, program, or department on a college campus. Literature on Black people and non-racist scholarly examinations struggled to stay on the margins of the academy. Eight years later in 1973, the percentage of Blacks students stood at 7.3 percent and the absolute number of Black students approached 800,000, almost quadrupling the number in 1965. In 1973, more than 1,000 colleges had adopted more open admission policies or crafted particular adjustments to admit Blacks. Sections of the libraries on Black history and culture had dramatically grown and moved from relative obscurity. Nearly one thousand colleges had organized Black Studies courses, programs, or departments, had a tutoring program for Black students, were providing diversity training for workers, and were actively recruiting Black professors and staff.

What happened? What forced the racial reformation of higher education? A social movement I call the Black Campus Movement. Despite its lasting and obvious significance, the struggle of these Black campus activists has been marginalized in the historiographies of the Student, Black Student, and Black Power Movements with White student activism, Black

students' off-campus efforts, and the Black Panther Party dominating those respective sets of literature. Thus, in order to bring it to the fore, we should conceive of new historiography, which I term the Black Campus Movement. This dissertation is the first study to chronicle and analyze that nationwide, eight-year-long Black Campus Movement that diversified higher education. An Afrocentric methodology is used to frame the study, which primarily synthesized secondary sources—books, government studies, scholarly, newspaper and magazine articles—and composed this body of information into a general narrative of the movement.

The narrative shows the building of the movement for relevance from 1965 to 1967 in which students organized their first Black Students Unions and made requests from the administration. By 1968, those requests had turned into demands, specifically after administrators were slow in instituting those demands and the social havoc wrought by the Orangeburg Massacre and the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Instead of meeting with college officials over their concerns, Black students at Black and White colleges began staging dramatic protests for more Black students, faculty, administrators, coaches, staff, and trustees, as well as Black Studies courses and departments, Black dorms, and other programs and facilities geared to Black students. This protest activity climaxed in the spring of 1969, the narrative reveals. In response, higher education and the American government showered the students with both repressive measures, like laws curbing student protests, and reforms, like the introduction of hundreds of Black Studies programs, all of which slowed the movement. By 1973, the Black Campus Movement to gain diversity had been eclipsed by another movement on college campuses to maintain the diverse elements students had won the previous eight years. This struggle to keep these gains has continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as diversity abounds on campuses across America in comparison to 1965.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, most presidents have sustained or inaugurated diversity missions for their colleges and universities. It has become almost taboo not to at least outwardly seek to diversify student, staff, faculty, and areas of study. Despite concerted attempts to stymie their development, the disciplines of Black Studies, Latino Studies, and the like, continue to evolve, as two more doctoral programs in Black Studies came online in 2008. So many diversity offices are being established and diversity officers being hired that a blueprint for their success was recently issued by the American Council on Education. Millions are being poured into diversity-related initiatives and research on areas of study concerning people of color. The vines of diversity have never been more intertwined in higher education, even though there is still massive room for growth.

However, four decades ago, the diversity vines were non-existent. In 1964, many of the traditionally White institutions (TWIs) had been integrated—if you consider a few non-White persons admitted as integration. Yet, the academy, including ironically historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), was not a welcoming place for non-White persons and ideas. Forced by the growing Black unrest around the nation, Congress took the prejudiced lock off the doors of the TWIs through the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965, which banned discrimination in higher education and provided funding for students. That was the first major forced step towards diversity and relevancy on college campuses. But taking the lock off the door was only one step, albeit a significant one. Opening the door to non-White persons/ideas was the next important step for higher education.

For the next three long years, the American academy gingerly cracked open its doors and only let in a few Black persons and ideas. Some of those Black students discussed ways to eliminate instead of endure (like they had for decades) that freezing climate of cultural hostility. They organized to this effect, and ultimately began in the spring 1965 a decade long struggle inspired by the rhetoric, ideas, and leaders of the Black Power Movement to reform and diversity higher education. This struggle I call the Black Campus Movement, which is the subject of my dissertation. In this proposal, I state the problem that led to my desire to document this struggle. I explain the purpose of this study and provide an overview movement, detailing its five main characteristics and situating it within the Black Power Movement. I discuss the importance of the study followed by an analysis of the literature on the movement. I conclude with sections on my Afrocentric methodology and methods.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The student fight I term the Black Campus Movement has been considered by scholars to be part of the Black Student Movement, the 1960s and 1970s Student Movement, or the Black Power Movement (the latter of which I discuss in more detail later). Since the efforts of Black students from 1965 to 1975 are fundamentally different in two major ways from their activism before and since that ten-year period, this unique struggle warrants its own term and certainly to be seen as its own social movement and historiography. Most historians point to the upsurge of sit-ins by students mainly at HBCUs in 1960 as the beginning of the Black Student Movement, a struggle that has since primarily focused on off-campus issues like civil rights for Blacks and segregation in the 1960s and apartheid South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, using their campuses as

staging grounds. Black students have generally focused their activism on off-campus issues since 1960 except during one period—from 1965 to 1975. For the Black Campus Movement, the campus was both the staging ground and the protest site—the first major difference. Secondly, over the last fifty years, the protests of Black students have generally not been driven by the principles of Black nationalism except from 1965 to 1975. The two major protest movements of the Black Student Movement were not for nationalism but for integration against the brutal segregation in the U.S. South and South Africa. However, during the Black Campus Movement, Black nationalism was usually the driving force of Black student activism, which again distinguishes this movement from the larger Black Student Movement.

Documenting the Black Campus Movement and conceiving of it as its own social movement also threatens the prevailing conception of “a single student movement” in the 1960s and 1970s dominated by middleclass White students.<sup>1</sup> I agree with Andrew Barlow who claims that “student activists of the 1960s participated in different student movements with distinct racial and national identities.”<sup>2</sup> Likewise, John and Susan Erlich notes, “While there are many varieties and factional disputes within the student movement, two central groups ought to be recognized as largely autonomous entities—black students and white students.”<sup>3</sup> During the climax of the Black Campus Movement in the spring of 1969, even the *New York Times* had a story with a headline that read: “The Campus Revolutions: One is Black, One White.”<sup>4</sup> The White Student Movement did sometimes provide assistance to Black campus activists. However, Whites were primarily focused on protesting against the War in Vietnam, and gaining more power and

freedom for students on campus. In contrast, Black campus activists focused their efforts on securing power specifically for Black students, personnel and projects.

### **Purpose of the Study**

A full-length manuscript conceiving of the Black Campus Movement as its own social movement and historiography that details what occurred during this movement has never been produced. This is the purpose of my dissertation. This narrative expresses the following five characteristics of this historiography and social movement. First, and most importantly, the population of the movement was Black students organized in Black Students Unions (BSUs). Black student groups before 1965 primarily served as social refuges for Black students. On the other hand BSUs, founded with various names, served not only as a social refuge, but as a cultural haven for Black students, and a pressure group to demand reforms on campus. When some administrators either rejected or were too slow in instituting their demands, Black students planned and carried out a series of social combat initiatives from student strikes to building takeovers to force the administration to give into their demands. When these Black students won their new Black programs and Black personnel, BSUs were instrumental in organizing these programs and recruiting these new Black students, faculty, administrators, coaches, and staff. Finally, they fought a protracted struggle to keep these gains, as they were under constant attack.

In some cases, BSUs united with other racial groups, like Puerto Ricans in New York, and fought for joint academic programs (i.e., a department of *Africana and Latino Studies*) and dual recruitment programs for Black and Latino students and faculty. However, in most situations, BSUs formed coalitions with Latino (and to a lesser extent

Asian and Native American) groups and fought for separate programs. Moreover, on some campuses, BSUs formed loose coalitions with progressive White student groups like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which was the leading anti-war White student group in the 1960s. Usually through these loose, Black student-controlled, working coalitions between White and Black students, the White students supported the protest initiatives of BSUs by not going to class when BSUs called strikes, holding rallies to support Black student demands, or through forming protective barriers around buildings that had been taken over by Black students. But only a minority of White students lent their support to the causes of the Black Campus Movement.

A second characteristic of the Black Campus Movement was its timeframe. The movement began in the spring of 1965 at the two historically Black HUs—Hampton University and Howard University—as a fight against administrators who would not let students demonstrate off campus for their civil rights. Black students in HBCUs began turning their heads away from the societal ills in their communities surrounding their colleges and started to identify and protest against the colonialism that existed on their own campuses. At the same time, the United States government decided to open the doors to all colleges and universities in order to quell the general Black rebellion that continued to swell by redirecting rioting Black youth from the environment of mutiny and Black pride in the urban streets to the Eurocentric environment in the academy. But as I demonstrate in this study, they carried that spirit of protest into their dorm rooms. This spirit of campus activism reached its peak in the spring of 1969. It had already begun to subside the following spring, as Black students had earned a series of reforms and at the same time the repression minimized the movement through the FBI's

COINTELPRO program, introduction of laws to curb student protests, and the destruction of the larger Black Power Movement, which had chiefly inspired the Black campus activists. The Black Campus Movement ended in the fall of 1972. By the spring of 1973, Black students had shifted their purpose, as the force of activism to reform the academy had become the might to keep the gains they won during the movement.

The third characteristic, which one can gleam from the previous two, is the overall goal of the Black Campus Movement. The general objective was to create Black universities, an educational institution controlled by Blacks that educates Black students about their history and culture, and gives them the tools to enrich themselves and advance their communities. As a Black student leader at Columbia University declared, “We’re only after one thing—a black society on this campus.”<sup>5</sup> They sought to transform what they conceived of as Negro Universities (HBCUs) into Black Universities, and fought to essentially establish Black universities within the larger universities at traditionally White institutions (TWIs) with the centerpiece reform being the introduction of the discipline of Black Studies. In some cases, these innovative Black students even established Black universities from scratch with Malcolm X Liberation University in North Carolina being one example.

Until the dawn of the Black Campus Movement in spring of 1965, practically all of the intellectual and physical space of the American academy was geared towards the enrichment of White students and White communities, and the production of White ideas and White cultural elements and scholarship. Thus, when critical masses of Black students became prevalent on these campuses in the mid-1960s, they began fighting for some intellectual and physical space that would be focused on the advancement of Black

students and Black communities, and the production of Black ideas and Black cultural elements and scholarship. In all, they sought to at least create an oppositional space that would combat the universalization of Whiteness and White ideas at the least, and at the most that would allow Black students to build Black student communities (Black universities) on campuses across America.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth characteristic of the Black Campus Movement is that its participants waged what can be described as *offensive protests* to win reforms and initiatives that were not yet in existence. Black Studies, the major demand of the movement, was introduced by Black campus activists, as were Black cultural centers, Black student centers, Black dorms and other similar demands. By the time this social movement was history by 1973, most of the Black campus activism became defensive protests to keep the gains Black students had won during the previous decade. These defensive protests have since become the norm. Lastly, the location of the Black Campus Movement—its fifth characteristic—and the fight with offensive protests for intellectual and physical space for the Black student occurred at both HBCUs, TWIs, and in Black communities.

#### *Situating the BCM in the Black Power Movement*

A secondary purpose of my dissertation is to further substantiate my argument that the Black Power Movement was *a social movement of social movements*, and the Black Campus Movement was one of those movements. Unlike most social movements in the history of America that were primarily waged by a fairly unified group of people in one arena of society with generally a common set of strategies and goals, the Black Power Movement (BPM) was a collection of social movements. Take for example the characteristics of the Civil Rights Movement. It was primarily located in the South and

chiefly led and organized by Christian preachers and college students. Its principal approach was non-violent direct-action protests. And its main goals were the desegregation of Southern society and earning Southern Blacks the right and ability to vote. In comparison, the Black Power Movement had a plethora of sites of activity, a myriad of leaders and organizers, and a slew of different approaches and goals. It all depended on the social movement, as locations of protests, leaders, organizations, approaches, and goals differed from social movement to social movement.

However, there are three factors that united these various social movements, and made them together comprise the Black Power Movement. First, there was a widespread reverence for Malcolm X. Second, the ideology of Black nationalism was pervasive with its popular ideas of self-determination, nation building, and Black pride (although they were applied differently in each social movement). And third, a rejection of the agenda of the Civil Rights Movement permeated each social movement. Some of these social movements that together make up the Black Power Movement include the Black Arts Movement, the Black Campus Movement, the Black Prison Movement, the Black Capitalist Movement, the Pan-African Movement, the Black Political Movement, the Black Cultural Movement, and the Black Revolutionary Movement.

### **Significance of the Study**

It is vital that scholars begin conceiving of the Black Power Movement as a social movement of social movements and more importantly begin examining each of these social movements. I choose to first analyze the Black Campus Movement not only since it is marginalized in Black Power literature, which I specify in the next section, but also because other than maybe the Black Cultural Movement, it may have had the most far-



reaching effect on American society. I show in this study how the Black Campus Movement reconstituted the Eurocentric academy by forcing the creation of oppositional and productive space for the Black people. In other words, the American collegiate environment became more conducive than ever before to the needs of Black students and academics through the struggle of Black campus activists.

Furthermore, there is far from a consensus on what diversity is and what it looks like in the academy just as there is far from a consensus on several of the attributes of the discipline of Black Studies. I contend that one of the reasons why it is so difficult to form these consensus is that generally speaking both diversity practitioners and scholars lack historical knowledge. It's difficult to know what something is if you do not have a coherent idea of what it came from. There is no study available for that growing number of Black Studies scholars, and administrators, and faculty who are committed to diversity and want to become knowledgeable about the foundation and history of the discipline and diversity, respectively, in the academy. The more those vines of diversity continue to become ensnared around the halls of the academy, the more important it becomes to examine and reveal their roots in the Black Campus Movement.

Finally, the Black campus activists provided the most massive and sustained identification and critique of the Eurocentric academy in American higher education history up to that point. The academy had for centuries provided rationalizations and justifications for racism, racial inequality, slavery and colonialism, and had totally denigrated the African, saying he had no history or culture. African people were not studied by the vast majority of scholars simply because they did not deem the African worthy of study. The Black campus activists rejected these notions, which had a massive

impact on American scholarship on Black people. But rejecting one conception does not automatically result in embracing another historical and cultural reality. Some Black power scholars, leaders, activists sought to create a new philosophical perspective and intellectual approach to studying Black people during the movement, but it would not come until Molefi Asante shared his Afrocentric idea in 1980.<sup>7</sup>

## **Literature Review**

There is no scholarly manuscript that details the efforts of Black students from the spring of 1965 to 1975 to diversify higher education. However, there are three studies that come close, which are first reviewed in this section. Next, I show how the movement has been marginalized in general studies of the Black Power Movement and student activism in the 1960s followed by a showcasing of all of those scholarly books, dissertations, theses, and articles that discuss particular aspects of the movement. Finally, I critique those texts that have wrongly described the movement.

### *Paramount Studies on Black Campus Movement*

The three manuscripts that are the closest to the overall focus of this dissertation are Harry Edwards's *Black Students*, an anthology edited by James McEvoy and Abraham Miller, and an article by Joy Ann Williamson.<sup>8</sup> Edwards's chief purpose was to discuss those factors that gave birth to the Black Campus Movement, the ideologies of its participants, and the future of the movement. He also examines several issues that arose during the movement like the drifting apart of liberal White allies, the relations between BSUs and the Black community, institutional racism in the academy, and the viability of introducing Black Studies. In effect, this is the most thorough analysis of the movement. However, instead of his analysis being based on an intensive study of the events that

rocked campuses across America, it is mainly based on experiential and interview data, as he was a central figure in the movement, particularly the revolt of the Black athlete. For example, an exhaustive study of the movement's events would show that the "black student revolt switched from an emphasis upon confrontation in segregated areas of American life to the college campus" before when Edwards said it occurred in 1967 and 1968.<sup>9</sup> As I show in this dissertation through a rigorous examination of the events, the switch began in 1965. All in all, his study is useful to this project, particularly his categorization of the types of Black campus activists.

When the movement was striding at its fastest speed in 1969, McEvoy and Miller published an anthology with some of the most prominent voices, and analyses on some of the most notorious examples of Black student activism. In their introduction, they stated that "because events have moved so fast, no single definitive account or explanation can be attempted, let alone achieved. Yet, our need to understand is urgent."<sup>10</sup> Exactly forty years later, this dissertation is an attempt to create that definitive account. This anthology is useful in my historical synthesis, as I synthesize these accounts with other accounts to tell the story of the Black Campus Movement.

The only manuscript that actually synthesized some data to take somewhat of a panoramic view of the movement is Williamson's article "In Defense of Themselves: The Black Student Struggle for Success and Recognition at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities." She discusses the influences, strategies, and goals of Black students, and how they shifted the meaning of success. However, as could be understood from the title, Williamson did not include the stories of Black campus activists at HBCUs. Also, it was not her purpose to provide significant detail about the influences, strategies, and

goals of Black students, which I do in this dissertation. Nevertheless, this study is helpful in aiding in my process of forming my conceptual framework, as revealed in the five characteristics above, for the Black Campus Movement.

#### *General Assessments of the Black Campus Movement*

Williamson's paper can be described as a general assessment, which is one of two types of literature that has been produced on the movement. Most of the general assessments on the Black Campus Movement have commonly been buried in texts on the Black Power Movement or the Student Movement of the 1960s. In other words, the Black Campus Movement has been subsumed in the historiographies of the Student, and Black Power Movements with White student activism and the Black Panther Party dominating those respective sets of literature, which is why I am building a new and separate historiography. I describe in a recent review essay how the following four notable texts have marginalized the movement: Peniel Joseph's *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America*, Clayborne Carson's *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar's *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* and William L. Van Deburg's *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975*.<sup>11</sup> Joseph covers the entire Black Campus Movement on a little more than a page of his 304-page work. In Carson's study of the history of SNCC, he did not adequately cover SNCC's important relationship to the Black Campus Movement. Meanwhile, Ogbar was not able to sufficiently show the relationship between the movement and the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party (BPP). Van Deburg gives the most detailed assessment of the Black Campus Movement available in his 18-page section called "Black Power on

Campus,” and thus does not marginalize the movement. However, in his account, he does not properly place SF State and Howard as the vanguard campuses of the movement for TWIs and HBCUs, respectively.

There are other studies of the Black Power Movement that marginalizes Black campus activism. In Robert Allen’s classic text, he briefly discusses the new Black nationalist mood of the Black student generation in one section, and in another gave an account of the movement in a mere six pages. Also, one could evidently get the impression from this account that the movement began in the spring of 1968, instead of three years earlier, which I show in this study. Furthermore, according the Allen, protests at TWIs did not begin as well until 1968, even though I demonstrate in this dissertation they began a year before.<sup>12</sup> Alphonso Pinkney’s text—the second most thorough account of the movement—also contains some historical inaccuracies. He makes the case that the Black Campus Movement originated on “predominantly white college and university campuses outside the South, and only later did they surface at both predominantly white and predominantly Black schools in the South.”<sup>13</sup> In reality, it was the other way around, again which I demonstrate in this project.

General studies on the student movement in the 1960s also marginalize the efforts of Black students from 1965 to 1975, focusing on the struggle of White students. Michael W. Miles examines the origins and dynamics of the movement of students in the 1960s, the “revolutionary nationalism of black students,” and how education has been industrialized. Only one of the five chapters covers the “black resistance” and he provides a series of case studies of campus movements at City College, SF State, and Howard. Likewise, the American Council of Education marginalizes the efforts of Black

students. After the active spring of 1969, the Council compiled a group of intellectuals to study campus tensions, publishing twenty of their papers in an anthology. Yet a mere one of these papers concern Black students even though they carried out the majority of campus protests in the spring of 1969.<sup>14</sup>

Two other general texts on student activism—*Academic Supermarkets* and *Student Protest: The Sixties and After*—have only one article on Black students out of eighteen and nineteen, respectively. Moreover, Calvin B. T. Lee examines each of the generations of students during the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to the 1960s generation. But he trivializes the efforts of Black students during the Black Campus Movement in a short eight-page assessment that contains some historical inaccuracies. Like too many scholars, Lee erroneously identifies the assassination of King as what started the movement instead of what accelerated it. Elvin Abeles too marginalizes the Black Campus Movement, discussing it in only about ten pages of his close to ninety-page account of the “contemporary student movement.” John and Susan Erlich says the “words of” their “book are the words of students.” However, only three of the thirty-two chapters are the words of Black campus activists. In their study of the 1968-1969 academic year in higher education, Roger Rapoport and Laurence J. Kirshbaum merely produce one chapter on the Black campus activism even though that year was the apex of that movement.<sup>15</sup> There are several other studies of the student movement that mention aspects of the Black Campus Movement.<sup>16</sup> However, they generally put emphasis on the anti-war and White student power struggles.

#### *Particular Assessments of the Black Campus Movement*

Black Power and student movement scholars should not marginalize the efforts of Black campus activists because the literature on their activities is substantial. Most of this literature focuses on particular campuses, characteristics, or issues concerning the movement. Fabio Rojas discusses the campus movement in case studies on the struggle at SF State, University of Chicago, University of Illinois at Chicago, and Harvard University. An anthology compiled by editors Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol contains studies of the movements at SF State, Columbia University, and Cornell University.<sup>17</sup> Several other scholars have produced studies of the movement at SF State.<sup>18</sup> And, Stefan Bradley and Stephen Donadio also analyze the struggle of Blacks at Columbia.<sup>19</sup>

Several other examinations have been produced by scholars examining the struggle of Black students during the Black Campus Movement at historically White colleges and universities. Wayne Glasker documents the movement at the University of Pennsylvania; Delia Cook at Central Missouri State University; Richard McCormick at Rutgers University; Donald Downs at Cornell University; William H. Exum at New York University; Timothy Fitzgerald at San Jose State University; Alford Young at Wesleyan University; Warren D'Azevedo at the University of Nevada; and Conrad Dyer at New York's City College.<sup>20</sup> In two different studies in the *Journal of Black Studies*, James Pitts and Freddy Hill examine the struggle of students at Northwestern University.<sup>21</sup> In separate works, George Napper and Stacey Cook investigate the activism at the University of California, Berkeley.<sup>22</sup> Earl Anthony conducts a case study of a Black student revolt at California State University, Northridge.<sup>23</sup> James L. Palcic and Corey Hamon inspect BSUs at Florida State University and University of Oregon, respectively.<sup>24</sup> Joy Ann Williamson examines the Black power on the campus of the

University of Illinois and at historically Black colleges in Mississippi.<sup>25</sup> Ione D. Vargus studies the BSUs at Tufts University and Brandeis University.<sup>26</sup> Stephen Casanova and Marialyce Gottschalk in different studies reveal the activism at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Peniel Joseph analyses the Black campus activism that gave birth to the discipline of Black Studies, and Stephen Jones shows how Black Studies transformed higher education.<sup>28</sup> There are entries on the movement of Black campus activists for Black Studies at City College of New York, Kent State University, and Wellesley College in the *Encyclopedia of Black Studies*.<sup>29</sup> And, Jeffrey Alan Turner documents the activism on Southern campuses in the 1960s, including at HBCUs.<sup>30</sup>

There are several other studies on HBCUs. Jerrold Roy studies the campus activists at Howard University and Hampton Institute.<sup>31</sup> Gilbert Lowe, Jr., and Sophia McDowell, Doris Dockett, and Lawrence B. de Graaf also examine the movement at Howard.<sup>32</sup> Jack Bass and Jack Nelson detail the Orangeburg Massacre at South Carolina State College, while Tim Spofford details the murder of Black students at Jackson State College. Denton Davis and Tim Thomas in separate manuscripts explore the Black power protests at Southern University. Bernard Friedberg and Blair Justice document the Black campus activism at Texas Southern University. Vonya Le Thornton examines the student activism at Central State University. And, Jelani Favors discusses the activism at historically Black colleges in Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>33</sup>

Terrence R. Restivo explores the activities of the BSU at the University of Michigan in a larger study on the New Left in Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the Black Power Movement. Eric Winston and Crystal Reynolds both examine the administrative response to Black campus activism at Michigan State University and Indiana State



University, respectively. Nadine Cohodas, Harold Wade, Jr., and F. Erik Brooks share the history of Black students at the University of Mississippi, Amherst College, and Georgia Southern University, respectively, including the efforts of activists during the Black campus movement.<sup>34</sup> James Bowen, and Patricia Gurin and Edgar Epps provide the two most expansive empirical studies on the attitudes of Black students during the movement.<sup>35</sup> Rodney Harnett, Alan Bayer, Robert Boruch, John Centra, John Jackson, James Foley, Robert Foley, Daniel Yankelovich, Faustine Jones, and E.C. Harrison have also produced studies on the attitudes of Black campus activists.<sup>36</sup> Finally, there are also quite a few empirical studies on the quantity and quality or characteristics of Black student protests from 1965 to 1975 by scholars like Richard Peterson, Dale Gaddy, Alan Bayer, Alexander Astin, statisticians at the Urban Research Corporation, the U.S. government, and the editors of *The Black Scholar*.<sup>37</sup>

#### *Historical Inaccuracies Concerning the Black Campus Movement*

Despite the breadth of research on the Black Campus Movement, several scholars have made incorrect historical notations and assessments about the movement. Most of these spurious conceptions are concerning points in time. According to William Corson, the building takeover at Howard University in March of 1968 “was the first of its kind on a college campus in the United States.” And Michael Miles, ironically, makes the same case for the Howard protest a year earlier in the spring of 1967.<sup>38</sup> My research shows, however, that one of the first major protests during the Black Campus Movement was in fact at Howard University, but in the spring of 1965.

James Benet and Fabio Rojas both similarly assert that the 1968-1969 student strike at SF State “marked the first serious attempt by a group of Black students to remold

an American college” to “force its leadership” to create “a Department of Black Studies.”<sup>39</sup> Citing John Bunzel, William Orrick, and Lawrence Crouchett in another study, Rojas also points to 1968 as the year when “African-American students and their allies” began staging “marches, demonstrations and sit-ins so that university administrators would create academic units dedicated to African-American culture and history.”<sup>40</sup> In addition, Martin Kilson contends that 1968 “after the murder of Martin Luther King” was the beginning of the Black Studies movement.<sup>41</sup> And Darlene Clark Hine, William Hine, and Stanley Harrold note that “some observers describe the period of activism between 1968 and 1975 as the ‘second phase’ of the black students’ movement.” Instead of characterizing the death of King as the catalyst of the shift, they point to the Orangeburg Massacre.<sup>42</sup> Yet, in actuality, King’s death and the Orangeburg Massacre did not initiate the new movement, or a second phase. I show that Black students had been protesting to make the academy more relevant since the spring of 1965.

A few other scholars point to 1967 as the beginning of the Black Campus Movement (or the second phase of the Black Student Movement). William Exum states that the “contemporary phase of black student activism began between 1966 and 1967.”<sup>43</sup> Joe William Trotter, Jr., and Earl Anthony both argue in their texts the movement began in 1967.<sup>44</sup> But again, I show in this dissertation that the Black student attempt to change the academy began in the spring of 1965. Trotter also erroneously contends that “most militant demonstrations occurred on predominantly white northern and western campuses.”<sup>45</sup> Actually, I show in this study that the “most militant demonstrations” occurred on predominantly Black Southern campuses where too many Black students were either killed or wounded by police.

The pervasiveness of these false views about the movement is a direct result of the lack of a general study of the Black Campus Movement. In characterizing the movement, scholars have followed other scholars who essentially had to resort to conjecture. And unfortunately, in too many cases they have theorized incorrectly when it comes to the Black Campus Movement. Something as simple as when and where the movement started is not widely known, in addition to a myriad of other attributes about the struggle of Black campus activists. This dissertation provides that information and ultimately fills that glaring hole in the historiography of the 1960s.

### **Methodology**

Molefi Asante explains the world does not often hear the voice of Africa in history because people have created views about Africa that muffle this voice. “In my judgment,” Asante adds, “this is directly related to the fact that for many centuries Africa was forced to speak in the voice of others.”<sup>46</sup> Historians who did not write history from the cultural center of the African experience for the benefit of African people dominated the historical literature on people of African descent. Africans were always objects instead of subjects of their history. They also placed African people on the margins of their own historical story.

Similarly, the Black campus activists have been forced to speak through the voice of others for several decades. There has never been a historical account written on the Black Campus Movement that placed the Black campus activists at the center of the analysis with their voices, ideas and actions coming to the fore. Most of the stories have been written by individuals who generally did not seek to reveal the perspective of this Black student generation. Therefore, the voice of these Black campus activists has been

muffled and distorted, as the review of literature asserts. In contrast, the methodology that guides my research, writing and revising of this narrative is based on the desire to finally reveal the true voices of these Black campus activists. This Afrocentric intellectual approach makes this study fall in the realm of Afrocentric historiography.

I use an Afrocentric intellectual approach in researching, writing, and revising the narrative. Asante defines Afrocentricity as a “paradigmatic quality of thought with implications for analyses and practice where Africans are subjects and agents of phenomena acting in the context of their own historical reality, cultural images, and human interest.”<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, Ama Mazama adds that “the Afrocentric idea rests on the assertion of the primacy of the African experience for African people. Its aim is to give us our African, victorious consciousness back.”<sup>48</sup> My methodology is grounded on these concepts. The Black campus activists are subjects and not objects, and act in the narrative in the context of their own historical reality.

African agency, or the experiences and views of the Black campus activists, assume the lead role in an Afrocentric historiography, Asante explains.<sup>49</sup> Not only do Black campus activists presume the lead role, but I have centered myself in the lived experiences of these students in order to accurately portray them. My methodological framework does not require that I seek to be objective and remove myself from the subject of study. As Asante argues, this idea that a social scientist can be objective is a European concept and is “invalid operationally...What often passes for objectivity is a sort of collective European subjectivity.”<sup>50</sup> Instead of seeking to be objective, I strive to tell the truth, which Mazama often tells her students is all that we can do. This longing to tell the truth is a fundamental aspect of the Afrocentric intellectual approach.

The concept of center, and me centering my philosophy as I write the story in the shared philosophical views of the Black campus activists is another integral part of the Afrocentric intellectual approach. In articulating the notion of center, Mazama notes:

It is fundamentally based on the belief that one's history, culture, and biology determine one's identity. That identity, in turn, determines our place in life, both material and spiritual. To practice one's culture and to apprehend oneself in a manner that is consistent with one's history, culture, and biology is to be centered or to proceed from one's center.<sup>51</sup>

In the same regard, in documenting the story of a historical figure or organization, any Afrocentric historiography should document from the philosophical and cultural center of that historical figure or organization. Moreover, that figure or organization should be placed at the center of their own narrative, as Asante states when calling for an Afrocentric historiography.<sup>52</sup> In addition, Zizwe Poe notes the importance of a center. "What qualifies the use of a historic presentation is, first, its centrality. The identification of a center allows the examiner to locate the presenter and the presentation within an ideological region."<sup>53</sup>

My methodology or the intellectual approach I use for my scholarly inquiry into the Black Campus Movement, which positions it as an Afrocentric historiography is grounded in a few other Afrocentric methodological principles that have been summarized by Mazama.<sup>54</sup> First, my approach is not be dominated by rationalism and positivism. But instead it reflects "the primacy of the spiritual, the relationship between the physical and the spiritual, as well as the interconnected of all things," as Mazama states.<sup>55</sup> There is a spiritual force emanating from all of the Black campus activists. If

this force is representative of the Black Campus Movement, then this force that manifests in their present reality is one that reflects a spiritual historicity, which I reveal in the narrative. This force can also be described as the “soul” of the Black Campus Movement. My intellectual approach is to conceptualize, analyze, and learn this “soul,” which I cannot learn through a rational approach to knowledge gathering. Because knowledge, when using an Afrocentric methodology according to Norman Harris, is “validated through a combination of historical understanding and intuition; that knowing is both rational and suprarational.”<sup>56</sup> In the gathering process, my methodology is such that I seek to know through rational historical revelations, intuitive learning, and through knowing with my heart. By intuitive learning, I mean that through analyzing the facts I hope to gain a sense of what occurred. Finally, in line with the final Afrocentric methodological principle, this historical narrative has been written with the objective to advance African humanity. “The Afrocentric methodology must generate knowledge that will free us and empower us,” Mazama says.<sup>57</sup> I believe the knowledge generated from this study will empower African people by informing them about a historical moment that changed the academy forever.

## **Methods**

“All methods of doing research have philosophical roots with specific assumptions about phenomena, human inquiry, and knowledge,” Asante notes.<sup>58</sup> The methods I use to research and write this study are derived from the methodological principles that are foundational to an Afrocentric historiography. These methodological principles call for Afrocentric methods with several characteristics and/or directives. First, the researcher’s primary method of choice must not detach the researcher from the

subject of analysis. As Mazama explains, “All Afrocentric inquiry must be conducted through an interaction between the examiner and the subject. Cultural and social immersion are imperative.”<sup>59</sup> There shall be no “scientific distance.”<sup>60</sup> Second, the Afrocentric historian should not have a narrow, Eurocentric view as to what is a document. There should be a “broad interpretation of document,” explains Clyde Winters.<sup>61</sup> It is not just a written account, which Eurocentric historians view as the supreme document. A document, according to an Afrocentric historian using an Afrocentric methodology, can be any text—written, oral, visual or otherwise—that informs the historian about the subject. All of these documents are sought with equal intensity and historical interest.

Third, methods should be chosen that are reasonable and are going to yield historical truth. That truth is judged first and foremost by the court of public opinion. As Asante states, “The Afrocentrist speaks of research that is ultimately verifiable in the experiences of human beings, the final empirical authority.”<sup>62</sup> Fourth, in order to truly produce this accurate historical truth, the researcher must examine himself or herself when examining the subject through introspection and retrospection. According to Asante, “Introspection means that the researcher questions herself or himself in regards to the topic under discussion.” He further explains:

One might write down all one believes and thinks about a topic prior to beginning the research project. The reason for this is to ascertain what obstacles exist to an Afrocentric method in the researcher’s own mind. Retrospection is the process of questioning one’s self after the project has been completed to ascertain if any personal obstacles exist to a fair interpretation.<sup>63</sup>

This study on the Black Campus Movement is a panoramic historical account of the struggles of Black students at hundreds of colleges in the 1960s and 1970s. My chief research method will be the accumulation of all the existing secondary literature on the activities of Black campus activists. My primary method of data analysis and presentation is historical synthesis, seeking to synthesize all of the scattered elements of literature on the subject. Finally, I use a narrative writing style as my chief writing method. Based on an Afrocentric intellectual approach, I considered these methods, which I discuss in more detail below, to be the most suitable for this study.

### *Research Method*

In terms of secondary sources, I accumulated scholarly studies, government documents on the activities of the campus activists, studies by organizations on Black campus activists or student activism in general during the movement, autobiographies of individuals, leaders and activists that had some connection to the movement, and journal articles produced by the Black campus activists or individuals closely connected them. Several activists who had some relation to the Black Campus Movements of the 1960s have written autobiographies. They include (but are not limited to) Cleveland Sellers, Huey P. Newton, Elaine Brown, Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure).<sup>64</sup> I also use three in-depth interviews of Black campus activists, and another long interview with Nathan Hare.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, most of my research comes from reports on the activities of campus activists in newspapers and to a lesser extent, magazines. I accumulated hundreds of articles from two White newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and eight Black newspapers: *Boston Bay State Banner*, *Oakland Post*, *San Francisco Sun Reporter*, *New York Amsterdam*



*News, Chicago Daily Defender, Sacramento Observer, Pittsburgh Courier, Memphis Tri-State Defender, and the Atlanta Daily World.*

One segment of the secondary literature on the movement is contained in books and journal articles on the Student Movement and the Black Power Movement.<sup>66</sup> There is also a body of historical research that studies the experiences of Blacks at a particular college or university. *Blacks at Harvard* and *The Band Played Dixie: Race and the Liberal Conscience at Ole Miss* are two examples.<sup>67</sup> In addition, there are a series of empirical studies I gathered that were produced during and after the Black Campus Movement that examine the attitudes and characteristics of Black campus activists, detail the number and dynamics of student protests, and even a few that ascertain the success of student protests. Nevertheless, most of the secondary scholarly literature comes from journal articles and secondary book-length studies on particular campus movements.

#### *Method of Data Analysis and Presentation*

My primary method of data analysis and presentation will be historical synthesis. From the literature, I extract information about Black student protests, Black student organizations, the ideas, strategies and goals of Black students, the demands of Black students, and empirical evidence about Black student attitudes and protests. I extort the reactions of college presidents, the general Black and white public, the U.S. government, and Black leaders to the Black Campus Movement. Also, I locate from the accumulated primary and secondary literature, the off-campus events and leaders who inspired Black campus activists, the activities of state and federal legislatures and intelligence agencies to erect laws and measures to curb Black campus activism, and the actions of White philanthropic organizations to influence the gains of the Black Campus Movement, most

notably the discipline of Black Studies. I synthesize this data into a historical account on the Black Campus Movement.

### *Writing Method*

After synthesizing all of the primary and secondary literature on the Black Campus Movement, I wrote this historical account as a narrative. Many scholars in short sections in studies of the Student Movement or Black Power Movement or even sections that preface studies on particular movements have provided a series of generalizations of the Black Campus Movement, ultimately telling instead of showing what occurred. In other words, for four decades scholars have certainly told us what happened. Black students formed critical masses on campuses. Then, they organized themselves into BSUs and issued demands, sometimes having to resort to strikes and building campuses. Scholar after scholar has stated this, telling us what occurred. Few have attempted to show us what occurred during the Black Campus Movement, probably because it is extremely difficult to tell the story of thousands of campus activists on hundreds of campuses. However, I attempt this difficult feat in this dissertation. This narrative is both chronological and topical. It is chronological in the sense that the general range of the narrative begins in 1965 and ends in 1972. Sections and chapters are dictated by a semester or academic year (see attached outline). However, within (or as) those sections or chapters on a semester or academic year, the account is divided sometimes by topics.

### **Conclusion**

This dissertation is the first general study that will detail the activities, individuals, goals, reactions, tactics, demands, issues, and significance of the Black Campus Movement. The movement has five characteristics. The major figures in the

movement were Black students organized in Black Student Unions (BSUs). It began in the spring of 1965 and lasted until the fall of 1972. During this period, Black students sought to make higher education relevant to them and beneficial to the Black community. In order to achieve that, they waged offensive protests for reforms that were not in existence. And they did so at both historically Black and White colleges and universities.

This Black Campus Movement was one of the many social movements that together comprise the Black Power Movement. It reconstituted the American academy, particularly through forcing the institutionalization of Black Studies. However, most scholars of diversity and Black Studies do not have a thorough historical memory of this reconstitution of higher education. That is primarily due to lack of a general study on the struggle of Black campus activists and the marginalization of the Black Campus Movement in the literature on the 1960s student movement and the Black Power Movement. It should not have been trivialized since there is a substantial amount of literature on the movement, particularly on specific campus struggles.

In researching, writing, analyzing, and conceiving of this general study of the efforts of Black campus activists, I use an Afrocentric intellectual approach and Afrocentric methods. Since this manuscript is on African people, it is centered in the cultural and historical reality of African people. This historical synthesis of secondary literature on the movement is written as a narrative. It is my hope with this study the strivings of these Black campus activists and the lasting effect their activism had on the reconstitution of the academy is finally brought to the fore. Thousands of Black campus activists were suspended, expelled, arrested, imprisoned, wounded, and/or killed during

the movement in an effort to build Black nations on campuses across America. It is time for America to learn their story.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**THE ORIGIN OF THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT**  
**(SPRING 1965 – SPRING 1967)**

The Civil Rights Movement was on its last leg. In Selma, Alabama, two counties over from Montgomery County where the desegregation movement began with a successful bus boycott ten years earlier, a massive voting campaign was being waged in the spring of 1965. Many had been imprisoned. Several had been beaten, but none had been killed until Jimmie Lee Jackson was shot by a state trooper during a demonstration on February 18, 1965. As a tribute to Jackson and to dramatically confront the racist power structure of Alabama, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., began planning a massive march from Selma to Montgomery.<sup>68</sup> The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) opposed the march because the impending violence outweighed the possible achievements.<sup>69</sup> Despite SNCC's objection, the march commenced and SNCC's nightmare became a reality for the entire world to see. With news cameras rolling, state troopers and the Dallas County's Sheriff's office unleashed tear gas and pounced on the six hundred marchers with their clubs and whips on a bridge six miles into the march. It was a "Bloody Sunday" on March 7, 1965.

Still recovering from the death of Malcolm X on February 21, 1965, Black communities around the nation emotionally erupted in furor and sadness. Black student communities were part of that eruption of rage, including students at the historic bastion of Black conservatism, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Three days after "Bloody Sunday," Tuskegee students brought a petition to and staged a sit-in at the capitol in

Montgomery protesting the beating and demanding voting rights for Black Alabamians, ultimately receiving “a crash course in civil rights.”<sup>70</sup> SNCC had been their teachers, working with them as they challenged Alabama officials. And during the lesson, Tuskegee students questioned their role as Black students in America. They asked themselves: “Is it enough for me just to get an education so that I can join (or remain in) the professional middle class? Does the administration of my school stand for progress or the status quo? Where do I stand in relation to that administration?”<sup>71</sup> When they went back to their Tuskegee campus, it did not take them long to realize the same forces they fought in Montgomery dictated to them from the administration building. They didn’t have the language yet. But they were beginning to turn inward. Yet, Tuskegee campus activists would not begin their fight to re-orient the Black college most known for accommodating to the desires of White America until the fall.<sup>72</sup>

The students at historically Black Hampton University in Southern Virginia did however begin their struggle to change their college that March 1965. They too were spurred by the events unfolding in Alabama, and even more so by their administration, who would not allow them to conduct a sympathy demonstration for the Selma campaign in downtown Hampton. These initial fights that turned on the engine of activism that drove the Black Campus Movement emerged initially at Black colleges as a fight against administrators who would not let students demonstrate off campus for their civil rights. One Hampton official told the students the protest would “alienate our many friends and well-wishers” in Hampton, and the president did not want to affect his new fundraising drive.<sup>73</sup> Like had long been the heritage of this college and other HBCUs across the South, administrators were thinking more about their White benefactors, than the

oppressed Black communities of America. However, unlike previous generations of students, the campus activists, first at Hampton, and then at other colleges, were not “cottoning to the White man” or “eating cheese for the White man’s money” any longer.<sup>74</sup> The eyes of Hampton students, and soon other Black college students, were focused on the community’s problems. But when administrations tapped them on their shoulders and restricted their protests to alleviate those community problems, their attention quickly turned to the campus. And their probing eyes had a mild epiphany, and begun seeing clearly the dictatorial, paternalistic, and vile conditions on their own campuses.

In a letter on February 25, 1965, Hampton activists called for the right to demonstrate, speak freely in newspapers and assemblies, to be protected from arbitrary dismissal, and to determine the college’s curriculum and student code. In retribution, Hampton president Jerome Holland fired Virginius Thornton, the faculty adviser to the NAACP chapter. Outraged at the firing about two hundred students rallied outside of the college’s administration building on March 8, 1965 with signs that read: “We want freedom” and “Hampton a Reformation or College.” Three days later they staged the first on-campus sit-in of the Black Campus Movement, blocking the entrance to administrators’ offices. President Holland met none of the demands and eventually expelled the student leaders.<sup>75</sup> But these Hampton students, turning their activism to the campus, were giving birth to the Black Campus Movement and they would have another chance in a few years when it had grown to maturity.

Howard University would be central in nursing this movement into maturity at HBCUs. By the spring of 1965, campus activists at this college, long hailed as the

nation's largest and best HBCU, had begun their campaign to alter their collegiate environment. For decades, they had protested the compulsory ROTC and asked for more power in determining admission standards, financial policies and the curriculum. But it was not until April of 1965 that campus activists would organize their first protest for these demands. Motivated by the recent death of Malcolm X, about five hundred students marched on the administration building. The campus activists were protesting the demotion of two popular Liberal Arts professors who had supported them, and the reluctance of the administration to allow controversial speakers or student groups. Like his counterpart at the other HU, Howard President James Nabrit slammed the legitimacy of protesters' requests and their tactics for achieving them. And he dismissed several campus activists, repressing the infantile movement for a while.

Black campus activists were giving birth to a movement in 1965 as another was dying off. The Civil Rights Movement that sought, using non-violent means, to desegregate Southern institutions and give Blacks the ability to vote was limping into history. And the student movement that steered the Civil Rights Movement was changing course. This student movement started in earnest with the sit-ins across the south by mainly students at Black colleges in 1960, which gave birth to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. By the fall of 1961, many of these student activists were participating in newly established voter education projects throughout the South. These programs continued into 1962, as SNCC believed that securing Southern Blacks the right to vote was essential to destroying the supremacy of Whites.<sup>76</sup> By 1963 the efforts of the students and other activists in the Civil Rights Movement had stalled. To



compel the federal government to act, King and other SCLC leaders decided to set up shop at the most repressive center of that power—Birmingham, Alabama.

In April 1963, college students led off the Birmingham affair with sit-ins.<sup>77</sup> Eventually, King was arrested and while incarcerated he wrote the widely circulated “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” stating: “Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor. It must be demanded by the oppressed.”<sup>78</sup> King’s letter had a powerful impact on those students who in a few years who launch the Black Campus Movement. But what impacted them even more was watching a month later on television thousands of youth their ages clubbed with nightsticks and ripped to pieces by vicious bloodhounds, and seeing powerful fire hoses breaking limbs, snatching clothes off of bodies, and slamming children against store walls. The fire hoses, however, could not put out the fire of protest burning inside the new generation of Blacks. If anything, it was ignited and it would soon turn to scorch America’s campuses.

That would be in a few years though. In 1963, Black students were still focused on off-campus issues and still had a relatively high level of faith in the ideas driving the Civil Rights Movement. But as the body bags started to pile up, so did their questioning of those ideas and their disillusionment with America.<sup>79</sup> Ten people were killed in the South during that fateful summer of 1963, the most prominent of which was Medgar Evers, the NAACP field secretary in Jackson, Mississippi. The only redress to the students dwindling faith in America’s promise was the March on Washington in August 1963. But that conviction was quickly shattered again in September when a bomb shattered the 16<sup>th</sup> St. Baptist Church in Birmingham, leaving four little girls dead, and when John F. Kennedy was assassinated two months later. The students were beginning

to realize that America was sick with more than just a cold of discrimination and segregation. It may have the cancer of hypocrisy. But in 1963, students were fearful and did not know a cure.<sup>80</sup> Even though Malcolm X was giving them that cure in the form of Black nationalism, they still were not ready to launch the Black Power Movement.

In the fall of 1963, the Black Student Movement was still focused on securing Southern Blacks the ability to vote. SNCC gave eighty thousand Black Mississippians the opportunity to demonstrate they wanted to vote during the Freedom Ballot. This mock election set the stage for the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer. SNCC spent most of the spring preparing for it. Even before the campaign to organize Black Mississippians, register them to vote, and educate them in Freedom Schools began, three more bodies had to first be buried in the cemetery of the Civil Rights Movement. Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney were missing and most expected the worse. Their disappearance and later deaths received national coverage and since they were college-aged, students were severely affected. The project still commenced and one thousand Northern White students were brought to the violent state to help. "It was the longest nightmare" Cleveland Sellers, a SNCC leader, ever had. During those summer months of June, July and August of 1964, there were one thousand arrests, thirty-five shooting incidents, thirty homes and other sites were bombed, thirty-five churches were burned, eighty people were beaten, and at least six people were killed.<sup>81</sup> In order to survive this wave of violence, many SNCC activists gave up King's philosophy of non-violence that so permeated the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>82</sup>

While Southern Blacks were enraged by the violence in Mississippi that summer, Northern Blacks let out their rage in rebellions. After a Black teenager was killed by a

White cop in July 1964 in Harlem, a protest organized by CORE quickly turned into an all-out rebellion that lasted for five nights. The spirit of rebellion eventually spread to Brooklyn and five other cities that summer including Rochester, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.<sup>83</sup> It would be the first of four summers of Black urban rebellions that erected an environment of protest that cultivated the Black Campus Movement. They infused in these students “a collective mode of attitude, behavior, and sense of power.”<sup>84</sup>

Towards the end of the summer of 1964 however, SNCC still hoped that Blacks could gain their sense of power through allying with a traditional American political party. One of the major initiatives of the Mississippi Summer Project was the organizing and electing of delegates for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. This organization demanded at the Democratic National Convention in August 1964 that its delegation be seated in place of the racist party. The national party rejected the MFDP demands and instead offered a compromise—two nonvoting seats accompanying the racist delegation. Led by Fannie Lou Hamer, the MFDP flatly rejected the compromise, effectively ending the Civil Rights Movement. It died on the beaches of Atlantic City, New Jersey. “Things could never be the same,” Cleveland Sellers of SNCC recalled. “Never again were we lulled into believing that our task was exposing injustices so that the ‘good’ people of America could eliminate them. We left Atlantic City with the knowledge that the movement had turned into something else. After Atlantic City, our struggle was not for civil rights, but for liberation.”<sup>85</sup>

For years, Malcolm X had been telling SNCC to make that left turn to liberation. Now after the debacle with the MFDP, they were all ears. Malcolm had noticed the change in Black youth earlier in the year though. In an interview on March 19, 1964,

Malcolm X characterized this “new generation of black people” as one that felt nonviolence was an old strategy and “if there is to be bleeding, it should be reciprocal—bleeding on both sides.”<sup>86</sup> According to Malcolm, this new generation, who had become “disenchanted” and “disillusioned” with the system, were ready and “willing to do something about it”; that being “whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately.”<sup>87</sup>

Several Black campus activists knew of Malcolm when he was alive, but even more would come to know him as the deceased ideological father of the Black Campus Movement. One of those campus activists who revered the living Malcolm was Bobby Seale, a student at Merritt College in Oakland, California, and the future founder of the Black Panther Party. Upon hearing the news of Malcolm’s tragic death, Seale went to his mother’s house, picked up six loose bricks, walked to the corner, broke them in half and every time he saw a cop car he hurled one of them at it. Eventually, his emotions overtook him and he cried. He was ready to die that day.<sup>88</sup> And like scores of Black students across the country, Andrea Coaxum of Boston University wept as well when Malcolm X died.<sup>89</sup> To deal with their grief, many Black students held services and rallies in Malcolm’s honor.<sup>90</sup> But the best type of eulogy for Malcolm was the new attitude campus activists displayed at Tuskegee, Hampton and Howard in the spring of 1965.

This new attitude was not saturating most Black college students in 1965. They were still under the individualistic, bourgeois, and integrationist spell that had pacified previous generations of Black college students. Most Black college students were optimistic about change. They blamed Black people for their plight instead of the system. They focused on their own upward mobility as opposed to Black collective

advancement. They wanted integration and racially mixed schools, neighborhoods, and work environments. But most social movements are not launched by a mass of people. All that's needed is a small and committed cadre. In the spring of 1965, that cadre, representing maybe ten percent of Black college students, had finally arrived to initiate the Black Campus Movement. They were pessimistic about change and saw the system as the reason for the plight of African America. They were willing to focus their individual energies on the advancement of the entire race. And they believed that their advancement would only come through Blacks banning together and forming power blocs that would force America to give them their rights.<sup>91</sup> The students at Tuskegee, Hampton, and Howard who set off the campus movement had this new attitude. They were beginning to identify American systems as hostile to their needs, including their on systemic backyard, their campuses.

Even though the movement was launched in the spring of 1965, Black campus activists still needed something massive to sanction their efforts, fuel their movement, and help them politicize and acquire the sympathy of their college peers. Or it would be history before it could make history. They would receive that sanction, fuel, and politicizing help when thousands of Blacks in Los Angeles rebelled in August of 1965. It was not a small rebellion like those in the summer of 1964 that could be written off by observers. For six long, intense, and fiery days, one of the epicenters of African America was under siege. They symbolically told America: "Either you allow us to live as human beings or we will burn this country to the ground!"<sup>92</sup> Another movement was born in the flames in Watts—the Black Power Movement, a year after the Civil Rights Movement died in Atlantic City.

In 1965, growing masses of Blacks were “sick and tired of being sick and tired,” as Fannie Lou Hammer once said. And more Blacks were beginning to agree with a priest who in August 1965 said their progress will come in direct proportion to their activism.<sup>93</sup> The White power structure was obviously worried as it saw this tidal wave of Black discontent rising and headed towards their corporate suites. It had two options: destroy the rebellion by force, or somehow build a shield to guard itself from it. The power structure chose both options. Every time Black progressives showed their face through protests for the rest of the decade, violence was not far behind. In addition, the power structure started building a powerful Black middle class that one observer noted “would have an active, vested interest in its benefits and thus would serve as a stabilizing force among the urban masses.”<sup>94</sup>

Providing Black youth the opportunity to attend a college was central in building this Black middle or buffer class. These opportunities would reduce the intensity of the tidal wave through physically removing Black youth from Black rebellious communities where they were becoming conscious about the hypocrisies of America and their Blackness. Other corporate interests were also at play in the need to open the academy’s doors to Blacks. Beginning in the 1940s, a grave desire emerged among the corporate elite for college-trained scientific and technical workers to man the advanced industrial society. Automation was replacing mechanization, as the electronic or computerized element was replacing the human element in the production process. The number of colleges doubled and the number of college students increased sevenfold from the 1940s to 1960s.<sup>95</sup> Corporate America, needing even more trained workers, screamed for the government to expand higher education.<sup>96</sup> Jobs became readily available for Black

college students when just decades earlier, the only jobs Black graduates could find were usually as a porter or teacher.<sup>97</sup> In order to take in this mass of students that were welcomed into the academy since the 1940s, many of the urban colleges and universities had to expand their boundaries. Usually this expansion led to encroachments on Black urban communities in the 1960s, leading in turn to urban social conflicts because communities often viewed these colleges as insensitive to their needs.<sup>98</sup> Many of the colleges realized that the most effective way of easing this conflict was through admitting Black students.<sup>99</sup>

To ease these urban conflicts, provide more corporate workers, and pacify Black communities, the U.S. government took the lead in ensuring Blacks flowed into American higher education, passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965. The former banned discrimination in higher education, among other areas of society, and gave government agencies the power to withhold federal money from programs or institutions that were sites of discrimination. The vast majority of colleges and universities in America received some level of federal funding. In fear of this loss, they opened their doors to Black students. However, Black students could not afford to attend college until the latter act was passed in November of 1965. The Higher Education Act provided financial assistance for millions of aspiring college students, and it increased federal money given to colleges and universities, some of which was used to create programs to recruit Black students. The architect of these laws, President Lyndon B. Johnson, signed fifty-eight others in his tenure that provided federal aid to education.<sup>100</sup> And, in an executive order in 1965, President Johnson stipulated that government contractors “will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are

employed, and that employees are treated without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or nation origin.” Even “though the order focused on employment,” wrote one intellectual, “many education institutions understood the charge and established similar policies.”<sup>101</sup>

President Johnson, the Education President, as he wanted to be known, pushed a series of measures that in turn pushed the first critical mass of Black students on American college campuses. As a result of the two major acts, the judicial rulings and executive threats to enforce them, the desegregation of traditionally White colleges and universities in the former Confederate states accelerated.<sup>102</sup> And colleges and universities, including Black colleges, received fresh infusions of cash to expand their opportunities for Black students.<sup>103</sup> Some colleges, like Wesleyan University and Rutgers University, did not wait on outside financial help, initiating their own programs to recruit Black students.<sup>104</sup> By 1967, Southern TWIs were not just desegregating, but had joined the recruiting rush, offering four-year scholarships at colleges like Wake Forest University in North Carolina.<sup>105</sup> Wake Forest initiated one of the many scholarship programs established for Black students by colleges, such as New York University and Roosevelt University, and corporations and foundations like the National Distillers and Chemical Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation did the same.<sup>106</sup> Because of the recruiting efforts and scholarship offers, the number of Black students attending traditionally white colleges was up seventy percent in 1965. There were about 200,000 Black students in higher education that fall, about 4.5 percent of the total enrollment of 4.5 million.<sup>107</sup> By 1967, the Black student enrollment had increased to 5.15 percent.<sup>108</sup> The enrollment at Rutgers jumped from one hundred in 1965 to 266 in



1967.<sup>109</sup> This initial boom of Blacks students from 1964 to 1967 performed the all important task of building a social movement. And like the sit-ins in 1960s, once these campus activists got going, only the brakes of diversity and relevancy could slow them down.

In the first full academic year of the Black Campus Movement, 1965-1966, Black students introduced small elements of diversity into the White academy. Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point, offered a course on Black literature.<sup>110</sup> In the fall of 1965, instead of tossing bricks at cops, Bobby Seale tossed around thoughts about Blacks in history. He helped persuade his institution, Merritt College, to offer one of the nation's first Black history courses at a non-HBCU. The students were so versed in the literature the instructor allowed the students to help him teach the course. One of the instructor's pseudo-assistants was Huey P. Newton, who along with Seale would organize the Black Panther Party a year later.<sup>111</sup>

At HBCUs in the fall of 1965, Black students were transitioning from off-campus activism to on-campus activism by conducting campaigns in both spheres. At Tuskegee, Gwen Patton, a participant in the Montgomery campaign who was elected student body president a month later on a students-rights platform, led the struggle.<sup>112</sup> In addition to launching a series of voting campaigns and after spending the spring and summer protesting local merchants and churches, Black students demanded some responsibility in governing their own affairs at this HBCU in November 1965. They wanted to sit on university committees, an end to compulsory chapel, and better services in the cafeteria and their dormitories. In order to force the college to give in, they marched on the

president's home, boycotted the vesper service, walked out of a required chapel meeting, and organized a "turn-over-your-plate" protest in the cafeteria.<sup>113</sup>

Over at Southern University in Louisiana, Herman Carter led the Black students' transitional campaign of on-and-off campus protests in November 1965. Carter authored a pamphlet that discussed racial and economic inequality in the United States and argued that institutions like Southern perpetuated this inequality by severely limiting the thoughts and actions of its students. "In essence," Carter wrote, "Southern University perpetuates academic slavery, not freedom." He also noted the harsh conditions both area Black residents and Southern students experienced, ultimately challenging the campus community to organize to fight for change.<sup>114</sup> Despite the support of the HBCU's student government, the fighting began on November 15 with a rally to galvanize the students behind fourteen demands. The next day, a march of five hundred students turned into a spontaneous sit-in at a major intersection on campus. Students rallied again on November 17 followed by another march to the administration building. These demonstrations would only lead to a few miniscule changes, including the extension of library hours.<sup>115</sup> But more importantly the tide of activism was rising.

The first of the major Black Power organizations primarily responsible for the surge of consciousness in the community, which propelled the rise on campuses, was organized in the fall of 1965. Out of a study group in Los Angeles led by Maulana Karenga emerged the influential US Organization. "Anywhere we are, US is," was the organization's motto that pledged to serve the interest of us—the Black community—as opposed to them—the White community.<sup>116</sup> Through the prominence of the US organization, his central role in organizing several of the national Black Power

Conferences, and his vivaciousness as a public speaker, Karenga would eventually serve as one of the primary voices that inspired Black campus activists. “Disappointment and disillusion” with Blacks being killed, the failure civil rights, and horrible living conditions—positive aspects—“have been permitted to reign supreme as causative forces” of the Black Power Movement and in turn the Black Campus Movement. But in fact, through the work and influences of icons like Karenga, there were positive causative factors that increased the consciousness of Blacks, including students. “The energizing, soul-satisfying aspects of psychological and cultural liberation” guided by organizations like US Organization were central to the growth of the Black Power Movement, and all of its social movements, like the Black Campus Movement.<sup>117</sup>

Robert Lewis was in high school that fall when he was injured in a car accident. While he was at the hospital in San Diego, his aunt brought him a book, *The Quotable Karenga*. This book, which inspired thousands of future Black campus activists, particularly on the West coast, “was talking about black,” he remembered. “It was talking about Black people, concepts, ideas—like I had never heard it being talked about before. I didn’t really understand what Karenga was talking about, but it left an impression on me.” It left such impression that he became a member of Karenga’s US Organization, later started his own Black nationalist group, and eventually received one of the nation’s stiffest sentences for his Black campus activism at San Fernando Valley State in 1968.<sup>118</sup> That fall of 1965, another text would be published that would be foundational to the development of the Black consciousness of students—*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.

Before the Civil War, one could count on their two hands the number of colleges Blacks could safely attend in America. During the Civil War, the Morrill Land-Grant Act was passed, giving federal land to states to establish land-grant colleges that focused on agricultural and mechanical arts. Several public colleges were immediately set up, but practically all of them excluded Blacks except a few established for Black students, like Alcorn A&M in Mississippi. So Blacks built their own colleges in the South with the help of Black and White church organizations, the American Missionary Association (AMA), and the Freedmen's Bureau. Most of the public colleges for Blacks were not founded by state legislatures until the 1870s, and they continued to be established across the South into the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>119</sup>

In 1910, the number of Blacks who had graduated from White colleges was still less than seven hundred. After WWI, there was a massive increase in Black graduates. In 1914, there were 180 and 57 bachelor's degrees conferred by historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and traditionally White institutions (TWIs), respectively, to Blacks. In 1936, 2,130 Black students received degrees from HBCUs and 281 from TWIs. The immense upsurge principally occurred from 1926 to 1936. During that ten-year period, more Black students graduated from college in America than in the previous three hundred plus years of American history.<sup>120</sup> Primarily due to the pressure put on the academy through NAACP lawsuits, after 1940, no Northern TWI officially prohibited Blacks, but they put severe restrictions on the number they admitted. The border state universities did the same when they stopped excluding Blacks in the 1950s, only allowing in a few.<sup>121</sup> The Southern colleges followed the same pattern of token integration when they were forced to desegregate in the early 1960s.

Most of the Black students in both the Black and White colleges were primarily focused on assimilating or accommodating to White society, and generally did not challenge the oppression of Blacks. At the beginning of the century, W.E.B. Du Bois had hoped these college educated Blacks, whom he called the talented tenth, would save the race from its supposed degradation. However, by 1951, he realized that most college educated Blacks were only interested in saving themselves. They were “American in their acceptance of exploitation as defensible, and in their imitation of American ‘conspicuous expenditure,’” Du Bois found.<sup>122</sup> American higher education, even at HBCUs before the Black Campus Movement, was totally “geared toward making” Blacks into “middle-class black Sambos,” as Charles Hamilton explained. It said to Blacks “that in no uncertain terms that in order to succeed I would have to oriented myself to a Western Anglo-Saxon culture.”<sup>123</sup> And until the 1960s most Black students did not think they even had a choice in the reorientation. “The implication was plain that we were being let in to the university on the condition that we become white men with dark skins,” recalled one pre-1960s Black student.<sup>124</sup>

At historically White colleges, Black students were forced to swim somehow in a sea of Whiteness, as one of the few token elements of Blackness on campus. The professors were white. The administrators were white. The coursework covered Whites. The library books were on White people. Even in many places, the buildings were white. At HBCUs, even though practically all of the students were Black, they still sought to create a lily White bourgeois environment.<sup>125</sup> As a whole, at “Negro” and White colleges, the academy was wholly and totally geared to White students, White ideas, White culture, and the advancement of the White community. The academy was wholly

and totally Eurocentric. In 1965, Black students began a concerted effort to question the absence and perversion of Black elements and inquire about the mechanisms sustaining the Eurocentric academy. Yet, questioning and identifying problems without receiving answers in the forms of solutions leads to confusion and restlessness. They would receive that answer in 1966. They would receive a new program they could apply to their campuses. It came to them in two words: “Black Power.”

SNCC led the effort of conceiving of, explaining, and popularizing the concept of Black Power during the long year of 1966 when masses of Negro students became Black.<sup>126</sup> In January of this pivotal year, a White elderly service station attendant shot and killed Tuskegee freshman Sammy Younge, Jr.<sup>127</sup> Younge was one of the most active and well-liked members of SNCC through his marathon of activism in 1965.<sup>128</sup> Soon after Younge was killed, SNCC came out against the war in Vietnam, releasing a widely circulated statement that said, among other things, that “the murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama, is no different than the murder of Vietnamese peasants, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought, and are seeking, to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case the United States government bears a part of the responsibility for these deaths.”<sup>129</sup> SNCC now defined the problem differently and posed different solutions. SNCC leaders were saying that institutional racism was pervasive. Whites were systematically oppressing, exploiting, and degrading Blacks through their control of practically all of the institutions and areas of society. Black students, in the spring of 1966, saw SNCC’s new writing on the wall explaining this new line of thought. Observed one college professor, “As a result of the efforts of SNCC, the Black student movement advanced to another level of political awareness, sophistication, and

relevance. The format that SNCC laid out for the organization and functioning of Black political groups was to become the blueprint for the Black student unions, which, in 1966, were already beginning to appear on the nation's college campuses.”<sup>130</sup>

The first campus a Black Student Union appeared was San Francisco State College, a commuter college in California's Bay Area. Jimmy Garrett, a short, skinny and extremely bright 20-year-old from Dallas and Los Angeles, enrolled at SF State in the spring of 1966. Upon his arrival, he quickly took notice of the two-year-old Negro Students Association, which united Black students through social activities and provided them with a platform to confer over ideas about Blacks. There were other Black student groups like this around the nation founded before 1966. Afro, organized in 1963 at Harvard, had for several years served as a social group where Black students could discuss pressing ideas concerning Black people.<sup>131</sup> In 1964, Black students at Columbia and Barnard Colleges organized the Student Afro-American Society.<sup>132</sup>

Garrett wanted to remake the Negro Students Association into a social-action group like CORE that would combat the racist campus. But first it needed a name change. The term “Negro” simply would not cut it. In 1966, “Black” had killed the word “Negro” and turned it into a derogatory term among conscious activists.<sup>133</sup> They needed a term that connoted a bringing together of people. SF State student Tricia Navara came up with the new title: BLACK—STUDENT—UNION. And it fit. It stuck. “There was a national consciousness that was developing and consolidating and the use of that consciousness distilled into the notion of black or blackness or the validity of blackness,” Garrett explained. “And the idea was to politicize this growing consciousness into a formation of a union and the union was because of the connection we thought of the

union movement. That it is not simply an alliance or an association, but a union. It is a coming together of a broad base of people. So black and student and union all had meaning that were connected. Blackness was the new consciousness or the consolidation of a consciousness that came from Malcolm X and from Martin Luther King in his latter days as personifications. SNCC people had moved from defining themselves as Negroes to Black. All of these things were coming into being at that time.”<sup>134</sup> Garrett garnered enough support for the shift in the organization’s direction, and at a meeting in March 1966, three-quarters of those present voted to change the name of the organization to Black Student Union, marking the establishment of the first known BSU in American history. Marianna Waddy, a strongly built and tall woman who regularly wore African garb, was installed as the president. “This college had done little for black students except try to white-wash them,” said Waddy after assuming the presidency. “We will now strive to incorporate the eminent and profound concept of blackness into a new and positive image of black students on this campus.”<sup>135</sup> After wandering for a year, the Black Campus Movement now had a home in the Black Student Union.

Historically, colleges and universities had organizations that were primarily or exclusively Black, like the restricted fraternities or sororities and even the open Negro Students Associations that sought to unite all the Black students. These organizations, however, were primarily social organizations. In addition, there were Black political organizations, usually student chapters of major civil rights organizations like NAACP or CORE, and they primarily focused on off-campus injustices and problems. In contrast, the Black Student Union (BSU) combined the bents of all the previous types of organizations as a political, social, and cultural organization. Instead of focusing on on-



campus issues, it actively sought to reform the campus. Instead of promoting Euro-American culture, it supported Black culture. Black Student Union was the most popular name of these new organizations, but these BSUs emerged with many names—Black Student Alliance (Vanderbilt), Afro-American Society (Dartmouth), Neo-Black Society (UNC at Greensboro), and Pan-African Students Coalition (St. John's University)

Black student communities were organizing and the consciousness of students was rising on other campuses around the country in the spring of 1966, particularly in New York. At Cornell University, Black students founded the Afro-American Society “to initiate and support programs which are devoted to the eradication of the social, economic, and psychological conditions which blight black people.”<sup>136</sup> Like at other colleges, the BSU's establishment shocked a host of Cornell faculty.<sup>137</sup> Black campus activists were moving, and there was no time to slow down for any faculty. Hilton Clark and his Student Afro-American Society at Columbia seemed to have taken on a new political posture two years after it was established. While at SF State politicizing sessions occurred in students' houses, at Columbia the BSU increased the consciousness of students through a magazine, *The Black Student*, founded that spring. American universities, the editors wrote, do not prepare Black students to cope with their problems “as well as the schools seemingly prepare white students to cope with theirs.”<sup>138</sup> In Harlem, New York, Black students were demonstrating a new consciousness at City College where in April of 1966, the Onyx Society emerged, a year after the arrival of 110 Black students who came through an aggressive recruiting campaign.<sup>139</sup>

While the Onyx Society continued to build, the first of several campaigns during the Black Campus Movement to oust a Black college president reached its zenith. At the

entrance of Alcorn A&M College in Southwest Mississippi, about one thousand Black students and community members grimly faced down a contingent of one hundred state troopers. “You have two minutes to clear Mississippi Route 352,” shouted a trooper. Defiant, students began their own countdown. Meanwhile, NAACP state field director Charles Evers, who led the protests for the ouster of Alcorn President John D. Boyd, tried to get the crowd to clear the street. The multitude slowly moved off the road, even clearing it for a moment before some students decided to move back on. Furious, the patrolmen converged on the bold students to disperse them. One trooper hit a student with his nightstick. A student struck a trooper back in the face with a bottle. With that, the battle was on. Black students threw a hail of bottles at the patrolmen as they converged on them. The troopers threw throngs of tear gas in retaliation, and clubbed Blacks with nightsticks and rifle butts, and chased others at full speed. “Brutality! Brutality! Brutality!” a woman shouted.<sup>140</sup>

Early in the spring of 1966, the Alcorn president suspended eight students for their civil rights activism. Soon after on March 4, about two hundred Alcorn students marched to the campus to present a list of grievances to the administration. Exactly a month later in April, students demonstrated again, this time clashing with state troopers who used tear gas to drive brick-throwing students out of a dorm, setting the stage for the fight between state troopers and Blacks at the campus entrance the next day.<sup>141</sup> “J.D. Boyd has got to go,” said Evers, an Alcorn alum, before the melee. “He’s only concerned with pleasing the white folks.” Boyd’s restrictions against protesting infuriated the students, along with the college’s pitiable food, infirmary, grading system, and teachers.<sup>142</sup> *The Chicago Defender* publicly approved of the Alcorn demonstrations.<sup>143</sup>

So did NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins, who would soon be one of the Black Campus Movement's loudest critics, and Whitney Young, head of the Urban League. The "goldfish eaters of past generations and the 'silent generation' of the 1950s have given way to a new kind of youth—deeply concerned with the great moral questions of the day and deeply committed to right past wrongs," Young wrote.<sup>144</sup>

Fear had immobilized some from joining the movement for social justice building in 1966. So to mobilize the timid, one of those determined and devoted youth decided to plan a solo "March Against Fear" through Mississippi. With only a pith hat, sunglasses, and an ivory-tipped walking cane as a protection, on June 5, 1966, James Meredith, who earlier in the decade became the first Black student at the University of Mississippi, set out from Memphis on the 220-mile trek with only twelve miles to go before he had to travel through the treacherous mountain range of Mississippi racism.<sup>145</sup> Meredith only walked twenty-six miles. On the second day of his march, an unemployed Memphis contractor shot him, hitting his neck, back, and both legs with bullets.<sup>146</sup> Upon hearing the news, Black leaders rushed to Meredith's hospital room, and quickly asked permission to continue the march. With Meredith's support granted, Martin Luther King, Jr., Floyd McKissick of CORE, and Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Toure) and Cleveland Sellers of SNCC came together to plan the continuance of the Meredith March Against Fear. Through SNCC's pushing, activists used the march to politicize, organize, and register Mississippi Blacks in each town they passed through. Black students, like the rest of Black America, followed each day of the march like they were watching their favorite sit com. This small but budding group had been searching for

rhetoric and some outside guidance to help hasten their movement of change at their colleges. They would receive that rhetoric and guidance in two words from this march.

During the march, on Thursday, June 16, officers arrested Carmichael and two other activists for trespassing on the property of a local school in Greenwood, Mississippi, after local officials withdrew their consent to use the facility as an overnight shelter for marchers. Shortly after being released from jail, an incensed Carmichael climbed a tractor-trailer for a platform to face a fired up crowd. The crowd greeted him with a massive roar. Carmichael raised his arm and clenched his fist. He began his legendary speech slowly discussing his past work in the town and his connection to its residents. “This is the twenty-seventh times that I’ve been arrested,” he shouted. “I ain’t going to jail no more.” Another roar came out of the crowd. “The only way we gonna stop them white men from whoopin’ us is to take over. What we gonna start saying now is Black Power! The white folks in the state of Mississippi ain’t nothing but a bunch of racists.” Jumping to the platform to join him, Ricks and Carmichael shouted, “What do you want?” A passionate crowd responded, “BLACK POWER! What do you want? BLACK POWER! What do you want? BLACK POWER!”<sup>147</sup> The civil rights movement had died on the sands of Atlantic City. The Black Power Movement, born out of the womb of Watts, just a year later could walk with two mobile legs, or rather two mobile words—BLACK POWER!

Blown by the fans of the media, the slogan spread quickly through Black America like a wildfire, including among present and future Black campus activists. Americans not only had to hear the explosive new rhetoric that summer, they saw it manifested in the defiant actions of Blacks in cities. Blacks took to the streets and destroyed everything

that seemed like a cause of their deplorable living conditions in twenty cities, including in Cleveland, Chicago, Oakland, and San Francisco.<sup>148</sup> Several of the participants in these rebellions were Black youth who would bring their spirit activism onto college campuses during the rest of the decade. And some even entered the 220 government-financed Upward Bound programs that summer to develop their academic skills and even their Black consciousness. Some of the books they read included Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, E. Franklin Frazier's *Black Bourgeoisie*, Elijah Muhammad's *Message to the Blackman in America*, Dick Gregory's *What's Happening?*, and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.<sup>149</sup>

While an avalanche of criticism descended on the concept of Black Power, the shrewd White establishment began to showcase its counterrevolutionary response to the mounting Black rebellion. It reasoned it could not stop the uprising, so it had to join it and steer it off course. One of the organizations charged with that mission was the Ford Foundation, whose president, McGeorge Bundy, addressed the National Urban League at its annual banquet in Philadelphia on August 2, 1966. "We believe that full equality for all American Negroes is now the most urgent domestic concern of this country," Bundy said. "We believe that the Ford Foundation must play its full part in this field because it is dedicated by its charter to human welfare." Bundy's pedigree contained loads of experience suppressing revolutionary movements in Latin America, Africa, and Asia in the early 1960s. As the U.S. National Security Adviser to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Johnson, Bundy served as one of the planners of the Bay of Pigs Invasion of Cuba and the chief architect of the escalation of the War in Vietnam. In his new role, suppressing domestic revolts, he also told the urban leaguers that "the quality of our cities

is inescapably the business of all of us,” and if Blacks burn the cities “the White man’s companies will have to take the losses.” Thus, his foundation pledged “massive help” to the cities. Bundy kept his promise. His foundation ultimately became one of the chief financiers of CORE, SCLC, the National Urban League, the NAACP, and many local Black power initiatives. “Working directly or indirectly through these organizations, as well as other national and local groups, the Foundation hopes to channel and control the black liberation movement and forestall future urban revolts,” one knowledgeable intellectual realized at the time.<sup>150</sup> It set out to depress the Black Power Movement, which in turn would depress the Black Campus Movement whose activism stood always in direct proportion to the activism in the community. The foundation would soon even try to control the discipline of Black Studies.

But that would be in a few years. The campus movement still had to be developed, and after Carmichael left Mississippi, develop it he did. In the fall, Carmichael brought his message directly to Black campus activists. He went back to his alma mater, Howard University, to speak to its law student body, charging that the goals of the integration movement “are quite simply middle class goals, articulated by a tiny group of Negroes who had middle class aspirations,” and instead called for the building of the “racial and cultural personality of the Negro community.”<sup>151</sup> That month, Carmichael skipped across the country to the Bay Area, meeting up with his old buddy from SNCC, Jimmy Garrett, who was now the president of SF State’s BSU. Carmichael spoke at the University of California, Berkeley’s Black Power conference to 10,000 students. “It seems to me that the institutions that function in this country are clearly

racist, and that they're built upon racism," Carmichael explained, echoing the same sentiments two months later at Hunter College in a debate with Bayard Rustin.<sup>152</sup>

Carmichael became the second-coming of Malcolm X to most of these Black campus activists who watched him speak in person, on television, at their schools and/or in community rallies and radio shows, or read his words in magazines and newspapers that summer and fall of 1966. Reborn out of the womb of the Meredith March Against Fear, the 25-year-old Carmichael quickly grew that fall into the "living personification" of the Black Campus Movement. He manifested "its spirit, its vigor, its courage, its idealism, its determination—and its shortcomings."<sup>153</sup> Black campus activists easily understood and identified with Carmichael's Black power concepts "almost instinctively,"<sup>154</sup> particularly his notion of institutional racism. After realizing what the term meant, the lack of diversity on their campuses soon was obvious. As Robert Johnson, the leader of a Black student group at the University of Indiana, said that semester, "Urban rebellion, the dismal failure of integration as a social, political and economic process, and the inability of the government at all levels to reconcile its rhetoric with its actions have all served to intensify the spirit of self-determination that pervades the entire black community, of which black students are a part."<sup>155</sup>

Since the Black Campus Movement originated in the spring of 1965, student protesters had one critical eye on campus problems and the other eye focused on community issues. Now, by the fall of 1966, that spirit of self-determination had finally turned both critical eyes onto their own college campuses. "The schools no longer were merely bases of operations and recruitment, as they had been earlier," explained one Black student leader. "Now they had become the main battlegrounds in the struggle."<sup>156</sup>

The Black students started practicing nationalism in their immediate surroundings and in their activities, fashioning the Black Campus Movement, just as others groups of Blacks were doing the same. Blacks in the military organized themselves into Black groups, asserted their Blackness, and made demands to their officers—fashioning the Black Military Movement. Black artists made their art relevant to the struggle of their communities—molding the Black Arts Movement. Black prisoners shaped the Black Prison Movement through their growing solidarity and protests for their rights. Black cultural innovators and retainers like Karenga were busy in the Black Cultural Movement trying to rebuild Black culture in America. Black nationalism sprouted in all phases of society in the fall of 1966, and colleges and universities were certainly one of those experiencing growth with Howard and SF State as the pacesetters for HBCUs and historically White colleges, respectively.

One of the most dazzling manifestations of Black nationalism was the natural hair style. Howard students demonstrated they wanted this conspicuous Black power representation to don their most hailed Black female student when they elected Robin Gregory homecoming queen in November 1966, the first with a natural coiffure in Howard's one hundred year history.<sup>157</sup> While Howard students accelerated the Black Campus Movement at HBCUs through challenging prevailing White standards of beauty, on the other side of the nation SF State students challenged White standards of academic inquiry that had left out the Black woman and man, accelerating the movement at TWIs. Building off the few courses its members taught in San Francisco State's nationally renowned Experimental College in the spring of 1966, the BSU managed to gain control of one of the seven autonomous areas of the Experimental College in the summer of



1966. By the fall, the BSU had established the “Black Arts and Culture” series coordinated by former BSU-president Marianna Waddy. It attracted more than two hundred students to eight non-credit seminars taught by the BSU or community members including “Black Psychology,” “The Miseducation of the Negro,” “Black Writers from Rebellion to Revolution,” and “The History and Social Significance of Black Power.”<sup>158</sup> The BSU had also staged a small coup in SF State’s student government, placing the dynamic Waddy as the head of the government’s finance committee. Through the efforts of Waddy, the BSU received a \$9,550 grant that fall to launch their initiatives in the community, one of which was a special admissions program that enrolled Black students and provided them with financial and educational assistance.<sup>159</sup> It would be one of the first of many initiatives created by Black students who entered academia in the initial government-induced wave (1964-1967) to spawn a new and more intense wave of Black enrollees in the last few years of the decade.

The SF State BSU served as the pioneer of the most ground-breaking demand of the Black Campus Movement—the discipline of African American Studies. In December 1966, members of the BSU attended a meeting of the academic senate’s instructional policy committee and made the first known suggestion in American history of a Black Studies department.<sup>160</sup> The idea of a Black Studies department studying the lives of African people from their perspective and for their benefit emerged logically out of the minds of BSU members brewed with ideas of self-determination, Black pride, and criticism of White institutions. Additionally, the concept of a Black Studies department surfaced as a result of the experiences of the SF State BSU in 1966. The BSU realized students should be receiving credit for taking courses in their Black Arts and Culture

Series since they were absent in the regular curriculum.<sup>161</sup> The idea at SF State would quickly turn into a movement for a new discipline—an intellectual endeavor that would reconstitute the academy.

There had been a series of efforts before 1966 to systematically study African people.<sup>162</sup> However, in the academy, these scholars did not have an intellectual home, and were forced to continually wander in the wilderness of American higher education. Beginning in the fall of 1966, Black campus activists inaugurated a spirited effort to carve out some intellectual space for the Black academic. BSUs were the powerbase for that effort, which continued to form that fall. Students at Tufts University and the University of Oregon created groups.<sup>163</sup> NYU students organized ACCESS (Afro-American Cultural and Educational Student Society) in December 1966 with four aims including “finding and expanding ways of making white middle-class NYU more meaningful to the black student.”<sup>164</sup>

The SF State BSU introduced Black Studies in the fall of 1966 on the heels of a growing interest of Black history gripping America. The reason for this mounting curiosity, according to the chairman of Morgan State College’s history department, was that “Blacks are no longer ashamed of their past.”<sup>165</sup> This lack of shame, among the students, fused with the development of a textual analytical eye for racist constructs in their college texts. In December 1966, twenty-five Black students at the University of Massachusetts, with petition in hand, confronted the English department chair and asked him to drop the requirement of having to read *Huckleberry Finn* in a sophomore English class.<sup>166</sup> Instead, students wanted to read books that increased their Black consciousness. At Wesleyan University in Connecticut that fall, Black students founded their first Black

student organization—the Reading Group. Organized by Carl Johnson, a recent transfer who immediately noticed the absence of Blackness in the curriculum, the group started meeting weekly for a two-hour discussion of a Black literary work. The Black consciousness of students that would later surface into activism at Wesleyan was nurtured in this group, which read books like Franz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and *Up From Slavery* by Booker T. Washington.<sup>167</sup> Other Black students were reading similar texts across the nation. Not surprisingly then, by the spring of 1967, James Baldwin and Richard Wright had become their literary saints, and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* had become required reading for anyone who claimed on campus to be Black.<sup>168</sup>

“The black student is being educated in this country as if he were being programmed in white supremacy and self-hatred,” Ernest Stephens started a spring 1967 article. Writing in a popular movement periodical, Stephens, a graduate student at Tuskegee, and the editor of its student newspaper, laid the first coherent and detailed ideological foundation for the Black Campus Movement at HBCUs. He asked, “How long will it be before black leaders and educators take hold of Negro colleges and transform them from ‘training schools for Negroes’ into universities designed to fit the real needs of black people in this nation?”<sup>169</sup> Black students had grown disillusioned with traditional Black leadership, and their own leaders like Carmichael were urging them to organize themselves and press for institutional changes. In the spring of 1967, Black campus activists heeded Stephens charge to transform their HBCUs into those “designed to fit the real needs of black people in this nation.” At the same time, SNCC started organizing Black students at HBCUs. Since it launched the rhetoric of Black

Power the previous summer, its White liberal funding sources had ran away, leaving the organization broke. That spring, SNCC reestablished contact with its original factory of activists—Black college campuses. SNCC established chapters with four objectives: raising funds for SNCC, gaining political power in local areas, carrying out programs that interested them and the parent body, and providing aid and comfort for SNCC. “Little did we suspect when we initiated the campus-chapters program that it would culminate in a series of bloody confrontations between students and cops,” said one SNCC leader.<sup>170</sup>

In the spring of 1967, despite its return to its base, SNCC was dying a slow death. But on its death bed, its members transferred organizing skills, and inspired Black students to act.<sup>171</sup> Howard campus activists led off the activism to change the Negro college, showing their vanguard status of the Black Campus Movement at HBCUs. In early 1967, a group of students at Howard organized the Black Power Committee—the first known BSU at a Black college. With the help of Nathan Hare, a sociologist at the university, the group issued a manifesto calling for the “overthrow of the Negro college” replaced by a “militant black university which will counteract the active white-washing black students now receive in ‘Negro’ and white institutions.”<sup>172</sup> The first major splash of this new group, made up of about fifty students, occurred in March 1967 when they disrupted the campus speech of General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service System.<sup>173</sup> In response, the administration, with the allegiance of the faculty senate and a polarized student body, disciplined four student protestors and confined demonstrations to specific areas at specific times, and prohibited protests they characterized as racist—an act directed at the Black Power Committee. The disciplining

of the students and these guidelines annoyed students, and this simmering annoyance would increase in intensity over the course of the semester, boiling over in May.<sup>174</sup>

Before that, however, in April 1967, Black students simmering annoyance with police harassment and brutality boiled over in Nashville, Tennessee. Students were already agitated when the Tennessee legislature tried to prevent Stokely Carmichael from speaking at Vanderbilt University. Upon hearing the police ejected a Black student at Fisk University from a White-owned restaurant near campus apparently because he was drunk, the agitation quickly turned into rage around 9 p.m. on April 8, 1967. Roving bands of students took to the streets, and another group took up shelter in a Fisk dormitory after bands of police arrived on campus. To protest the police's presence and in retaliation of the policemen firing riot guns into the air, these students hurled stones and fired at the police with pellet guns as they shouted "Black power" from their dorms.<sup>175</sup>

The rebellion continued until dawn on April 9, took a break, and resumed at dusk having spread to the other two HBCUs in the city, Tennessee A&I College and Meherry Medical College. The students littered the campuses with rocks, bottles, and bricks, not only complaining about the police harassment, but also the "white interference" with their education.<sup>176</sup> Again and again, students regrouped at Tennessee A&I before striking a new location near the campus and the police dispersing them. During this second night, students fired rifles at passing cars, stoned policemen, looted at least one White-owned store, and threw Molotov cocktails at several White-owned businesses, setting at least one on fire. More than fifteen people were injured and forty were arrested that night.<sup>177</sup> The rebellion continued for a third and fourth night on April 10 and 11 with student

snipers firing sporadically at policemen, and hundreds of students throwing rocks at police at Tennessee A&I until they were dispersed both nights by a shower of tear gas.<sup>178</sup> This revolt mirrored many of the urban rebellions that rocked American cities in the summers of the mid-1960s. And it provided the same function as the urban rebellions did for the larger Black Power Movement, serving notice to Black campus activists that the age of revolt, the age to change the Negro college into a Black university, was upon them.

While students hurled rocks in Nashville, Black campus activists hurled dishes and food in the cafeteria at Lincoln University of Missouri to protest poor food and other grievances, students at Tougaloo College in Mississippi hurled verbal assaults on the administration as they walked out a racist freshman social science freshmen seminar and burned the classes' books, and at South Carolina State College campus activists hurled around thoughts about how to get their president removed.<sup>179</sup> When Blacks students at SC State, led by the newly organized Black Awareness Coordinating Committee, heard that SC State president Benner C. Turner, who they viewed as autocratic, had decided to not renew the contracts of two popular instructors the students protested. Some protesters were suspended, resulting in ninety percent of the infuriated student body boycotting classes. It was the beginning of two months of protests to eject Turner from the presidency. Their efforts succeeded when he handed in his retirement letter in May 1967, becoming the first of many presidential casualties during the Black Campus Movement. Turner was succeeded by a more open president who created a faculty senate, and revised policies on appointments, tenure, promotion, and dismissal.<sup>180</sup>

In late April and early May 1967, students also protested the removal of popular professors at two other HBCUs. At Southern University in late April, more than three thousand students rallied in remonstrance of the three instructors who were not rehired. The next day students were setting up a barricade to exclude faculty from the campus when seven students were hit with fragments of rifle blasts from the gun of a campus night watchmen.<sup>181</sup> Up in South Carolina at Allen University in early May, the trustees forced the registration of a popular dean when they did not allow him to fire an incompetent biology professor. For the next three days, activists shut the college down, forming a human barricade around the campus and boycotting classes. “Don’t let your mind be poisoned by inferior education,” one of their flags read during their protests.<sup>182</sup>

While protestors disrupted Black colleges across the South, Black campus activists at Howard University were holding faculty forums and student rallies, and interrupting disciplinary hearings for four students who were being railroaded for the March demonstration. The Black Power Committee, aided by a series of repressive administrative measures, had politicized the vast majority of the campus. On May 10, the committee, supported by the student government, called a massive strike of classes in which roughly four thousand Black students pledged their admittance to the Black Campus Movement in one of the largest Black student boycotts in American history.<sup>183</sup> Howard student and faculty supporters struck because they felt that freedoms in terms of speech and academic inquiry were lacking on campus. “The substantive issue, however, was the peculiar university structure which requires that administrators play Uncle Tom to white political powers outside the university, but allows them to play Emperor Jones

on campus,” explained a Howard professor.<sup>184</sup> Daily protests continued after the one-day boycott, and only the end of the semester ended the demonstrations.

On May 10, 1967, as Howard campus activists reveled in their successful boycott earlier in the day, Black students that night showed the student solidarity that characterized the Black Campus Movement at Jackson State College in Mississippi. Police stopped and later chased a male student for an alleged traffic violation before he escaped into a dormitory. Angry students pelted the squad car with rocks to defend the incoming student. The next day, May 11, during a peaceful protest against the police action the previous day, police fired into the crowd, killing Benjamin Brown, a 22-year-old delivery man and well know community activist, and wounding at least three others.<sup>185</sup> The police shooting clicked a switch of wrath into the masses of students, who quickly roamed the Lynch Street area of campus, a popular thruway from White neighborhoods to downtown Jackson, setting small fires, braking windows, looting stores, and throwing rocks and concrete at passing cars.<sup>186</sup> The police hurriedly came on the campus and sealed off the riot-torn area which at one point had more than fifteen hundred students demonstrating. One hundred protestors rushed a Jackson police barricade near Lynch Street throwing rocks and bottles, as the rebellion continued the next night. One officer received a serious gash after being hit by a bottle, and the police retreated. After the police received reinforcements, the student attacked the barricade again. Shots rang out as students retreated this time. “Don’t shoot! Don’t shoot! They’re just kids!” shouted one woman. The students issued a series of demands to improve conditions for Blacks in Jackson. The mayor pledged to work with the students, but the



pace of improvements was slow. Like the rebellion in Nashville, the actions of Jackson State students demonstrated the age of apolitical students had ended.<sup>187</sup>

The rising Black student militancy manifested over in Houston, Texas, as well during that infamous spring of 1967. In March, about three hundred students and off-campus organizers initiated a boycott of Texas Southern University, blocked campus buildings, and formed a human blockade around the campus. Students protested the termination of Mack Jones, the faculty adviser to the “Friends of SNCC” group, and the denying of university facilities to that group. The Black students demanded “Black power,” said a leader at the opening rally. “We are for the Negro controlling every county seat, every city office, every governmental office where the Negro outnumbers the Caucasian.”<sup>188</sup> Two leaders were arrested after another demonstration at Texas Southern in early April. In reaction, about two hundred and fifty students moved into the administration building where they sat-in for an hour, and left the building and went back into the streets where they chanted for the return of their leaders.<sup>189</sup> In April, students boycotted classes again for several days when the administration announced that Stokely Carmichael could not speak at the college.<sup>190</sup> This surge of activism continued in May.

Still seething from the events in March and April, Texas Southern students rushed to protest the harsher sentences Blacks received at a local high school in a massive fight with White students. During a rally on May 18 to recruit more protestors for the high school protest, students tossed rocks at passing cars and shots were fired from a dormitory, wounding at least two officers. More than three hundred officers gathered about a block from the dormitory, while student leaders tried to stop rock-throwing and urge those with rifles in the dorm to turn them in. The students with guns refused, and

after a three-hour stalemate into the early morning of May 17, the police fired more than two thousand shots into the dormitory with rifles and carbines. After forty minutes of gunfire, which wounded at least one student, the police officers stormed the dormitory. One officer was shot and killed and two others were wounded during the swarm. Once the officers were inside the dorm, they ripped apart doors, walls and ceilings, and tore apart clothes, smashed television screens, and broke radios—all to find weapons. They did find one shotgun, one rifle, and one pistol after tearing the entire dorm apart.

The police ruffed up many of the students, arresting 488 of them. Some needed to be hospitalized.<sup>191</sup> Students were dragged naked and half naked out into the street. With guns pointed at their backs, they were compelled to lie face down on the cold wet ground.<sup>192</sup> In the morning, there was a great deal of resentment in the student body. “But what can you expect?” one student told reporters. “We’re nothing just niggers. To them we’re just apes.” Another said, “I’m sorry there wasn’t but one of them killed.”<sup>193</sup> In June, five students—Trazawell Franklin Jr., 20, Floyd Nichols, 25, Charles Freeman, 18, Douglas Wayne Waller, 21, and John Parker, 20—were charged with first-degree murder for the slaying of the policeman and assault to murder. The NAACP pledged to defend these five students, all of whom were members of the “Friends of SNCC”—the first of many cases of Black campus activists the civil rights organization would undertake.<sup>194</sup> The students were charged, despite the fact that the murder weapon had not been found. But later all of the charges against the TSU Five were dropped on those grounds.<sup>195</sup> The critics unleashed an array of assaults on the demonstrations at Black colleges that spring of 1967. In May, the American Civil Liberties Union condemned the campus activists for encroaching on the civil liberties and academic freedom of non-participants.<sup>196</sup>

Several Black newspapers joined in on the critical refrain, like the *New Pittsburgh Courier*, which editorialized in June 1967, “Whatever the reasons for the demonstrations in the spring of 1967, one point is clear—no amount of demonstration can take the place of good sound academic performance.”<sup>197</sup>

### **CHAPTER 3**

#### **THE BUILDING OF THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT**

##### **(SPRING 1967 – APRIL 3, 1968)**

The spring of 1967 was not first eruption of activism at HBCUs. Blacks returned from the First World War with a fierce determination to “marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land.”<sup>198</sup> The rebellion of Black college students in the 1920s was one of the significant aspects of the New Negro Movement.<sup>199</sup> With populations at Black colleges booming and W.E.B. Du Bois urging them on, Black college students, faculty, and alumni rejected the condescending beliefs that White presidents and philanthropic organizations should control HBCUs. At Fisk University in February 1925, campus activists staged a walkout protesting conditions on campus.<sup>200</sup> In May 1925, students struck at Howard in protest of compulsory ROTC.<sup>201</sup> Students at Hampton Institute in October 1927 boycotted classes to pressure the administration to improved education and end campus paternalism.<sup>202</sup> Students also boycotted that decade at North Carolina’s Shaw University, Florida A&M University, and Missouri’s Lincoln University.<sup>203</sup>

In a larger sense, student activists have been disrupting American campuses for centuries. Students protested against the British Crown in the 1760s, slavery in the 1830s, the draft in the 1860s, the First World War in the 1910s, university polices in the 1920s, the depression in the 1930s, the Second World War in the 1940s, and communists in the 1950s.<sup>204</sup> Students, led by Theodore Weld, a White abolitionist, called for the admission of Black students during the nation’s first college sit-in at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1834. The administration gave in to this demand, as Oberlin became one of the

few Northern colleges to admit Black students during the next 100 years.<sup>205</sup> The first major campus demonstration in America in the 1960s erupted at the University of California, Berkeley. Fresh off of their experiences during the SNCC-led Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964, White students wanted to organize and socially combat society when they returned to their Berkeley campus that fall. But the administration restricted political activity and off-campus social action. The Free Speech Movement ensued including a massive student sit-in on December 2, 1964. Eight hundred students were arrested, triggering a massive strike that paralyzed the campus.<sup>206</sup> Black students carefully studied the widely publicized Free Speech Movement. “It provided watchful black militants with an excellent practical education in the tactics of disruption,” noted one observer. “They discovered the awesome secret of students, that the university was pathetically vulnerable to the pressures that could be brought to bear upon it by a relatively small cadre of well organized, deeply dedicated student revolutionaries.”<sup>207</sup> Relatively small and well organized cadres of students were able to scold HBCUs across the south in demonstrations that spring of 1967. The conditions were ripe for this rise of activism with outside organizing help from SNCC, and the contradictions between White control of Black education lucidly evident. These conditions were not nearly as apparent at TWIs. They would be soon. In the meantime, BSUs continued to be founded and they pressed for changes through traditionally channels.

The SF State BSU had established and was controlling the first Black Studies program in American history by the spring of 1967. The BSU had taken the courses from its popular “Black Arts and Culture Series” out of the Experimental College and convinced various disciplines to sponsor them for credit. But this was not enough for the

BSU. They wanted complete control over their courses, which were legitimized, and organized as a distinct area of study in one department the college would fund and students could receive a degree from. With these thoughts in mind, Jimmy Garrett began to develop a structure and justification for the new department, and on March 1, 1967, he officially presented “A Proposal to Initiate an Institute of Black Studies at San Francisco State College” to the Instructional Policy Committee of the Academic Senate.<sup>208</sup> Garrett organized the nation’s first Black Studies proposal into three sections. In the first section, he discussed the need for Black Studies in order to truly have an integrated college. “There is no such thing as an integrated institution when the educational process is geared towards one group of students,” he wrote. He further queried about the lack of a “Black perspective” in the curriculum and other “sins of omission,” concluding: “this college has an obligation to allow for room for alternatives to come about, and a separate college of black studies would be a beginning.”<sup>209</sup> In the second section, Garrett proposed the institute be led by a Board of Directors primarily selected by the BSU, organized around the model already being used by the BSU, and be established by the fall of 1967. In the final section, Garrett said the institute could use a new admissions system for Black students not based on White-oriented test scores.<sup>210</sup> For the rest of the spring and summer, SF State faculty played academic football with the proposal tossing it between committees while nitpicking on minor issues causing the mounting of frustrations among BSU members about traditional channels. It did not deter them however from developing their innovative Black Studies program. That summer, the BSU inveigled the San Francisco State College Foundation into giving them \$20,000 for their program. And the BSU received a verbal commitment from SF State President John Summerskill that he

would hire any qualified person the BSU selected to head the program. One person the BSU approached was Nathan Hare, who Howard had recently fired.<sup>211</sup>

Practically all of the other BSUs around the nation were at most advocating for a few courses on Black people. At Northeastern University in Boston, the Afro-American Association sent letters to college officials requesting Black history courses in May 1967.<sup>212</sup> Two new courses were added as a result of the BSU's efforts.<sup>213</sup> In May 1967, forty-four of Columbia University's seventy-one Black students met with a dean and demanded the addition of a course in race relations, and the hiring of a Black dean and Black faculty. It would be one of the first of many concerted demands at historically White colleges for more Black professors. It had been almost thirty years since Allison Davis, a sociologist and anthropologist, became the first known Black professor to serve at a Northern University when the Julius Rosenwald Fund subsidized his appointment to the University of Chicago in 1941. But Black professors in the academy were extremely scarce in 1967, a mere one percent of the academy.<sup>214</sup> Not surprisingly then, when the Columbia officials promised change at the meeting, the students walked away skeptical. As junior Reginald Tompkins stated after the meeting, "Like most so-called liberal colleges in the country, Columbia has been slow to recognize this is, in fact, a racist society."<sup>215</sup> The meeting was called in response to probably the first major act of defiance by a relatively large group of Black students at a historically White college during the Black Campus Movement. On May 19, about forty Black students stormed into the office of the college's humor magazine, confiscated about fifteen hundred copies of it, and burned them in a public demonstration. The students were incensed with a recently published article that satirized the formation of a Black fraternity it entitled "Doo

Be Doo Be Doo,” which, the magazine said, “is trying to provide Negro students with a home away from home, a sort of haven for the noble savages in this world of chrome and glass.”<sup>216</sup>

Most Black students at historically White colleges were not submitting their grievances in 1967 because they were busy organizing themselves into BSUs. Black students organized BSUs at Eastern Illinois University, Seton Hall University, University of Minnesota, John Hopkins University, Grinnell College, Michigan State University, University of North Carolina, Yale University, Boston University, Amherst College, and the University of Pennsylvania that year.<sup>217</sup> After a failed attempt in January, eight Black undergraduates and two graduate students came together again in mid-May and formed a group at Northwestern University.<sup>218</sup> Sometimes students replaced existing groups, like at Wesleyan where they formed the Afro-American Society due to the “feeling that the Reading Group was not enough.”<sup>219</sup> But in more cases the students started from scratch like the BSU that formed at California State University, Northridge.<sup>220</sup>

Black students were compelled to organize by hearing about other organizing efforts of students, and due to Black Power leaders insisting the students unite. In late 1966, Columbia’s Students Afro-American Society (SAS) organized an event where several representatives from schools in the region came to hear national leaders speak about Black empowerment. Several contingents were inspired to organize themselves including Rutgers University students who formed their own Students Afro-American Society.<sup>221</sup> Shortly after Floyd McKissick of CORE gave a talk at Michigan State University, students organized the Black Student Alliance in 1967. “We were a bit embarrassed that we did not have a group,” one of the organizers said.<sup>222</sup> The NAACP’s



Roy Wilkins began his chain of criticism of the Black Campus Movement upon hearing about the BSU organizing, calling it self-segregation. “Very often older people cannot perceive with the sharpness and depth of the youth, but the gyrations of today’s Negro youth are puzzling, indeed,” he wrote in May 1967.<sup>223</sup>

Not only were they forming groups, brushing off Wilkin’s critiques, but Black students organized the first of many conferences during the Black Campus Movement in the spring of 1967. SNCC and the Association of African and Afro-American Students at Harvard University sponsored the “New England Regional Conference for the Talented 10% of Black college students at White universities” in early March. Students attended workshops that urged them to intensify their activism and James Forman of SNCC addressed the conference with a talk called, “Black Power and the Talented 10%.”<sup>224</sup> On the other side of the country in Los Angeles, thirty-three high school and college students took part in the West Coast Black Youth Conference on Thanksgiving weekend in 1967, which resulted in at least one Black group, at the University of Washington, changing its name from Afro-American Society to the more militant Black Student Union.<sup>225</sup>

The winter and spring of 1967 became a crucial time for the Black Campus Movement. Black power confronted Black college campuses in the forms of mini-rebellions and protests. Black power laid the groundwork for the imminent challenge to historically White campuses through the introduction of the Black Studies idea, acts of disobedience, and the organizing of BSUs across the nation. But the movement still was moving at a slow pace. Since Black campus activists began their struggle to diversify the academy in the spring of 1965, the events in the community during each of the two successive summers—Watts Rebellion in 1965, and the Mississippi March and urban

rebellions in 1966—both proved decisive in intensifying the activism of Black students.<sup>226</sup> But Black students could shrug off the five rebellions in 1965 and the twenty urban uprisings in 1966 as societal anomalies. In 1967, it was extremely difficult for them to ignore the vast majority of their Black brothers and sisters who thought that something was fundamentally wrong with their living conditions. In that year, there were one hundred and sixty-four “civil disorders” that resulted in eighty-nine deaths and more than one billion dollars worth of property damage. Boston, Tampa, Dayton, Atlanta, Buffalo, and Cincinnati were engulfed in the flames of protest in June. The major protests occurred that summer in Toledo, Ohio, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Plainfield, New Jersey, and especially Newark and Detroit.<sup>227</sup> Each night during the Detroit rebellion students in a pre-college program at Northwestern, like students across the country, gathered before the television to watch the news and cheer the rioters. At the end of the program, these Northwestern incoming freshmen painted, “BLACK POWER,” “MALCOLM,” “RAP,” “DETROIT ’67,” “STOKELY IN ’68,” on a rock for student announcements.<sup>228</sup>

Black Power, the vision, became Black Power, the reality. Black campus activists had a renewed and incredible sense of urgency, clarity, and determination to reconstitute the academy going into the fall of 1967. Many of them had either directly or indirectly took part in the urban rebellions, bringing to the campus a “sense of militant defiance...a sense and a need for struggle.”<sup>229</sup> They continued organizing BSUs or flocking to existing BSUs in the fall of 1967. Bill Burwell and Jerome Walker approached Black students about forming a BSU at California’s San Fernando Valley State. By November 1967, they had recruited about two dozen Blacks and were granted a charter to form the

BSU. The infant BSU worked in the nearby Pacoima community with Black youth, holding political education classes discussing thinkers like Kwame Nkrumah, Malcolm X, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Frantz Fanon. It served to radicalize the BSU members as much as it did the Black community youth.<sup>230</sup> At the University of Illinois, students formed the Black Students Association (BSA) as a “forum for discussion, a political pressure group, and an agitating body,” adopting the motto: “We hope for nothing; we demand everything.” BSA representatives, in their first major initiative, visited eleven Black high schools in Chicago during winter break to recruit Black students.<sup>231</sup> Other BSUs had also been actively taking part in their colleges’ recruiting efforts, and their success could be seen in the critical masses that fall. At UC Berkeley, University of Texas, Harvard, and Wisconsin-Madison there were at least two hundred Black students, as a nation within a nation in the academy continued to grow. According to Charles Hamilton, these critical masses this semester were “inculcating responsibility and concern for black people.”<sup>232</sup> As the leader of the Texas BSU, who had burned a confederate flag on campus, said: “Every black man in this country is in some way feeling awareness of himself—who he is and what he is, trying to find himself.”<sup>233</sup> As Black students tried to find themselves with more passion, it became clear their colleges were not aiding in that effort—if anything they were steering them away from themselves. The campus therefore had to be changed. “Our goals,” noted the leader of the Onyx Society at City College in the fall of 1967, “are to provide for the cultural education and social well being of all Black people...We’re going to make the necessary changes” to the college curriculum since it had “no real relevance for Black students.”<sup>234</sup>

Even HBCUs saw a new Black consciousness taking root among its students.<sup>235</sup> “The Black student is demanding...a shaking, from-the-roots-up overhaul of their colleges, aimed at upgrading academic standards,” stated one report in the fall of 1967.<sup>236</sup> These attitudes guided a minority of Black students. But this minority was becoming more vocal, more active, more committed, and more determined to force diversity on the academy.<sup>237</sup> One of the leading voices advocating these demands this semester was Nathan Hare. In *Ebony* early in the semester, Hare urged college administrators to keep pace with and channel “this new student vigor.” Because if they “fail to meet this challenge,” then protests shall descend on their campuses, Hare forecasted.<sup>238</sup>

San Jose State University in California would be the first of many colleges that academic year to face the consequences of not heeding to Hare’s warning. Harry Edwards, a 24-year-old sociology professor, already gathered documentary evidence of discrimination in the athletic department at San Jose State, including the careless hurling of racial slurs by White players and coaches, cramped living quarters, and the steering of Black athletes away from the sciences and humanities. But when he presented this evidence to college officials that summer, they made it clear that the “necessities of Black students were inconsequential.”<sup>239</sup> Protest became the only option. Edwards, standing a striking six-foot, eight-inches with an even more imposing intellect and passion for Black people, organized a rally on September 18, 1967—the first day of the fall 1967 semester—to expose the injustices on the campus. “The housing situation is so bad that we have football players—athletes on this campus who give up their sweat and blood and broken bones and everything else for the glory of San Jose State—playing football out of damn motel,” shouted Edwards through a bullhorn surrounded by a crowd of more than

seven hundred at the rally. After attacking other forms of racism in athletics, and the total exclusion of Blacks from the college's fraternities and sororities on that Monday morning, Edwards presented the demands of the Black students: eliminate racism from student groups, end discrimination in student housing, and increase the number of Black students and faculty.<sup>240</sup> But his most passionate demand was to end the stifling discrimination of Black athletes, marking the beginning of the revolt of the Black student athlete. He gave the administration a Friday deadline to address the demands, or face violent reprisal and the disruption of an upcoming football game.<sup>241</sup>

Shortly after the rally on September 18, 1967, San Jose State Black students formed the United Black Students for Action (UBSA). Many of them shared their experiences of racism at three hearings the university's administration put on over the next few days as a result of the rally. San Jose State President Robert D. Clark issued a statement the day before the Friday deadline saying the college will place all of the Greek organizations on probation to rid them of discrimination, reform the racist practices in the athletic department, expand the enrollment of Black students, and hire the nation's first college ombudsman charged with ending campus racism. After deliberating for almost six hours that evening, the UBSA decided to accept Clark's proposals.<sup>242</sup>

Few Black student challenges to campuses succeeded this smoothly. While the San Jose State president initiated reforms, about a dozen Black students threatened to withdraw from Fulton-Montgomery Community College in upstate New York in five days unless the discrimination in public services ended. One of the first campus challenges at a community college, they were tired of facing discrimination in housing, and restaurants, barber shops, and automobile repair shops near the campus. "How can

we concentrate on dissecting a frog in the biology lab and dissect a racial problem too?” asked a student leader in early October 1967.<sup>243</sup> After school officials pledged to change the conditions, the students agreed to stay.<sup>244</sup>

Even though administrators made reforms at San Jose State and at Fulton-County, students at Grambling College in Louisiana still had not seen any fruits to their protests in the spring of 1967. Women were not allowed to wear pants. Dorms were locked at 10 p.m. Students had to eat breakfast at 6 a.m. The academic programs were poor, and the college, put too much emphasis on athletics. To continue the effort to change these tyrannical rules and the college’s lowly concern for academics, a group calling themselves “The Informers,” organized a widely supported boycott on October 25, 1967. The next morning, some twenty-five hundred students staged a sit-in on the campus’s main square, demanding the administrators meet with them. The administrators refused, so students blocked the administration building’s entrance, singing songs and shouting: “Hell No, We Won’t Go!”<sup>245</sup> In a few days, five hundred National Guardsmen descended on campus and twenty-nine students were dismissed—crippling the demonstrations and the boycott.<sup>246</sup> Ten students were expelled as well from Bluefield State College in West Virginia in early November for protesting against the college’s conversion from a historically Black college into an all-white institution. The NAACP swiftly issued a complaint and by mid-November the students had been reinstated.<sup>247</sup>

While the expelled Grambling students sought to get reinstated, Black students at University of Texas were wishing their university put as much emphasis on Blacks athletes as Grambling. They had managed to compel the college in the spring of 1967 to sign its first Black track star. But the token did not quell their protests. In the fall, the

Negro Association for Progress (NAP) picketed a football game with signs stating “orange and white lack Black.”<sup>248</sup> The NAP also in November 1967 successfully petitioned, after collecting twelve hundred names, for a Black history course. Several other BSUs around the nation, like the Afro-American Society at Columbia, quietly fought through traditional channels for courses on Black people, and more Black professors to teach them.<sup>249</sup> But the success of the Texas BSU was monumental, as its Black history course was one of the first at a historically White Southern college.<sup>250</sup>

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Black firsts, or Black collegiate achievements in general, at historically White Southern colleges were usually relegated to the only college in an ex-Confederate state that welcomed them—Berea College in Kentucky. But then Jim Crow flew in and removed Black students in 1904, and they did not return until 1950. By the fall of 1967, Black students still saw Jim Crow there flapping his wings, but the college administrators were denying his presence. “To expose the hypocrisy of the all white college administration and faculty and the 95 percent white student body,” about fifty Black students met on November 7, 1967. After assembling a list of demands over the next few weeks, they publicized those demands—a course in Black history, more visits by Black lecturers and artists, and more Black faculty and administrators (the college had zero)—in a homecoming weekend issue of the student newspaper on November 25.<sup>251</sup> The Berea administration responded saying it would take action on some of the demands, like the placement of Black faculty. The Black students had little faith though, and took a “wait and see” approach.<sup>252</sup>

In late November, officials at Central State University also took a “wait and see” approach—in their case hoping their shutting down of their historically Black college in

Ohio for thirteen days that month had dissolved the recent surge of activism. It did not.<sup>253</sup> On November 1, the campus BSU, Unity for Unity, led a boycott of classes and pickets around campus in support of the college's non-academic workers who were striking for pay increases and life insurance, and trapped President Harry E. Groves in his office for two hours that day.<sup>254</sup> This would be one of the first of many demonstrations to advance the livelihood of Black campus workers—one of the more successful, but unsung initiatives of the Black Campus Movement.<sup>255</sup> The students also protested for Black history courses with credit, and for books by Malcolm X added to the library.<sup>256</sup>

On November 2, 1967, Michael Warren, a Central State sociology student from Cleveland, spoke at a rally at nearby historically Black Wilberforce College to gain supporters for Unity's demonstrations. During the rally, the Wilberforce President Rembert Stokes appeared, and was greeted with chants of Uncle Tom. "If you students want to call me an Uncle Tom, then I'm an Uncle Tom," Stokes responded.<sup>257</sup> Flabbergasted, Warren retorted: "When the revolution comes, I will kill you."<sup>258</sup> Soon after, Stokes informed Central State President Groves, who promptly expelled Warren on November 9, walked him off campus and told him if he came back he would be arrested for trespassing. On November 13, Warren showed up on campus, a dean received word of his arrival, and quickly summoned the local sheriff to arrest him. When the sheriff arrived that afternoon, fifty students blockaded the dormitory containing Warren, causing him to request backup. As the police forces grew on the campus, Warren escaped and hundreds of students rallied and shouted "Black power" slogans while throwing rocks, bottles, bricks, and at least two firebombs at the officers. At 10 p.m., the sheriff gave the students ten minutes to disperse. Ten minutes later the students had not moved. Forty



state troopers advanced on the students dodging a shower of rocks and bottles. An hour long clash ensued.<sup>259</sup> When the last rock had been thrown, ninety-one campus activists were under arrest.<sup>260</sup> The next day, Central State President Groves closed the college “for the safety and welfare of the student body.”<sup>261</sup> That weekend, the Ohio governor and the college’s trustees called for the removal of the “black power element.”<sup>262</sup> The “black power element” had another removal in mind though. During the thirteen-day closure of the college, Central State President Groves received numerous threats on his life from anonymous sources, which may be why before the school reopened the president not only rescinded the expulsion of all the members of Unity for Unity, but submitted his letter of resignation, becoming the second of the presidential casualties during the Black Campus Movement.<sup>263</sup>

The beginning of December 1967 turned out to be the beginning of the end of another college presidency—SF State President John Summerskill.<sup>264</sup> On December 1, students organized a massive rally on the steps of the administration building welcoming President Summerskill, who announced he had rescinded the suspensions he imposed a week earlier on two White students who produced a short piece of erotic poetry in a campus magazine. But Summerskill made no provisions for the four Black students who were suspended for fighting in early November with the student newspaper’s staff over the newspaper’s racism.<sup>265</sup> Jimmy Garrett spoke and pointed out the discrepancy, and announced the BSU’s five demands, including the lifting of the suspensions, student control of student publications, and an end to “political harassment.” Garrett threatened that if they were not met by December 6, then five thousand Blacks from the community

would invade the college to “take care of business.”<sup>266</sup> “We’re going to act,” Garrett declared. “We might even move to close down the campus.”<sup>267</sup>

The SF State BSU’s patience had run out. Its Black Studies program was up and running in the fall of 1967 with 368 students enrolled in eleven courses. But it lacked adequate funding and legitimacy. Black students had to teach the courses themselves, and they were constantly bickering with departments over control of their courses.<sup>268</sup> BSU members were also aggravated knowing their friend Huey P. Newton was sitting in a jail cell charged with murdering a White Oakland police officer. Newton was the co-founder of the Black Panther Party, which received many of its early recruits from the SF State BSU. Newton had even spoken the day before his altercation with Oakland officers at SF State along with Harry Edwards of San Jose State on October 28.<sup>269</sup> A newly elected conservative student government slashed the budget of the BSU leading to further their frustration that fall.<sup>270</sup> As a result, a BSU member had to demand more money at a student legislature meeting that semester only to be told by a dean that the legislature needed time to appraise the request. Perceived as a stalling tactic, the BSU member strode over towards the dean, stood over him, jabbed his finger and hissed in a throaty rage: “When are you devils going to learn that there just ain’t no more time!”<sup>271</sup>

Time had run out by December 6. The SF State administration still had not met the BSU demands. “A Vietnam might happen on this campus,” declared Jimmy Garrett the night before the deadline date. It was not exactly a Vietnam, but violence did become the order of the day. About three hundred Black students from other Bay Area campuses and about another hundred youth from area communities attacked the campus on December 6 to join BSU members in “closing it down.” Black students scurried from

building to building dismissing classes outraging faculty. The community youth roamed the campus razing whatever they touched, flashing guns and knives. They swiped food and silverware from the cafeteria. They broke into the bookstore, smashed a window, and lit a Christmas tree on fire. They broke into another building and damaged it. They shoved reporters and broke a couple of their cameras. And they engaged in several fights with White students and whoever else got in their way.<sup>272</sup>

A chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the 1960s predominately White anti-war and student power organization, aided the BSU in this protest, as it would in the future. The White students marched on the administration building chanting “School is closed!” Finding the doors locked, they broke the glass door, and with television cameras rolling, about three hundred students poured into the building, leaving a larger crowd outside. They milled around in the building for about an hour. Eventually, word circulated that President Summerskill had closed the college for the day. SF State became the first of many historically White campuses that would be shut down by the Black Campus Movement. As George Murray, a BSU leader and future icon of the Black Panther Party, said before the demonstration, “We will not tolerate racism on this campus any more and we’ll move to destroy the institution before we will tolerate it.”<sup>273</sup> After the raiders, roamers, and protesters had departed the damaged campus in triumph, President Summerskill emerged from his office where he had spent the entire tumultuous afternoon with police. “What we have seen here today,” he told a slew of reporters in a shaking voice, “verges on civil insurrection.”<sup>274</sup>

Within twenty-four hours, “virtually every California politician of any import was howling for Summerskill’s job.”<sup>275</sup> Their major critique: where was the police during all

of this madness? Summerskill decided not to bring officers onto the campus, correctly thinking the revolt would die itself out.<sup>276</sup> For California Governor Ronald Reagan, this was unacceptable. He should have used “whatever action is necessary” to maintain law and order, Reagan declared. And as for the disrupters, “either they obey the rules or they get their education elsewhere.”<sup>277</sup> Due to overwhelming support from the SF State faculty, Summerskill was not fired. But with the forces of power aligning against him—be it the SF State BSU—arguably the most powerful student organization in the nation—and the state house, led by Reagan, a future U.S. president, it was only a matter of time. It was only a matter of time as well until the nation’s first Black Studies department would be established. After the December 6<sup>th</sup> demonstration, the faculty and administration suddenly listened to the BSU’s grievances. President Summerskill hired Nathan Hare in January 1968 to head the Black Studies program.<sup>278</sup>

Meanwhile, Black students were continuously inspired to organize and protest by famous Black power figures who visited college campuses in the fall of 1967 and spring of 1968. The comedian and social critic, Dick Gregory, who was running for president with the Freedom and Peace Party, visited Tufts University in November 1967. “We don’t need Civil Rights Bills,” Gregory told the students. “What we need are Civil Wrongs Bills. Laws should be given to the people who are violating them, not to the people who are being used.”<sup>279</sup> In January 1968, Adam Clayton Powell, who had been recently deposed from the House of Representatives, went on a speaking tour of several West Coast colleges. He first traveled to the site of the Watts rebellion three years earlier with Black campus activists. And in an impromptu speech there with two hundred spectators, many of whom were students, Powell proclaimed, “We’ve got to work

together, walk together, worship together, love together, fight together, and we'll win together!"<sup>280</sup> The next day, Powell spoke to a massive crowd of seven thousand students in the basketball gym at UCLA with the Black students grouped behind a gigantic poster that read: "U.C.L.A. Black Student Union Welcomes Brother Powell." In his speech, Powell announced that "black power is the saving grace of the United States. You must not scorn the black revolution, you must not scorn black power. Black power is basically a drive for immediacy."<sup>281</sup> Carmichael was still making his rounds to college campuses, charging up and re-charging Black campus activists. At historically Black Stillman College in Alabama, Carmichael told a chanting, screaming crowd, "The brothers and sisters who pick up the bottles and bricks are the heroes... We must develop an undying love for our black brothers to the extent that we are willing to die for our people first and then for you and me as individuals."<sup>282</sup> Carmichael continued to tour, even though he had stepped down as chair of SNCC in May 1967. He was succeeded by 23-year-old H. Rap Brown, a dynamic speaker who walked SNCC through its final year in the national spotlight.<sup>283</sup>

Brown did most of his consciousness raising at community rallies in the summer and early fall. "The brothers are now calling Detroit destroyed," Brown said in late August to a throng of two thousand Black folk in Detroit five weeks after its mammoth rebellion. "You did a good job here."<sup>284</sup> Budding Black campus activists were undoubtedly in that crowd as they would be a few days later when he spoke to an even larger crowd in Camden, N.J.<sup>285</sup> The campus activists would be in a smaller crowd as well in East St. Louis, Illinois, where Brown spoke a week later and declared to the one thousand people: "we're on the eve of a Black revolution."<sup>286</sup> A few days after this

speech, in September 1967, the courts restricted Brown's travel, not allowing him to fill many speaking appearances at universities he had lined up over his alleged involvement in fomenting a riot in Maryland that summer. According to Brown, the American power structure silenced him, not making the same "serious mistake" it had made when it "had let Carmichael travel around the country" and talk "about Black Power."<sup>287</sup> Brown did speak though at Columbia in November 1967 as a host of its Afro-American Society. To a standing room only audience, Brown strongly criticized American universities as "propaganda mechanisms for white nationalism and producing only job fillers." He called on Black students to apply their education to changing the world and advancing Black America.<sup>288</sup> At another rally in Harlem in 1967, this time in the community, Brown thrust himself into the opposition of Columbia's construction of a gym in the Black community, an opposition that would explode in April 1968 into one of the most famous acts of Black campus activism in history. Brown told the community residents, and possibly some Black students, that "if they build the first story, blow it up. If they sneak back at night and build three stories, burn it down. And if they get nine stories built, it's yours. Take it over, and maybe we'll let them in on the weekends."<sup>289</sup> Brown spoke at the rallies in Los Angeles and Oakland in late February 1968 organized by the Black Panther Party as part of its Free Huey campaign. "We built the country up," roared Brown to thousands of people in Los Angeles, including BSU members from area colleges. "We'll burn it down if it don't hurry up and come around."<sup>290</sup> Karenga also spoke at the Los Angeles rally and in January 1968 at Howard. Muhammad Ali, who had been recently stripped of his heavyweight title because he refused to be drafted, was also making the rounds during the crucial politicization period.<sup>291</sup>

Black students were inspired by the continuous calls from national figures to organize for their freedom. California State University, Dominguez Hills, Columbia College Chicago, Illinois Wesleyan University, Ohio State University, Binghamton University, University of Florida, University of Kentucky, University of Maryland, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Iowa State University, University of Oregon, St. John's University, and Swarthmore College are a few of the many colleges where BSUs were organized in 1968. Black students also organized a BSU at the University of Illinois at Chicago after a massive rally and building takeover in January 1968. During the takeover of the university's administration building, Black and White antiwar protesters fought. There had been a history of violence between the races on campus and it boiled over in the tense environment of the demonstration. Soon after, the Black students charged that their issues were being ignored by the university, so they formed the Black Students Organization for Community (BSOC). The following spring in 1969, the BSOC introduced the idea of Black Studies, but it took two years to be approved.<sup>292</sup>

An autonomous Black Studies department still had not been approved in the spring of 1968 at SF State, a year after Garrett first proposed it. But the Black Studies program with courses scattered across disciplines had grown. That spring, the Black Studies program had eighteen courses serving more than 400 students. Those courses included: "Historical Development of Afro-American Studies," "Miseducation of the Negro," "History of the Third World," "Modern African Thought and Literature," and "Ancient Black History." Hare also made the rounds to deans, department heads, and faculty and writing a proposal that would mollify many of their fears and provide a structure and rationale for the new discipline.<sup>293</sup>

On April 16, 1968, Hare submitted his “A Conceptual Proposal for a Department of Black Studies,” the first of many proposals for the new discipline written by scholars. Hare argued for the growing need for Black Studies in American higher education and most specifically at SF State. “American college education is in a state of crisis,” he wrote. [Black Studies] “represents the greatest and last hope for rectifying an old wrong and halting the decay now gnawing at American society...While San Francisco State College, spurred by its black students, has pioneered perhaps the first program of promise to solve the problem, there is detected about the country a growing irony: the probability that other institutions, for various reasons in the years ahead, will pass us by.” Other tactics to address the crisis like increasing drastically the number of Black students and faculty and creating a talented tenth were doomed to fail, Hare posited. “Talented-tenth students, for whatever reason, have escaped the programmed educational mal-adjustment of the black race, just as some trees survive the flames of a forest fire,” Hare wrote, echoing Du Bois. Hare addressed the major fears of the discipline. It was not a separatist endeavor, he argued. “The goal [of Black Studies] is the elevation of a people by means of one important escalator—education. Separatism and integrationism are possible approaches to that end; they lose their effectiveness when, swayed by dogmatic absolutism, they become ends in themselves,” he explained. “It will be an irony of recorded history that ‘integrationism’ was used in the second half of this century to hold the black race down just as segregation was so instigated in the first half.” Hare proposed that white students would not be excluded—a minority was fine—but courses on Blacks in the existing departments should be established for White students.



Teaching effectiveness and enthusiasm should be deemed more important than degrees and publications in recruiting faculty, and new admissions criteria specifically for Black students not based on standardized tests would need to be created, Hare added. This new discipline would be geared towards providing students with the skills to advance Black communities. They would service-learn in many of their courses, which will intensify their motivation and increase their “commitment to the struggle to build the black community.” The scattering of courses would be put into the newly established department by fall of 1968 and a major would be instituted the following fall, Hare proposed.<sup>294</sup> SF State faculty again played academic football with Hare’s proposal just as they did a year before with Garrett’s. They purposefully stalled the institutionalization of Black Studies because they were scared of its revolutionary sentiments.<sup>295</sup>

Meanwhile though, that spring, other BSUs had either heard about the development of Black Studies at SF State or had conceived of the need on their own campuses due to the glaring exclusion of the Black experience in their curricula. In March 1968, Black students started a campaign to initiate a Black Studies program at Cornell University. “The purpose of our black studies program was, number one, to give us that psychological freedom of self-definition, to define what we are now, what we have been as a people and as a nation in the future,” said one of Cornell’s student leaders.<sup>296</sup> BSUs advocated for a series of other reforms that spring. At Wesleyan, the Afro-American Society filed a petition for a Black student residence to serve as a Black cultural center, provide space for speakers and outside performers, and house the Afro-American Society. Later in the semester, the request turned into a demand. In a statement in the campus publication, they declared: “We, the black students at Wesleyan,

demand a voice in the construction of our cultural destiny...In our demand for self-determination, we will not be deterred, our voice is loud and we will be heard.”<sup>297</sup> By the fall, Black students would have their Afro-American house.

In the spring of 1968, the attention of some Black college students was not fully on reforming the college campus. Some were still focused on eliminating the still existing segregation in the South. At historically Black South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, South Carolina, the college’s BSU, the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC), had refused requests by students to aid in their campaign to desegregate a local bowling alley, saying integration was irrelevant.<sup>298</sup> But the students refused to end their two-year crusade against the bowling alley. On February 5, 1968, about fifty SC State students tried unsuccessfully to bowl at the alley. The police quickly arrived and arrested fifteen students who refused to leave. As word about the arrests traveled back to campus, an angry crowd of students soon swelled to about three or four hundred in a parking lot adjacent to the alley. The police agreed to release the arrested students into the custody of a dean at the college in exchange for an end to the demonstration.<sup>299</sup>

Students were preparing to head back to their campus when two large fire trucks pulled into the parking lot. “Hey, man. Where’s the fire?” one yelled. “The mothafuckers are trying to get away with some shit,” yelled another. The presence of the fire trucks brought back memories of 1963 when Orangeburg officials had used them to break up student demonstrations. Like in Birmingham that year, student protesters had been punished by high-power hoses that ripped through their clothes and battered their bodies. Arrested students had also been hosed down in outside holding pens. The police,

realizing the fire trucks were angering the students, asked them to leave. But it was too late. A group of incensed students marched towards the entrance of the bowling alley and tried to force their way through its doors and a small window near the entrance. The police tried to stop them, resulting in a shoving match that soon escalated into an all out battle. With their long nightsticks, the police flailed away at whomever they could catch as the students ran towards their campus damaging White-owned stores on the way. Some students were severely beaten, and some stores were ruthlessly ravaged.<sup>300</sup>

The next day, the students at SC State and Claflin College, submitted a list of demands to Orangeburg officials calling for an end to racism. The city retaliated by setting up roadblocks on the streets surrounding the campus and students were urged not to leave the campus. Tension resurfaced the next day. “Everybody was talking about the beatings, the shooting, the bowling alley and the cops,” said one observer. That night, on February 8, 1968, students built a huge bonfire on campus, separating them and a massive line of hundreds of national guardsmen, state troopers, and police officers. As Henry Smith, a tall sophomore, standing in front of the crowd attempted to put something into the fire, the cops began shooting. Smith spun and crumbled to the ground. Bullets flew in all directions and the sounds of the blasts were “deafening.”<sup>301</sup>

When the officers finally stopped shooting their shotguns with double-aught buckshot, three students—Smith and Samuel Hammond, both SC State students, and Delano Middleton, a local high school student—were dead and at least thirty-four were wounded, most with gun shot wounds in their backs.<sup>302</sup> A Black volcano, upon hearing of the Orangeburg Massacre, erupted in furor across America.<sup>303</sup> The presidents of six historically Black colleges in Atlanta wrote a letter to President Johnson, Attorney

General Ramsey Clark, state governors, and law enforcement agencies urging them “to stop these invasions of college and university campuses by the American version of storm troopers.”<sup>304</sup> Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., called on the U.S. attorney general “to bring to justice the perpetrators of the largest armed assault undertaken under cover of law in recent Southern history.” H. Rap Brown demanded revenge. “If it takes twenty to thirty million Blacks to tear up the country, we’ll do it,” he declared.<sup>305</sup>

Most of the campus activists did not tear up the country. However, the Orangeburg Massacre did tear up their passive minds, and activist ones formed in their stead. It was the first of two events this spring that pushed legions of student moderates to the left and set the stage for the climax academic year of the Black Campus Movement in 1968-1969. Campus activists showed their frustration for this society that cut down three of their peers in cold blood in demonstrations during the rest of February 1968. Students at historically Black Benedict College and Allen University, both in South Carolina, presented a resolution to the South Carolina governor demanding a “full and impartial investigation” of the violent clash.<sup>306</sup> Students at the Atlanta institutions founded the Black Student Alliance to ward off future police repression.<sup>307</sup> Members of the newly formed Unity at Tuskegee threw eggs at officials from the U.S. State Department during a program.<sup>308</sup> At historically Black Virginia State College, about fifteen hundred students staged a sympathy march from the campus to downtown Petersburg, Virginia, with three symbolic corpses in caskets carried by twelve honorary pallbearers at the head of the procession.<sup>309</sup> Students at North Carolina A&T in Greensboro also used a coffin in their demonstration at their student union building.<sup>310</sup>

Yet, the major protest in reaction to the killing occurred at the major incubator of the movement at Black Campus Movement at HBCUs—Howard University. Tony Gittens, a student at Howard and editor of its student newspaper, went down to Orangeburg to learn about the massacre first-hand. “Those were experiences that just totally changed my view about my role as a student and what I began to define as a role for other students,” Gittens said.<sup>311</sup> On February 16, 1968, Gittens and about five hundred other Howard students, led by *Ujamma*, a coalition of student groups formed the previous spring, staged a sympathy demonstration that developed into a concerted attack on their “Negro” University. *Ujamma* members took down the university’s flag explaining that “the flag flies over the land of the free and the home of the brave—Howard is a contemporary plantation.”<sup>312</sup> *Ujamma* put together a pamphlet, the Orangeburg Ultimatum that demanded the creation of a Black University with more courses on Black people, the reinstatement of leftist leaning professors, greater student involvement in judiciary and budgetary matters, and the resignation of the president and other administrators. About twenty-five students, carrying the flag and the ultimatum, barged into dean’s office, and “told him that his time had come.” The dean sat there trembling and bewildered, never saying a word to the students. It was the students’ time to lecture.<sup>313</sup> The Orangeburg Massacre directly led to the Orangeburg Ultimatum at Howard—the first major effort of HBCU campus activists to insist on a Black University—and the administration had a deadline of February 29 to respond.<sup>314</sup>

All of the student protests and the demands of Black leaders across the country did not stop the advance of Southern storm troopers. Two weeks after the Orangeburg Massacre, Mississippi police wounded six students at Alcorn A&M when they fired into

a crowd protesting the expulsion of three students who were campaigning for Charles Evers.<sup>315</sup> The storm troopers in Mississippi and South Carolina never had to pay for the killing and wounding of the students in court.<sup>316</sup> However, the academy would through the protests of the newly re-energized Black students for relevancy and diversity. At Connecticut's Yale University in March 1968, the Black Student Alliance organized a two-day boycott of classes by ninety percent of the Black student body "to express our feelings of alienation from Yale, and of outrage and anger at the treatment routinely meted out to black people in this city."<sup>317</sup> The majority of the Black students at Indiana University marched on their president's home that month and presented him with a list of demands. The students wanted the newly created discriminatory practices committee to be disbanded because it "has done nothing concrete" and its members "do not relate to the Black community at Indiana University." In its place, they called for a new committee "composed and approved by Black students and faculty members." Students also demanded more Black students, faculty, and administrators, a reorganization of the racist curriculum, and an end to discrimination in off-campus housing.<sup>318</sup>

In March 1968, the academy continued to pay for Orangeburg at Howard where campus activists intensified their struggle to build a Black University. The deadline of February 29 had passed on the Orangeburg Ultimatum. On March 1, 1968, during one of the university's anniversary ceremonies, about sixty campus activists leapt on stage and surrounded President James Nabrit, Jr., who quickly adjourned the convocation. The students remained on the stage and read a piece they called the "Definition of a Black University."<sup>319</sup> Calm persisted on the campus until the administration ordered thirty-three participants of the convocation protest on March 19 to appear before a judicial

board.<sup>320</sup> The next day, urged by Ewart Brown, president of Howard's student government, more than twelve hundred students took over the administration building and threatened to stay inside until the charges against the thirty-three students were withdrawn. While inside, they took over the university switchboard and allowed guest speakers and artists to feed their minds and souls with a "heavy diet of Black culture ranging from" speeches by Malcolm X blasting to "African chants to *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and the contemporary blues of Aretha Franklin and an efficient social mechanism of negotiators, guards, cooks, switchboard operators and maintenance crews."<sup>321</sup> Campus activists funded the demonstration from donations from other colleges in the area and prominent leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.<sup>322</sup>

On March 20, day two of the sit-in, administrators closed the university.<sup>323</sup> Three days into the sit-in, campus activists issued sixteen demands, including a Black-oriented curriculum, a Black awareness institute, the immediate resignation of President Nabrit, and faculty and student control of academic affairs and student affairs, respectively. Ultimately, the students wanted "Howard University to relate to the Black community the way Harvard and MIT relate to the White community," said Brown, a native of the Bahamas, to reporters.<sup>324</sup> "We think this university should prepare us to be leaders in the black community," said another student, while signs saying "Black University" hung from campus buildings.<sup>325</sup> The administration responded by warning the campus activists if they did not vacate the building by March 22, then the cops would be called in. The students called the administration's bluff and continued their sit-in until a group of five trustees, including noted psychologist Kenneth Clark, convinced the rest of the trustees to negotiate with the students. The trustees offered amnesty, student control of

the judiciary that would try the protestors of the anniversary convocation, a student-faculty board to address student grievances like a Black-oriented curriculum, and a promise to make Howard “more attuned to the times and the mood of its people.”<sup>326</sup>

Former Howard professor Nathan Hare was one of several outside speakers who advised the students not to take the deal because “the offer did not meet most of the specific points of their demands, retained President Nabrit, and left further negotiations up to trustees and student-faculty committees.”<sup>327</sup> The moderate campus activists did not listen to Hare and outvoted the more progressive students who called the agreement, which ended the one-hundred-and-two-hour building seizure on March 24, a sell-out.<sup>328</sup> But the students gained immensely from the takeover. “I got a new sense of self, a new sense of my black self, in terms of culture, in terms of politics, in terms of the rights to demand certain things, the right to feel good about yourself,” recollected Paula Giddings, who would eventually help form Black Women’s Studies.<sup>329</sup> A progressive Black nucleus sparked this revolt. But the “broad and essential support came from large segments” who were usually smarter and wealthier than non-supporters, yet they had “not ideologically committed to black revolution.”<sup>330</sup> In a few days, a King would be slain, resulting in throngs of students at Howard and other colleges to make that commitment.

In the meantime, activists at other HBCUs were inspired by the nationally publicized Howard demonstration that served as a model for protests for a Black University. Small protests erupted as far away as Mississippi’s Tougaloo College and Tennessee’s Fisk University.<sup>331</sup> But most of the campus activism was near the Washington D.C. area. At Morgan State College in Baltimore in late March, a demonstration of students to support the Howard sit-in shifted into demands for their own



grievances. Classes were cancelled and nearly half of the college's forty-two hundred students attended a meeting with President Martin Jenkins. "One of the major grievances of the students is they feel...that the curriculum is not sufficiently relevant to Negro students," said President Jenkins after the meeting. Morgan State faculty promptly voted to increase the amount of courses on Black people in the curriculum, among other initiatives.<sup>332</sup>

Shortly after the Howard seizure, students at Bowie State College in Maryland, bolstered by the firing of a Black history instructor and seventy Howard students boycotted of classes and took over the administration building. The one-day takeover by two hundred students protesting the deplorable campus conditions ended after long conferences with the administration and the deployment of more than one hundred riot-trained state troopers.<sup>333</sup> On March 25, students boycotted classes at both Virginia State College and Tuskegee Institute. About two thousand Virginia State students not only struck, but they halted ROTC drills and staged a sit-in at a faculty staff meeting complaining that Virginia State still has "second-class status" in Virginia and moves to improve the school have been too slow.<sup>334</sup> At Tuskegee, after leaving their classes, students presented President Luther H. Foster with eleven grievances, who cancelled classes to hold a three-hour meeting with student leaders ultimately agreeing to address their demands immediately or at the upcoming trustees meeting.<sup>335</sup> About three hundred campus activists also boycotted classes at Virginia Union University in Richmond and took over two science buildings and the administration building, turning the latter into a dancehall during the first few days of April 1968 to make the administration try to address their fifty-two demands.

Stokely Carmichael briefly showed his face to inspire students in the Virginia Union administration building on April 3, 1968.<sup>336</sup> The next day, April 4, Carmichael was back in Washington D.C. when he heard the news that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had been killed in Memphis, Tennessee. Emotions overwhelmed his consciousness. His eyes revealed pure rage coming from his soul. “The dirty motherfuckers. The dirty motherfuckers,” he kept repeating. “There was no reason. There was absolutely no justification.”<sup>337</sup> Around 8:30 p.m., with Cleveland Sellers and Bill Hall of SNCC listening, Carmichael made an announcement in the middle of his apartment: “They took our leader off, so out of respect, we’re going to ask all these goddamn stores to close down until he is laid to rest.” He bolted out of the door and paced down the street in the heart of Black Washington D.C. Rage still reflected in his eyes, as it did the people in the streets. Sellers and Hall caught up with him and they were followed by about twenty people, mostly from the Washington SNCC staff. The group first got a Black-owned barbershop to close, then a Chinese restaurant. Owner after owner agreed to close as the crowd going from store to store grew larger. During the growing procession, a Black teen-ager observing the moving mass yelled, “Stokely, you’re the one.” Another screamed, “Now that Dr. King’s dead, we ain’t got no way but Stokely’s.”<sup>338</sup> Seething from the violent death of a non-violent legend, by April 11, Blacks had rose up in more than one hundred and twenty-five cities. Forty-six people were killed, thirty-five thousand were injured, and more than twenty thousand were arrested as National Guard units were deployed in Michigan, North Carolina, Tennessee, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Washington D.C. “Almost seventy thousand troops were required to quell what many

black militants characterized,” according to one intellectual, “as a prelude to the coming revolution.”<sup>339</sup>

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **AN ASSASSINATION AND THE JOLT FOR BLACK CAMPUS ACTIVISM**

**(APRIL 4, 1968 – MAY 1968)**

It was raining in Wilberforce, Ohio, on April 4, 1968. Jaribu Hill, a student at Central State University, was watching soaps in between classes. A newsflash interrupted: King had been murdered in Memphis. New friends huddled with Hill—cried with him, sobbed with him, and comforted him. Like thousands of Black campus activists, on that day, Hill cried out of his old life and into a new. “I got as serious as the time we were living in,” he said. “I never looked back on the meaningless life I had lived before. I lived a life of conviction, resistance and protest on my college campus.” He helped organize a march from Wilberforce to Xenia, Ohio with students chanting: “Long live Dr. King. Down with racism. Up with equality.” He came back to the campus, like scores of Central State students, to confront “Negro educators trapped in black bodies,” and protest for more Black Studies courses.<sup>340</sup> Black students attended memorial services and staged marches at the University of Wisconsin, Platteville, the University of Pennsylvania, and Boston University where King received his theology degree in 1955. “Martin L. King had a dream but it turned into a nightmare,” declared Ed Coaxum, the leader of BU’s BSU, at the convocation.<sup>341</sup> At Howard University, students lowered the American flag and raised the Black nationalist flag as a tribute to their fallen leader.<sup>342</sup>

Some White students could not understand why Blacks campus activists were so saddened by King’s death. “I was terribly sorry to hear about Dr. King,” said a White student the morning after King died to a Black student in the cafeteria at Yale University. “But I’m interested to know how all this affects a Negro. Would you mind telling me just

how you reacted to it?” The Black student just glared at the White student for a few moments. After making his point silently, he got up and left the dining room, leaving his half-eaten breakfast behind.<sup>343</sup> In order to clarify their anger and present their new position, Black students issued verbal and written statements. At the University of Mississippi, Black students marched on the office of the student newspaper. “If Dr. King’s tactics will not work, we must find new methods with which to express ourselves in order to gain our equality,” said Eugene McLemore, an Ole Miss law student, to the surprised newspaper staff. By the end of April, the group “Several Black Students” asked for a charter to organize a BSU and the recognition of Black history, charging that “an atmosphere of bigotry, bias, and prejudice” prevails on campus.<sup>344</sup>

A few days after King’s murder, Black students issued a statement at Vassar College where just ten years earlier they were indistinguishable from White students with their cashmere sweaters and plaid skirts. “White America has no compassion, love nor peaceful notions in its heart for suffering Blacks,” read the statement. “It has plainly demonstrated that the only tactics that can move its violent heart is violence...Force only responds to force and power to power. Pretty soon this nation will be shuddering in a paroxysm of black power.”<sup>345</sup> A Black student at the University of Illinois echoed the same sentiments in an article on April 5. “There is no doubt in my mind now that violence is the only way to get anything,” declared Rodney Hammond. “I speak for all young black militants when I say that our attitudes emphasized that now the white man was more than ever a ‘monster’ to be distrusted and feared. The white man has lost the only black friend he had. From now on he will have to deal with us black militants.”<sup>346</sup>

Since the dawn of the Black Campus Movement in the spring of 1965, it had been steadily gathering speed. It received a nudge by Watts in the summer of 1965, a forceful bump from the urban rebellions and Carmichael's call for "Black Power" during the next summer, and an even stronger push from the more than one hundred civil insurrections in 1967. Then there was the massive jolt from Orangeburg massacre. Not even two months later, another colossal ram smashed into the movement from the forces of American repression. Dazed, the students now had to somehow imagine a world without their shining star of activism all the activists marveled at, even if they did not agree with his views. King's being, his existence, his life is what kept the masses of Black students thinking maybe Black nationalism was not the way to go, maybe we should hold back on playing the cards of activism and work through traditional channels, maybe this effort to diversify the academy is not a war—just maybe—maybe not. The death of King generated a series of intense tornadoes of activism that fell on campus after campus across America, ripping ceilings off its institutions exposing the paucity of Blackness. Nationalism was now the way to go. The cards of activism were played at an alarming pace. Thousands of students now volunteered for the war for diversity and relevancy.

At Florida State University, thirty Black students headed in different directions still had not formed a BSU on the eve of King's assassination. Like Black students on other campuses, King's death was like a magnet that drew them together.<sup>347</sup> As a group, they began vocalizing matters that bothered them individually.<sup>348</sup> The next day, April 5, the Black students submitted a list of grievances to university officials, and on April 15 organized the Afro-American Student Union.<sup>349</sup> They did not just come together. Like Black students at Wesleyan University, they became "serious about their Blackness."<sup>350</sup>

Shirley Jackson, a senior at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was visiting the graduate school at the University of Pennsylvania on April 4. While driving back to the Philadelphia airport with a friend, she heard an announcement about King's death. Shocked, they almost swerved off the road. It "was a catalytic experience." She "decided then" she "needed to try to work at MIT and with MIT to bring about some changes." Jackson, who stayed at MIT for graduate school, and other Black students at MIT who had a similar catalytic experience formed a BSU and presented demands to the administration.<sup>351</sup> Likewise, students at Wisconsin's Carthage College established the Afro-American Society (later changed to Black Student Union) and at Wellesley College, a few women formed Ethos, the Black Student Union, while riding in a taxi a few days after King's murder. Carthage's Afro-American Society called for an increase in the number of Black students, faculty, and courses, while Ethos submitted a list of nonnegotiable demands: Black Studies program, more Black students, recruiter of Black students in admissions office, and Black support personnel.<sup>352</sup> All twenty-four Black students at Wellesley joined Ethos and promised to conduct a publicized hunger strike if changes were not made. The students' requests were eventually granted.<sup>353</sup>

In reaction to King's assassination, students at Southern University (SU) came together, two-thousand strong along with community residents, to march on the state capital to protest racism in Louisiana. With a small army of city and state police watching, SU student leader Jodie Bibbens shouted, "Today we'll be what they call responsible Negroes, good and humble, but at night we're gonna play like the KKK. We are moving from non-violence and civil disobedience to guerilla warfare and civil rebellion."<sup>354</sup> Instead of marching to the site of power in the state, students at Harvard

University marched to the site of power on their campus—the dean’s office—where on the evening of King’s death they demanded an end to the quota limitation on Black students and the establishment of a Black Studies department.<sup>355</sup> Five days later, eighty Black students boycotted Harvard’s service for King, and stood on the church’s steps having their own commemoration. “If they come out of there with tears in their eyes,” said Jeff Howard, the president of Afro, pointing to the church, “we want it to be plain that we don’t want their tears. We want black people to have a place here at Harvard.” Later in the day, Afro issued its “Four Requests on Fair Harvard,” which resulted in a new course on “The Afro-American Experience” and a committee to consider a degree in Black Studies.<sup>356</sup> Students at historically Black Fayetteville State College in North Carolina requested Black Studies courses too in addition to better teachers, more “soul” performers, and a temporary student union building. They presented these demands after they took over the administration building. The president responded positively, addressing some of their concerns immediately and taking the time to study the others.<sup>357</sup>

Most of the violent reactions to King’s death occurred on historically Black campuses. On the evening of April 4, students at Florida A&M University firebombed a White-owned grocery store, killing a White teenager. The next day, FAMU was closed and the students were sent home for a week.<sup>358</sup> At Jackson State College, fifteen students were arrested for looting White-owned stores, burning an automobile, and throwing rocks at the police, and students at Tennessee State began a week of vicious protests. Students harassed passing White motorists with a rock-barrage and sniper shots, and they set the campus ROTC on fire, causing the National Guard to invade the campus.<sup>359</sup> National



guardsmen in North Carolina also invaded historically Black Shaw University as well, using tear gas to combat demonstrators.<sup>360</sup>

Up north, on April 4, Black students at the Western Michigan University chained the doors to the student center and plastered it with signs that read: “The King is dead, so is peace” and “Drop dead, White savages.”<sup>361</sup> And they forced the Western Michigan President James Miller to sign a written statement that said, among other things, that “the entire white community has been derelict in its responsibilities” to Blacks.<sup>362</sup> Yet, one major demonstration occurred on April 4 not in reaction to King. At Cornell University, Black students had complained all semester about the racist introductory economics course instructor, who had once said in class that urban Blacks “play sickly and perverted games stressing cunning and survival, as in the jungle.” The administration rejected their overtures to meet, so when class was called to order at 10 a.m. on April 4, three Black students read a statement about the racist content of previous lectures until the professor dismissed the class. The three Black students left and joined by other Black students, took control of the economics department chairman’s office and held the chair hostage for seven hours until he arranged a meeting with officials who could act on their complaints.<sup>363</sup> They left about an hour before King was murdered, which served as a major turning point for Cornell’s Black students. “Before that everything was liberal and everybody could think what they wanted to think,” recollected Denise Raynor of the Afro-American Society. “After that nobody could do anything but the party line.” The party line was heard the next day at a campus-wide memorial for King. Cornell Black student Larry Dickson’s said, to the twenty-two hundred assembled, “When Martin Luther King died, nonviolence died, baby!” The Black students roped off in their own

section applauded. “Now if you honkies think you bad enough to fuck with us, just try it!” Dickinson leaped off the stage and walked towards the audience that shouted: “Black Power! Black Power!” Most of the attendees though were stunned into silence.<sup>364</sup>

While Cornell Blacks shared the party line on April 5, about two hundred students from Lincoln University converged on downtown Jefferson City, Missouri. They went to the local newspaper office and demanded a retraction of an editorial that criticized King the day before his assassination. The newspaper refused. The students went on a rampage, breaking several store windows and stealing at least five rifles from a sporting goods store.<sup>365</sup> Meanwhile, about two thousand students at Hampton University marched downtown. Spurred by the fall of King and two students recently arrested protesting at a local supermarket, the students confronted the Hampton police chief and later the supermarket owner, and forced them to apologize for the arrests.<sup>366</sup> Students also marched at Duke University on April 5. About three hundred students walked to Duke President Douglas Knight’s house, and about two hundred stormed into the house and spent the night. The other one hundred and fifty debated with President Knight outside amid the pouring rain into the wee hours of the morning on the four demands issued by the Black students. They called for a day of mourning for King, and end to Durham discrimination, and an increase in the minimum wage of non-academic employees.<sup>367</sup>

Black students at Stanford on April 5 watched an American flag burn at a campus rally. “This burning flag may mean a lot to you, but it doesn’t mean much to us,” shouted BSU chair Kenny Washington to the forty assembled Black students. Three days later, during a racism convocation at Stanford seventy Black students rose up, walked on stage, and one of them snatched the mike from the provost. “Put your money where you

mouth is,” Washington screamed, who then gave the mike to another BSU member who read the BSU’s ten demands. The BSU insisted on more Black students and faculty, the current official charged with “minority” affairs be replaced by an administrator approved by the BSU, the establishment of a committee to investigate campus discrimination, and “that Stanford University no longer equivocate in relation to minority group education.” Within two days, the university verbally agreed “in substance” to nine of the ten demands (the unresolved issue was the firing of the official of minority affairs).<sup>368</sup>

At Tuskegee, after simmering for three years, the rift between Black campus activists and the college was now boiling. Since campus activists boycotted classes on March 25, they had prepared a twenty-page list of grievances about the Negro university they wanted reformed into a Black university that would “speak from a black experience and address themselves to black collective needs.” With campus activities at a virtual standstill, the students met with the college’s trustees on April 5 about their grievances. But the trustees threw out the excuse that scores of Black campus activists would come to hate: “We need more time!” The next afternoon, on April 6, hundreds of Tuskegee Black campus activists rushed into Dorothy Hall where the eleven trustees and the president were again meeting and took them hostage. By the evening, the administration had obtained an injunction against the takeover and word spread among the campus activists in the building that the college had called the National Guard. Fear of another Orangeburg Massacre starting striking blows at the balloon of Black solidarity. When the National Guard arrived at 3 a.m. the next morning, fear burst the balloon and the students filed out the building after holding it for thirteen hours. In one of the most retaliatory measures of the movement, Tuskegee President Luther Foster expelled the entire student

body, telling them to vacate their dorms by April 9. For the next two weeks, the campus was closed while students had to reapply for admission and declare they will “abide by the rules and regulations of the institute.” Ninety percent of the students reapplied for admission. About two thousand five hundred students were readmitted, ninety were placed on probation, and the admission of fifty-four students were rejected in one of the largest weeding out of Black campus activists in higher education history. The fifty-four students were later readmitted after a federal hearing and the university did eliminate compulsory ROTC and increase student power.<sup>369</sup>

While the Tuskegee students filed out of their occupied building in the early morning hours of April 7, thirty-five members of Colgate University’s Association of Black Collegians filed into the Sigma Nu fraternity house. Shots were fired from the White fraternity house at a Black student at 1 a.m., and still mourning the death of King, they threatened to “burn” the house “down if necessary” if the university did not address their demands. They controlled the house for seven hours until 11 a.m. when the president agreed to close it and fully investigate the shooting incident. A week later, unsatisfied with administration’s lack of movement, Colgate Blacks led a sit-in of five hundred students for five days in the administration building to end the discrimination of fraternities, recruit Black faculty and administrators, and establish a cooperative residence for Black students and a required course on Black history.<sup>370</sup>

The day after the Colgate demonstration, the BSU at the University of Oregon gave a letter to the president explaining that “if racism...cannot be eradicated by institutional changes, if the University community is not willing to implement changes, it then becomes the responsibility of the Black students...to purge this campus of racism,

by whatever means are necessary.” The Oregon administration, reading the intense determination of the Black students, promptly organized a Committee of Racism to address the BSU’s demands. Even though they had similar concerns as the Oregon BSU, just sending a letter was not forceful enough for a hundred Black students at the University of Michigan who seized control of their administration building in the morning on April 9.<sup>371</sup> They stayed for four hours, meeting with President Robben W. Fleming until he announced their demands for a King scholarship, more Black students and faculty, and a Black admissions officer and coach were “all legitimate.”<sup>372</sup> Michigan students were satisfied, unlike students at Tufts University who sat through a campus memorial.<sup>373</sup> More than five hundred were listening to a chaplain speak when William H. Sanders, a Black graduate student, stormed up to the stage and yelled: “America, we are staring in the ugly face of your naked hypocrisy, we are grieved at the death of Dr. Martin Luther King and we deplore your efforts to bury the shame of that death in the rhetoric of religion and political moderation.” More than half of audience followed Sanders out of the service and had their own silent meditation. Two days later, on April 12, a similar number of students sat-in the Tufts admissions office until the dean of admissions agreed to admit an additional forty Black students in the fall.

Thousands of Black campus activists in the first week after King’s death struck the academy with the first concerted and widespread blow for diversity in American history. Staggering back, the academy took the initial blow. Feeling the biting effects of it, and as the Black Campus Movement prepared for another wallop, the academy threw up its hands and screamed, “Wait! I know what you want! I understand your sense of urgency! Give me a chance to add some diversity!” Skeptical, but intrigued, the Black

Campus Movement gave liberal college officials a chance to satiate the students and their own guilt, as relatively little activism occurred in the middle two weeks of April.

Black students were mystified as they watched the deluge of diversity flood into the academy—more in the month after King died than in the first three years of the Black Campus Movement combined. Through his death, King dramatically appealed to the moral conscious of White America, particularly those in the academy. Notre Dame University, New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry, St. Olaf College, University of Arizona, University of San Francisco, Orange County Community College, Bryant College, University Southern California, Colgate University, St. John’s University, University of Vermont, University of Wisconsin, Morehouse College, Colby College, Saint Joseph’s College, Bowdoin College, University of Rhode Island, Yale University, University of Minnesota, and New York University all established scholarships (some in the hundreds) and fellowships for Black students in memory of King.<sup>374</sup> In addition to the scholarships, the University of Minnesota stepped up its recruiting efforts, introduced courses on Black people and announced it would name its new library after King, and NYU increased its recruitment of Black students, faculty, and administrators.<sup>375</sup> University of Massachusetts launched a program to attract underprivileged Black students.<sup>376</sup> Colorado State University started a memorial fund “to produce a thousand Martin Luther Kings for the one we lost.”<sup>377</sup> Amherst College’s “guilt-ridden administrators” sponsored a recruitment booklet for Blacks, and permitted the establishment of a Black Cultural Center and Black Studies department.<sup>378</sup>

The pressure from King’s death and an influential BSU resulted in California’s San Fernando Valley State adding four Black courses, and increasing the number of

Black students entering in the fall from fifteen to 150.<sup>379</sup> The University of Illinois pledged to recruit five hundred Black students.<sup>380</sup> The University of Nevada formed the Human Relation Act Council that called for the university to solve “the social problems created by racism and apathy.”<sup>381</sup> And, Princeton University organized a student-faculty committee to devise ways to integrate into its curriculum the study of Black people.<sup>382</sup> Some universities even organized all-day symposiums or teach-ins about racism or the Black experience, like at the University of Arkansas, Franklin and Marshall University, California State University, Sacramento, NYU, and the University of Maine.<sup>383</sup>

While higher education continued to make these overtures, the Black students discussed their next punch of activism. On April 6, about one hundred and fifty Black campus activists from colleges in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico gathered for the first ever conference in the Southwest at the University of Texas at El Paso.<sup>384</sup> The following weekend, about two hundred students, many representing BSUs from forty-two colleges along the east coast convened at Princeton University for three days for a conference titled, “Black Awareness: Direction, Prospects and Perspectives.” Charles Hamilton delivered the keynote address advising the students: “People don’t talk revolution. They make revolution.”<sup>385</sup> The next weekend of April 20, Black students went to North Carolina’s Shaw University where they met eight years earlier at the height of the sit-in movement. Seventy-eight delegates from thirty-seven colleges formed the Congress for the Unity of Black Students (CUBS) that pushed for Black Studies, more Black people and more higher education relevant to Blacks. One of the conference speakers was Maulana Karenga who urged the students to use their education to advance Black

America. “You must make the world that you want your children to grow up in,” he said.<sup>386</sup>

For the first time in higher education history, the masses of Black students were ready to make that world. Their steamroller of change slowed down in mid-April, as the academy tried to make amends for a hundred years of exclusion. But it was too little too late. In late April, the Black Campus Movement picked up speed yet again with a massive and widely publicized protest at one of the sentinels of the academy, Columbia University. The Ivy League school had already bought a large amount of land and buildings in Harlem, displacing residents, and angering the community over the years. The community’s anger reached a peak in the month after King was murdered. To residents, the university became the embodiment of the White racism that killed King.<sup>387</sup> To add fuel to their fiery rage, Columbia was building a multi-million dollar gymnasium in the beloved Morningside Park that residents used for recreation and served as the only land barrier separating the university from the residents. This had been unacceptable to Harlem’s Black community. It had become unacceptable to Columbia’s students as well who identified the new structure as “Gym Crow.”<sup>388</sup> That spring at Columbia, there was one of the nation’s strongest campus chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—a group that led the White student movement.<sup>389</sup> On April 23, 1968, SDS members and a representative of the Student Afro-American Society (SAS) chastised the university for continuing its construction of the gym in a noon rally. Mark Rudd, an SDS leader, suggested the students take over Low Memorial Library. But campus officials raced over and locked the library. After some wrangling between SDS and SAS, a failed attempt at trying to takeover the library and a violent demonstration at the construction



site, four hundred students, chanting “Racist Gym Must Go,” charged into Hamilton Hall—a classroom building that held most of the administrative offices for the undergraduate school.<sup>390</sup> The students were just intent on sitting-in. The hall remained open—classes continued and professors traveled in and out as they pleased—and the students formed an interracial Steering Committee.

As Columbia students made themselves comfortable in Hamilton Hall, over in Connecticut that evening of April 23, about two hundred Trinity College students, led by sixteen Black campus activists, took control of their administrative offices where the trustees were meeting. The students held the trustees hostage for three hours after their meeting had broken up, releasing them at 8:30 p.m. However, they were determined to hold the administrative offices hostage until the trustees had approved of Black scholarships and courses. They did so for thirty-two hours, walking out of the offices with their sleeping bags and mattresses and a settlement in hand to whoops and cheers.<sup>391</sup>

Back at Columbia, the demonstration was only beginning on April 23. In the evening, a meeting of the steering committee was interrupted by a short Black man with three bodyguards. Everyone was shocked to see H. Rap Brown. “I’d like to tell you that the Harlem community is now here and we want to thank you for taking the first steps in this struggle,” he told the wide-eyed students. Now “the black community is taking over.”<sup>392</sup> Members of CORE, and Charles Kenyatta’s “Mau Mau” group entered the building that evening, and along with SAS proposed the demonstrators barricade and close it down. SDS refused the barricade, even after the urging of newly arrived Tom Hayden, one of the founders of SDS. “Many of the white students were not prepared to dramatize the issue through a confrontation with students and faculty,” a Columbia Black

student remembered. “We decided we couldn’t deal with their madness.”<sup>393</sup> At around 2 a.m., on April 24, the Black students told the White students to get out. The Black students wanted to make it clear *they* were “taking up for the community.”<sup>394</sup> Stunned, but understanding it was an order not a request, the hundreds of White students filed out of Hamilton Hall into the early morning air of Harlem. They congregated back in the center of campus before they ran over to Low Memorial Library, broke through the door, and stormed into the president’s four-room suite at around 7 a.m.<sup>395</sup>

About an hour after Columbia White students snatched the library on the morning of April 24, three hundred Black students at Boston University escorted out employees of their administration building, chained and roped off the structure’s four entrances, and declared they would remain until their demands were met. Umoja, Boston’s BSU, demanded more Black students, ten King scholarships for Black graduate students, a professorship named after King, a Black student center, Black Studies courses, and a pre-college program for Black students. At 10:15 a.m., BU President Arland F. Christ-Janer was admitted into the building and talked with the students for two hours until they ejected him saying all he could give them was “due satisfaction.” Preparing now for a prolonged stay, the campus activists were brought food, donated by community groups, and a television hauled in by rope through a window. In the afternoon, Umoja sent four representatives to meet with the administration. After a four-hour negotiation, they returned with agreements on all of their demands except approval for renaming the theology building after King. Soon after, the three hundred campus activists ended their twelve-hour occupation thanking their “Black brothers and sisters in Roxbury” [a Boston Black community] without whom their effort would not have been possible.<sup>396</sup>

As the students were eating Black Boston's succulent soul food in the afternoon of April 24, Columbia students were growing petrified as they ate up rumors that the police and Black Harlem were about to overrun the campus. Columbia's administration feared the Black invasion too. It called on the NYPD to seal off the campus and close all the buildings not already occupied. Architecture students refused to leave Avery Hall, effectively taking it over, and in the early morning hours of April 25, fifty graduate students occupied the social-science graduate building, Fayerweather Hall.<sup>397</sup> For the rest of the day, students refused to leave the four buildings. The administration refused to halt the construction of the gym and grant amnesty. This stalemate gained the attention of the international community. Famous journalists driven by the thrill of adventure and the story of the day were hauled onto ledges and helped through the windows of barricaded buildings to receive lectures from students on American imperialism and racism. They left and dictated to the world what would become the most widely publicized campus demonstration of the 1960s student movement. The eyes of the world were fixed on this Manhattan campus for the rest of the week. Under the public's radar though, Black campus activists rebelled over in Brooklyn at Long Island University on April 25. Just as the secretary had unlocked the door to LIU Provost William T. Lai's office, six Black campus activists burst in. "We are taking over today," one said. "Either get out or be locked in." The secretary darted out without looking back. An hour and a half later, at 10:30 a.m., Lai entered his office and the Student Organization for Black Unity verbally threw seven demands at him including the revoking of the sale of the university's Brooklyn center that served Black students, a Black Studies department, more Black faculty, and Black student scholarship. After remaining in the office for nine

hours and a two-hour midnight meeting with LIU's chancellor, the Black students forced action on six of their seven grievances (except the revoking of the sale of the center).<sup>398</sup> Another group of Brooklyn students at New York City Technical College the next day, April 26, barged into the president's office, while distributing a flyer on campus that announced: "The administration is being held captive. A list of demands have been given to them. Support our demands." For the next six hours the students, sometimes numbering thirty, negotiated with the president jammed in a small conference room until he agreed to their demands for more Black courses, faculty, and scholarships.<sup>399</sup>

As the City Tech students argued with their president, seventy-five Black students at Ohio State University angered about a report that two Black female students were mistreated by a university bus driver and armed with knives, gasoline bombs, and fire houses, held various officials and secretaries in the administration building hostage for eight hours. At 5 p.m., they released all of the prisoners and left the building after two vice presidents who they were holding signed a statement, agreeing to their demands of more Black students and professors, the establishment of a Black-oriented communications medium, and the suspension of the racist bus driver. The university invalidated the signed statement, saying it was made under duress. But shortly after the incident, OSU announced the establishment of a Black history course, and the hiring of a Black dean to eliminate housing discrimination. Within a year thirty-four of the OSU protesters were indicted on eleven felonies and one misdemeanor, including five counts of unlawful detention, and conspiracy to unlawfully detain. It marked one of the most serious sets of charges ever filed against a group of student protests—what Julian Bond, a Georgia legislator at the time, said was "an old Southern practice—lynching."<sup>400</sup>

As Black students at OSU and LIU took officials hostage on April 26, about two dozen radical White students at Columbia ran out of the already occupied Low Library because “they couldn’t stand establishment” liberals any longer and took over the mathematics building.<sup>401</sup> More than seven hundred students were now occupying five buildings at Columbia where H. Rap Brown reappeared on campus joined by Stokely Carmichael. The existence of the Black campus activists had been virtually blacked out by the White press until Brown and Toure presented their demands to the world that day. One of them stated “if the university doesn’t deal with our brothers in there, they’re going to have to deal with the brothers out on the streets.”<sup>402</sup> As a show of the community’s support, about two hundred and fifty Black high school students ran through the campus, shouting “Black power.”<sup>403</sup>

The Black students had barricaded themselves in Hamilton Hall for three days on April 26. Even though the university had already suspended the construction of the gym, they wanted it to be terminated. They would be there for a few more days. During the week, they not only met with their icons, Brown and Carmichael, and negotiated with Kenneth Clark, the Black psychologist, Percy Sutton, the Black borough president of Manhattan, and Immanuel Wallerstein, who served as a liaison between the Black protesters and the administration, but many Black students had a life-changing experience in that hall.<sup>404</sup> While White student demonstrators wandered in and out of their buildings, the Black students stayed put. They did not speak as individuals, but as a group.<sup>405</sup> They were “intense, frenetic discussion of ideas, strategies, and tactics.” They watched films from Cuba and Vietnam. They hung their posters of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael, and a cardboard sign proclaiming “Malcolm X University, Founded

1968 A.D.” outside the hall’s main door.<sup>406</sup> They cleansed themselves of fear and their inferiority complexes in the soap of blackness. Before participating in the building takeover, one female sophomore from the South had been a regular in the university’s counseling office. She was utterly discouraged academically. She stayed tense. She had made few friends and walked around campus with a straight and dejected face, and even straighter hair. She was beginning to feel she should not be there. A month after the building takeover, to the counseling therapists she looked almost unrecognizable. She had a big Afro. Her face was bright and alert. She looked completely at ease. She had been “completely swept up by the sense of friendship, closeness and belonging which prevailed in the occupied building.”<sup>407</sup>

On April 30, after seven days of negotiations between the students and the administration with the faculty trying to serving as mediators, the administration moved to end the demonstration. The water and phones were cut off. At 2 a.m., one thousand members of the NYPD were lined up with only a line of sympathetic faculty standing between them and the five occupied buildings and seven hundred students. The sympathetic student chants of “no cops, no cops” were combated in the realm of noise by “more cops, more cops,” exclaimed by counter-demonstrators.<sup>408</sup> The professors were told to move by a representative of the university and the police. They stood their ground in defiance. After a momentary standoff, the police thrust through the faculty lines and entered the buildings. With no resistance, the Black students walked out of Hamilton quietly into the police vans. Roy Wilkins was part of the public chorus across the ideological spectrum that praised these Black students.<sup>409</sup> There was little resistance in the mathematics building and at the library where most of the progressive White students

were. The worst incidents of brutality were inflicted on the moderate White students in Avery and Fayerweather Halls who firmly resisted the police to prove “their manhood.”<sup>410</sup>

While the NYPD cleared the four buildings with White students on the south side of campus, about a thousand students watched the action, some of them jeering, taunting, and ridiculing the police. When the police finished, they walked back into formation, this time facing the jeering students. Ordered to clear the field, the police broke from their line and wildly ran at the students, flailing away. A rain of student blood was unleashed through the clouds of police nightsticks. All told, one hundred and forty-eight were injured, and 707 were arrested (charges were later dropped) in the crowd and from the buildings. “For most of the students, it was their first encounter with brutality and blood, and they responded in fear and anger,” said one analyst. “The next day, almost the entire campus responded to a call for a student strike. In a few hours, thanks to the New York City Police Department, a large part of the Columbia campus had become radicalized.”<sup>411</sup> For the most part, students did not go to class for the rest of the semester.<sup>412</sup> More than five thousand Columbia students spent the rest of the semester protesting for the right to “restructure the university,” a task that the Black Campus Movement had begun in the spring of 1965.<sup>413</sup> “Columbia puts things at a new stage in this country,” said Hayden of SDS to *Newsweek*. “Universities will reform or be destroyed.”<sup>414</sup>

The academy chose not to listen to Hayden’s advice, just as it ignored Hare’s memo in the fall of 1967. Institutional racism and certainly individual acts of racism were still ever-present. So the demonstrations continued. And the worst of the Black Campus Movement still hovered over the horizon. As White students continued to be

pulled into the presidential candidacy of Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, Black students stayed focused on the campaign to restructure higher education.<sup>415</sup> Northwestern University was ordered to make the percentage of Black students equal to their number in the national population, increase financial aid for Blacks, give Black students their own student union building and the option to live in a dorm exclusively with Blacks, establish a Black Studies department with Black faculty, and institutionalize Black student participation in the university decisions that affect Black students.<sup>416</sup> The university feigned impotence, so the Blacks decided to confront it. One hundred and five of the university's one and twenty-four students strolled into the university's Finance Building with food and blankets as it opened at 7:45 a.m. on May 3, 1968. After giving a security guard a false reason to go out the front entrance, they swiftly barricaded that entrance and others. A spokesman told Northwestern officials that none of the expensive computers, business machines, or important financial records were being damaged, disturbed, or dirtied and it would stay that way as long as there was no attempt to remove them. Curious students who strolled by the building were soon greeted with signs, one of which that read: "Black Students Occupy This Building Because the Administration Has Turned a Deaf Ear."<sup>417</sup> The students remained in the building for the rest of the day. After an eight-hour bargaining session the next day, an agreement was reached and the students peacefully left their home of the previous thirty-six hours how they found it. In a 13-page agreement, signed by seven school officials, the university admitted that "it has had in common with the White community of America the racist attitudes that have prevailed historically in this society," and it pledged to address all of the students' demands. It was



a “complete victory,” said James Turner, a future Cornell University professor, who was the leader and spokesman of the Northwestern Black students.<sup>418</sup>

Certain segments of White America were flabbergasted at this complete victory. More than four hundred White Northwestern students signed a petition deploring “the means used by some NU students to force the administration to yield to their demands.”<sup>419</sup> The federal government told university officials it violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act by promising separate living quarters for Black students. The university responded that the arrangements would not exclude White students, and Turner told reporters, “If this violates the civil rights act, certainly fraternities are in violation also.”<sup>420</sup> The White press slammed the “seizure” of the Black students and their “impertinence” in challenging the university. Thomas Picou, the executive editor of the *Chicago Daily Defender*, defended the students, saying the “protest...deserves some applause because, if nothing more, it has focused attention on the fact that Northwestern’s policy toward black students leaves much to be desired.”<sup>421</sup> Adam Clayton Powell also hailed the Black campus activism at Northwestern.<sup>422</sup> Northeastern University Black students did not have to resort to activism like their similarly christened counterparts in Illinois. Their formally submitted thirteen requests were promptly granted by University President Asa S. Knowles. On May 7, the university pledged to make ten percent of the class of ’71 Black, include Black courses in curriculum, pay for Black students to recruit other Black students and run an orientation program for them, and finance an annual Black history week, among others.<sup>423</sup>

The major demand among Black campus activists at Northeastern, Northwestern, and thousands of Black campus activists who had stepped up their revolting since the

death of King had undoubtedly been Black Studies. Since the idea for a new academic discipline was first put on a college table by the SF State BSU in the fall of 1966, almost every organized group of Black campus activists had thrown it on their own colleges' tables hoping and sometimes demanding that it be instituted—either as a few courses, a series of courses in existing departments organized as a program with a minor and/or major, or as an autonomous Black Studies department. Yale's Black Student Alliance (BSA) started its effort to include “the study of Afro-American societies and culture” into its curriculum in November 1967. “But after several months of determined effort,” said a BSA member, “we discovered that little progress was being made in the struggle to convince the faculty at large the validity and importance of our concerns.” Deciding against social combat like other BSUs and realizing that other groups of students were receiving similar intellectual and ideological rebuffs from professors and administrators, in the spring of 1968 Yale's Black students organized the first major symposium on Black Studies that sought to “thrash out the intellectual and political issues connected with implementing a program of Afro-American studies.” The two-day symposium commenced on May 9, 1968 and among the speakers were Maulana Karenga, Nathan Hare, Harold Cruse, Harvard's Martin Kilson, Spellman College's Gerald A. McWorter, and Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy.<sup>424</sup> More than one hundred representatives from some thirty-five colleges heard passionate demands and logically conceived rationales for Black Studies from this diverse assortment of speakers.

This conference was pivotal for the new discipline. During the symposium, a joint student-faculty committee recommended a divisional major be offered in Afro-American Studies, which would be approved in December 1968, making Yale one of the

nation's first to approve the major in Afro-American Studies.<sup>425</sup> The symposium also functioned as the debut of the Ford Foundation's effort to grab the steering wheel of the discipline and steer it off course, and the beginning of a long factional managerial divide within the discipline between the Black nationalists, the Black accommodationists, and the White integrationists. Karenga, Hare, and Cruse were among those who represented the Black nationalists. They made it clear the new discipline should be organized in autonomous departments with its major purpose examining the history, culture, and experiences of Blacks in order to advance the Black community and challenge the Eurocentric academy.<sup>426</sup> Kilson, who would eventually chair Harvard's Black Studies program, blasted the Black nationalists, from a cultural and political standpoint, in his lecture. He charged "it is a common fallacy to believe that what is momentarily politically serviceable is ipso facto intellectually virtuous. I personally understand this viewpoint as held by black nationalists...But my intellect rejects it."<sup>427</sup> Ford's Bundy, an alumnus of Yale, continued the assault against the nationalists, suggesting "the strength of Black Studies was not in its politics, identity, or nationalistic sensibility, but rather in its ability to enter the academy and desegregate the faculty and curriculum of traditionally 'white' disciplines."<sup>428</sup> Using this "integrationist rationale," after leaving Yale, Bundy and the Ford Foundation tried to steer the discipline away from its socially responsible, Black nationalist mission. It wielded and granted ten million dollars to support two dozen programs over the next two years. As one scholar quickly noticed, "By selecting certain programs for funding while denying support to others, government agencies and foundations could manipulate the political orientation of these programs and the direction of academic research. With hundreds of such programs competing for

limited funds, effective control of the future of Black Studies was thereby shifted away from black scholars and students, and instead...to the funding agencies—college administrations, government and foundations.”<sup>429</sup> The Yale conference not only gave the infant discipline some training wheels, but Ford also installed its brakes.

The students could not worry about co-optation in May 1968, however, when relevancy and diversity were still non-existent at the many colleges that the Black Campus Movement had yet to hit. It would disturb another prestigious White institution, the University of Chicago, when on May 15 about sixty (of the school’s seventy-one) Black students took over the sixth floor office quarters of a vice president after issuing a set of demands. With the vice president not there, in the early afternoon they barricaded themselves inside the quarters and posted a sign, “Closed by Black Students.” They commandeered the building’s telephone room, and halted all outgoing calls. The Society for the Purpose of Lobbying in the Interest of Black Students wanted more Black students and faculty, Black students to assist in admissions, and a special dormitory. Three hours into the takeover, the dean of the college was allowed into the office. He found students studying, listening to music and playing cards. Booth told the students the university would try to meet all of their requests except the special dorm, and they would be suspended if they did not leave by 5 p.m., and expelled if there were still in there at 6 p.m. The students gathered their books, jackets, snacks, record player and records, and left before 5 p.m.<sup>430</sup> Unlike the Northwestern demonstration, the *Chicago Daily Defender* chastised the protest of the U of C Black students as “a regrettable act” since the college had the best record “in matters of race relations and academic opportunity.”<sup>431</sup>

The *New York Times* urged other colleges to use the quick “ultimatum” in dealing with the “epidemic of lawless trespass that has been afflicting campuses the over.”<sup>432</sup>

While the Chicago Black students obliged the administration request to leave the vice president’s office, fourteen Black students at the University of Miami refused to leave their school’s president’s office. Members of the United Black Students demanded courses on Black people, and an increase in the number of Black students and faculty. When the police arrived, the Black students sat on the office floor, arms locked, chanting, “we’re going to jail.” The police had to carry most of the limp students over their shoulders from the office to the patrol cars. All fourteen were arrested.<sup>433</sup> In contrast, Black campus activists at Marquette University decided against doing what may get them arrested. Two days after the Miami protest, fourteen of Marquette’s Black students, including five prominent basketball players, withdrew from the university. The next day, Marquette president Rev. John P. Raynor, who earlier in the week said the school “will not be governed by coercion,” was coerced by the humiliating withdrawal of the students to appoint a special committee to address the Black students demands that included the hiring of a Black coordinator for the scholarship program and Black Studies courses. Satisfied, eleven of the fourteen students announced they would return to the school.<sup>434</sup>

On May 20, 1968, while Marquette students were preparing to return to school, Black students continued the assault for relevancy and diversity on the academy at Penn State University, and the University of Washington. At Penn State, one hundred Black students entered the vice president office and stayed until he agreed to establish a Black Studies program.<sup>435</sup> And Washington’s BSU staged a four-hour sit-in of the administration building that resulted in the university doubling its Black enrollment,

increasing financial aid, and introducing Black courses.<sup>436</sup> The Washington BSU was led by Aaron Dixon who was one of the four thousand people at a Seattle high school that listened to Stokely Carmichael a year earlier urge Blacks to come together. “The way I looked at myself and America changed” after that speech, Dixon said.<sup>437</sup> Carmichael’s powerful Black power rhetoric certainly affected the Fresno State University Black Student Union, which after making demands in May 1968, verbally harassed the president, uprooted parking lot trees, set small fires, jumped into public foundations, and painted classroom doors Black.<sup>438</sup> The Fresno students were firmly resolved to compel their administration to introduce Blackness into the academy by any means necessary.

From time to time, some groups of White students determined to thrust themselves into the struggle to diversify the academy, taking short sabbaticals from the anti-war movement and McCarthy’s president campaign. This occurred in the third week of May 1968. As Black students at Penn State and Washington took over offices on May 21, forty White students at Brooklyn College “liberated” the registrar’s office demanding the college admit one thousand more Blacks and Puerto Ricans by September. They blocked the doors with file cabinets, taped blotters to windows, soaked clothes in water expecting tear gas, and posted a picture of Ernesto “Che” Guevara. Sixteen hours later, at close to 3 a.m. the next day, the police used crowbars to break into the office and haul the White students off to jail. They were expelled and charged with criminal trespassing on city property. But the protest, along with the intense pressure coming from the Brooklyn League of Afro-American Collegians (BLAC) resulted in the faculty giving into the request for one thousand students of color. At a news conference, BLAC President Orlando Pike, sporting a dashiki, said the demonstrators highlighted “the role that White

people must play in the struggle for the emancipation of black people—to confront white racism wherever it may exist.”<sup>439</sup> In contrast, the *New York Times* rebuked “the disruptive students who try to impose their will by force.”<sup>440</sup>

Hours after the Brooklyn students were forced out of the building by police, more than two hundred White students crowded into the administration building at San Francisco State. After a heated argument, the students decided not to chain themselves into the building, and instead allowed free access. By nightfall, the group had increased to three hundred students calling for four hundred students of color to be admitted in the fall, the rehiring of a progressive professor, allocation of eleven teaching positions to the special admissions for students of color, and the termination of the college’s AFROTC contract. President John Summerskill eventually warned if the students were not out by 10 p.m., closing time for the campus, the police would be called. The students stayed and at around ten o’clock San Francisco’s notoriously brutal Tactical Squad arrived ordering the students to vacate the building. All but twenty-six volunteers, who agreed to being arrested as an act of resistance, left the building. While those twenty-six students were led to the paddy wagons, the Tac Squad suddenly charged into the crowd of about one thousand onlookers, swinging their riot sticks with every stride. Students ran in every direction. Some were clubbed to the ground. SF SGA attorney, Terrance Hallinan’s head was split open, one of eleven students who needed hospital care that night. In reaction, the students began threw anything they could find—books, newspapers, shoes—at the advancing police lines. Eventually, the police retreated, jumped into their vehicles, and sped from the scene of massive student carnage.<sup>441</sup>

Hundreds of students tasted their own blood and America's brutality for the first time in their lives that night. And they hated it. As they were around the nation, those police batons were tools of transformation, turning conservative students into moderates, and moderates into progressives. They knocked a sense of activism into so many SF State students that when the administration building reopened that morning after the Tac Squad's brutal rampage more than six hundred students re-occupied it. Ultimately winning their demands for more students and faculty of color, they would stay there for three days until they were driven out again by police. On the final day of the sit-in, President Summerskill boarded a plane for Ethiopia after being fired and becoming the latest presidential casualty during the Black Campus Movement.<sup>442</sup>

Another presidential victim of the movement submitted his resignation in late May. Cheyney State University President Leroy B. Allen walked away from the college that had been disrupted almost every week the previous month. On March 23, President Allen closed the college for a day and called the state police when students rushed into his office demanding an expelled campus activist be reinstated.<sup>443</sup> Several hundred students locked themselves inside the administration building on May 6 calling for a blackening of the curriculum and an end to the "disastrous and divisive" policies of the administration.<sup>444</sup> In late May, Black campus activists at Cheyney took over their administration building yet again for three days. They vandalized furniture and equipment and sought to set it on fire before leaving with Allen's resignation in hand and a pledge from the Pennsylvania governor that the Negro university will be turned into a Black university.<sup>445</sup>



As Cheyney Black campus activists destroyed administrative furniture, students at nearby Delaware State College interrupted a speech by Delaware Governor Charles L. Terry, Jr., during the dedication ceremony of a student center being named after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. They were demanding a new dormitory be named after Medgar Evers. Earlier in the month, students had burned effigies of college officials in front president's home before staging an all-night sit-in there. The next day classes were cancelled because two hundred students commandeered the administration building, again demanding a Black university. In late May they continued their campaign at the dedication ceremony. More than eight hundred singing and hand-clapping paraded up the main street on the campus, converged on the outside ceremony in front of the student center, and walked straight up to the rostrum shortly after the governor began to speak. "Let me say one thing," said the obviously annoyed governor before stepping down from the platform. "I have no more interest in speaking to you than you have in listening to me." The student body president, Leroy Tate grabbed the microphone and exclaimed: "We do not plan to let this dedication go on until we get an agreement that the dormitory be named after Medgar Evers."<sup>446</sup>

Black campus activists not only protested for more elements of relevancy, but they supported the efforts of Black athletes. After a Black student protest in mid-May 1968 at Oklahoma City University, six suspended Black basketball players were reinstated.<sup>447</sup> But for the most part, the Black athletes took it upon themselves to protest the end racism in athletic departments. In mid-May, six Black football players at Washington State University did not suit up to protest a cat-calling incident at the school involving fifty Black high school students. Fifteen Black football players boycotted a

spring drill for two days since there were no Black cheerleaders, coaches, or courses, and few faculty. The university pledged it they would look for Black coaches and faculty, and it added the first ever Black cheerleader, and started a Black history course that fall.<sup>448</sup>

For decades, the athletic teams at traditionally White colleges had a miniscule amount of Blacks who often times were their best players. In the 1960s, as Black students enrolled in unprecedented numbers, so too did Black athletes. But those athletes, like Black students generally, found themselves in “brutally dehumanizing, educational and athletic environments...For, the Black athlete in the predominantly white school was and is, first, foremost, and sometimes only, an athletic commodity.” Whites called them niggers, and coons six days a week, but on game day they expected team spirit. “In the social and educational areas of college life, the Black athlete is expected to function at a sub-human level. In athletics, he is expected to be super-human.”<sup>449</sup>

Hating these harsh conditions, and now having the comrades to fight to change them, the revolt of the Black athlete shook up dozens of campuses in the spring of 1968. In January at Cal Berkeley, a group of fourteen Black football players boycotted spring practice in protest of three racist coaches not being fired, the constant ridiculing of them, and since they were not provided with good jobs and adequate housing.<sup>450</sup> Also that month, a delegation from the BSU of San Fernando Valley State met with athletic officials complaining about the inequities and racial slurs. Nothing was accomplished at the meeting, but the issues would surface again in the fall.<sup>451</sup> Calvin Murphy, an All-American basketball player, seriously considered leaving the University of Niagara in March 1968. He hated being constantly called *boy*. “The guys in the dorms—even the

priests—call me this and don't realize what they are saying,” said the future National Basketball Association Hall of Famer. “To me it's worse than being called nigger.”<sup>452</sup>

In April, eight track stars at UTEP, including world long jump record holder Bob Beamon, boycotted a triangular meet at Brigham Young University because of BYU's “belief that blacks are inferior and that we are disciplines of the devil.” Their scholarships were eventually taken away. Later in the semester, Black athletes in track and other sports at UTEP complained that members of the athletic department called them “niggers,” and would not let them date White girls. Said one UTEP basketball player, “We don't want to date white girls. What the hell is so great about a white girl? But we do want to date. Anybody. Black girls, purple girls, striped girls. And if there's nobody else available, then white girls. But they make it like a cardinal sin on this campus.”<sup>453</sup> Black athletes also challenged the University of Washington and SF State in April.<sup>454</sup> At Michigan State University, that month, Black athletes gave their list of demands for black coaches, cheerleaders, athletic employees, and a black academic counselor to Athletic Director Clarence “Biggie” Munn. He scanned the list, chuckled, and crossed the demands out one by one. When Munn finished, he smiled and said, “Ho, ho, I guess you want a black ticket manager or something.” The Black athletes boycotted practices until the administration took positive steps to address their concerns.<sup>455</sup> Sixteen of the nineteen Black athletes at Western Michigan University sent a letter to the athletic director in May 1968 charging “the University is incapable of equitable relationships with black athletes.” They demanded more Black coaches and scholarships for Black athletes, which the university agreed to a week later.<sup>456</sup>

The revolt continued into the summer of 1968. A newly organized BSU at the University of Alabama demanded the school admit Black athletes.<sup>457</sup> Two Black football players and five members of the Black Students Organization (BSO) withdrew from the Iowa State University in August dissatisfied with the action, or lack thereof, taken on their demands issued three months earlier for a Black coach in every major sport, a Black athletic administrator, and for them to be called Blacks or Afro-Americans rather than Negroes.<sup>458</sup> In all, the revolt of the Black athlete gripped thirty-five campuses in the spring and summer of 1968.<sup>459</sup> More generally, Black campus activists disturbed more than one hundred and fifty campuses during the 1967-1968 academic year with the vast major of the protests occurring after King was killed.<sup>460</sup>

In the first few years of the Black Campus Movement, most of the campus activism persisted at historically Black colleges. At traditionally White institutions, Black students requested a few more Black students, a few more Black professors, and a few Black courses. They were willing to sit through long committee meetings. They were willing to study the racial issue. They were willing to draw up proposals. They were willing to meet with professor after professor about their proposals for a more diverse academy. By the 1967-1968 academic year, patience of Black students had worn thin. When they heard about the Orangeburg Massacre and the brutal murder of King, their patience ran out. It was time to move towards activism like their brothers and sisters at HBCUs. The era of requesting was over. It was time to make demands. They now wanted hundreds of Black students, dozens of Black professors, and a department of Black Studies. No longer were they willing to sit through academic committee meetings. No longer were they studying a problem whose solution was as clear as the air to them.

No longer were they meeting with anybody. They wanted their demands. They wanted them now. And as the summer of 1968 removed thousands of Black campus activists from their campuses, they went home knowing that the battle had only begun.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**THE ASCENT OF A NEW POLITICIZED CRITICAL MASS**  
**(JUNE 1968 - DECEMBER 1968)**

Before Black campus activists traveled home, Coretta Scott King rhetorically patted them on their backs at the headquarters of higher education in June 1968. Replacing her slain husband as Harvard University's commencement speaker, King extolled student protesters as those who were demanding "decent human values and individual expression, as the impersonal and increasingly computerized society intensifies regimentation and standardization in people and things in the home, school, office in recreation and culture...In struggling to give meaning to your own lives, you are preserving the best in our traditions and are breaking new ground in your restless search for truth. With this creative force to inspire all of us we may yet not only survive—we may triumph." More than one thousand people sprung up from their seats as she finished.<sup>461</sup> John Hope Franklin, the chair of University of Chicago's history department and arguably the most distinguished Black academic in the nation, also sanctioned the Black campus activists—particularly their rallying cry, Black power, in his June commencement address at North Carolina's Johnson C. Smith University. "Black power is the amassing and the effective use of political strength for the uplift of the black community," he explained.<sup>462</sup>

Whitney Young added to the ovation in the *Chicago Daily Defender* in June 1968. "Some of the most remarkable young people in American today are the college students who have formed black student groups on major campuses across the country," wrote the executive director of the National Urban League. "Through their efforts, the iron curtain

of silence which amounts to a ban on positive information about Negroes, is being lifted.”<sup>463</sup> Not all Black leaders were pleased with the efforts of Black campus activists. Benjamin E. Mays, for one, called Black dorms “a mistake.” In terms of a Black curriculum, the recently retired president of Morehouse College did “not see it.” And “when black students pressure the universities to get more black faculty” and students, “they are working against Negro colleges” because they “would take away the best professors” and students. “With all our emphasis on blackness, we can help destroy black institutions,” he concluded. “I hope black students will ponder this.”<sup>464</sup>

Black students did not have much time to ponder this. They were too focused on the White backlash from White educators, newspapers, and politicians who were passing measures to curb their activism. At its annual meeting, the American Association of University Professors condemned campus activism that interferes with the higher education process. New York State’s senate overwhelming voted in favor of barring state financial aid to any student convicted of a crime “on the premises of any college.” A similar measure was passed by the House of Representatives to cut off federal loans and grants to campus activists in the summer of 1968.<sup>465</sup> As Congress and state governments were taking away financial support from student protesters, they were gaining social support and were further radicalized and politicized in the summer of 1968 from the global student community, Black Power activists, and American repression.

1968 was the “year of the student.”<sup>466</sup> Millions of student activists shook the world demonstrating against higher education and the global order of exploitation and hypocrisy in 1968 with the shaking reaching its peak of intensity in the summer.<sup>467</sup> Beginning with a strike at Haile Selassie University, Ethiopian students waged a long and

brutal battle for university and governmental educational reforms, resulting in some deaths. Students in Senegal and the Congo organized similar campaigns. In the Congo, students were particularly frustrated with the encroachment of party politics and President Joseph Mobutu onto their campuses.<sup>468</sup> Seven hundred students at the Jamaica branch of the University of West Indies challenged the government through a series of protests after they learned about the political deportation of Guyanese lecturer, Walter Rodney.<sup>469</sup> Students also rebelled in Pakistan, Germany, Poland, Japan, Yugoslavia, England, Italy, Venezuela, France, and Mexico.<sup>470</sup>

The global student rebellion in 1968 was part of the world revolution of 1968 “triggered by the discontents of all those who had been left out in the well-organized world order of U.S. hegemony.” In Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and even in the United States, students, workers, Black people, Brown people, Red people, Yellow people—a large portion of the world was fed up with the dominance of America. And they let America know it that year. They were also pissed off with the Soviet Union, who to them was colluding with U.S. hegemony. And they were disillusioned with the “Old Left in all its forms.”<sup>471</sup> Through their millions of protests that year, the New Left was born embodying spatially and symbolically the newly imagined “Third World.” Black campus activists, who considered themselves part of the New Left and the Third World, heard about many of these protests. With every protest their resolve to change the American academy was strengthened. It is pretty intimidating and daunting to be the only body screaming for change. But Black students were far from lonely in 1968. Surrounded by other student bodies around the world shouting for reforms and revolution, Black campus activists were encouraged to accelerate their movement.



Black students did not have to look abroad for politicizing food though. They fed off the Black Power Movement. Black Power activists in every social movement jabbed at American racism and White privilege all year long—particularly that summer of 1968. Black religious activists thrust the Black Religious Movement to the fore with their shouts that God and Jesus was Black in their new Black theologies. Prison leaders like George Jackson gained an immense following as the Black Prison Movement slammed the state on its oppression of Black prisoners. Black parents were more determined than ever to gain control of their schools in the Black Education Movement. Black capitalists replaced White capitalists in inner cities as the Black Capitalist Movement surged ahead. Activists like Maulana Karenga were hard at work in the Black Cultural Movement waging a cultural revolution. Blacks troops in Vietnam and stationed at bases throughout the world formed their own groups and challenged racism in the Black Military Movement. And the Black Panthers in the Black Revolutionary Movement made front pages that summer with their Free Huey Campaign.

Despair added to the politicization of Black students in the summer of 1968. When Robert F. Kennedy on June 5, 1968 was murdered, it was one of the capstones of Black despondency—the third strike that year after the Orangeburg Massacre, and the killing of King. “Blacks lost the last white man in a position of leadership in whom they had any confidence,” observed one professor.<sup>472</sup> The second murder of a Kennedy in five years affected White student activists moving against the War in Vietnam even more. They had talked all year about disrupting the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968. But when the war accelerator himself—Lyndon B. Johnson—decided not to seek re-election and as Chicago Mayor Richard Daley continued to bat

down and tear gas protesters in his city that spring, the support for the disruption waned. After the Kennedy killing, they had all the support they would need.<sup>473</sup>

White students, who had been protesting for the last three years against the War in Vietnam, were ready for their own Tet Offensive. As the full force of the White Student Movement prepared to converge on Chicago, Mayor Richard Daley sealed off the convention site with barbed wire and placed all twelve thousand Chicago police on twelve-hour shifts. He welcomed the arrival of one thousand FBI agents and the mobilization of six thousand National Guardsmen and another six thousand U.S. Army troops. These thousands of cops maintained law, but there was no order in Chicago during the week of the convention. Each night, the nation watched tens of thousands of student protests, community activists, and reporters and bystanders trying to dodge police clubs with tear gas clouding their vision.<sup>474</sup> Each night, Americans on the right grew more conservative. Each night, progressives, like Black campus activists, with every swing of a police baton they saw, were knocked to the left.

When they were not digesting the televised fruits of politicization, Black campus activists did engage in a few reformatory acts in the summer of 1968. In a press conference in Washington D.C. in June, student editors of newspapers at HBCUs called for a continued drive to create Black universities. “We want a black university for the benefit of the black community,” said one editor. The students—including Bettie Mitchell from Virginia State College and Donald Graham of Fisk University—were invited to the nation’s capitol by the United States Students Press Association for a four-day look at the Poor People’s Campaign. But they were more interested in using their stay as a platform to declare the mission of the Black Campus Movement at HBCUs.

“We have to change Negro colleges into black universities,” said Spellman College’s Chris Singleton. Because “in this era,” explained Charles Watts, “it is considered important for black people to get themselves together.”<sup>475</sup> A month later in June, ten Black students broke into the admissions office at California State University, Los Angeles. Secretaries scattered as BSU members tossed filing cabinets and papers around in anger that college officials were not keeping the BSU in the loop on the admissions process of Black students.<sup>476</sup> And in August 1968, Black students took over three offices of the Wilson Branch of Chicago City College, resulting in pay increases for participants in a federal work-study program at the eight branches of the city college.<sup>477</sup>

That was a small victory in the summer of 1968 confined to community college students in Chicago. A larger victory manifested that summer when many educators had finally been forced to conclude that the traditional American curriculum was not properly preparing “either black or white students to live in a pluralistic society.” There was substantial agreement “among students and professional educators” that to solve that problem, the academy must introduce Black courses. It took three years of activism for the academy to finally concede that ground. The desire for materials on Black people was filtering down to elementary and secondary schools as well. However, there was still plenty of academic space for Black students to fight for as most academics saw the integration of material in existing courses as more pressing than Black courses and certainly departments of Black Studies.<sup>478</sup> Still, progress was obvious when students returned to their campuses in the fall of 1968. The previous fall, only probably one college had a Black Studies program—SF State. Through the activism of Black students during the 1967-1968 academic year, several colleges opened Black Studies programs in

the fall of 1968. If the discipline of Black Studies was conceived in the fall of 1966, and born in the spring of 1967, then it was initially forced to walk the steps of academic institutionalization in the fall of 1968.

Merritt College's Black Studies program offering an associate's degree thrived with almost one thousand students taking twenty-six sections of fifteen courses.<sup>479</sup> Ohio's Antioch College pumped out \$10,000 to establish an Afro-American Studies Institute. An estimated 75 percent of Black students took the courses, mostly taught by Black students, during that initial semester in the institute, which was focused on dealing with the problems of Black people "so that we can use our minds and bodies to reconstruct our society."<sup>480</sup> More colleges offered new courses concerning Black people that fall. Some 270 students registered for nine new courses, ranging from "Racial and Ethnic Politics in America" to "Swahili" at Brooklyn College.<sup>481</sup> An English professor taught a literature course at Northeastern University, one of the Black students' thirteen demands in the spring. "I wanted to see the fruits of our labor," said one student who explained why he decided to take the course. "I've read all the books, long ago. Most black students have."<sup>482</sup> Wheaton College added "Afro-American History," "Negroes in Literature," and "Race Relations" to its curriculum.<sup>483</sup> Illinois State University embarked on a new course in African American literature that drew twenty-seven students, and an extensive lecture series in Black history.<sup>484</sup> Brown University offered its first courses on Black history and literature.<sup>485</sup> Cal Berkeley started five courses on Black people that attracted 150 students.<sup>486</sup> Pennsylvania State University continued offering "The Negro in the American Experience" it established in the spring, and initiated "Afro-American Literature in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century."<sup>487</sup> In Chicago, there were thirty-three classes offered on

Black people that fall by the city's higher education institutions and community organizations.<sup>488</sup> One of those institutions was Northwestern University. As a result of the building takeover in May, not only were courses in Black history and literature introduced and three Black faculty hired, but Black students had their own dorm, library-study area, lounge, and conference room.<sup>489</sup>

Although there was an infusion of these courses, professors still had to deal with a dearth of adequate and non-racist literature on the experience of Black people.

Afrocentric literature was practically non-existent. Sometimes instructors used hastily produced books trying to take advantage of the new academic market.<sup>490</sup> The executive director of the American Textbook Institute revealed that America was undergoing a textbook revolution in the summer of 1968. Scholars were "producing a whole host of new or revised textbooks which give us a better picture of the Negro's role in our country."<sup>491</sup> This fresh knowledge was sometimes showcased in the several newly established African-American cultural centers that fall. North Carolina A&T University's created an "African-Afro American Cultural Center."<sup>492</sup> Dartmouth College converted a college dormitory into its new Afro-American Cultural Center to "provide cultural roots which are now absent," said William McCurine, Jr., president of the college's Afro-American Society. Dartmouth also established the cultural center to serve its record eighty-nine Black undergraduates.<sup>493</sup>

Several colleges had a record number of Black students that fall—as the academy saw the most massive infusion of Black students in its history. Funded by the government and foundations and compelled partly by their own guilt and even more by angry Black student groups, a slew of colleges like the University of Michigan,

University of Oregon, NYU, University of Illinois, St. Louis University, Michigan State, Wayne State, and Stanford recruited and enrolled throngs of what they called “high risk” Black students from America’s inner cities who did not meet the standard qualifications.<sup>494</sup> As the *Chicago Daily Defender* editorialized that summer, “American universities which have read the signs of the new day and have remained inflexible in the preservation of outmolded academic traditions are feeling the sharp tremors of an angry generation.”<sup>495</sup> Black student groups joined in on the recruitment. About twenty from American River College knocked on doors in Sacramento to encourage their peers to come to college.<sup>496</sup> Some of Bowdoin College’s students for the fourth straight year used their summer vacations to travel to high schools and locate candidates for enrollment.<sup>497</sup> And Black graduate students at Harvard University, days after King’s death launched their own recruiting effort that netted dozens of new Black graduate students.<sup>498</sup>

The massive recruiting endeavor that summer was successful. Pittsburgh enrolled fifty-eight “high risk” and another sixty-five traditional Black students—more than three times the number the college had in 1965. St. Louis admitted a staggering 172 Black students compared to its mere ten students the previous fall. Stanford doubled its Black enrollment from the previous fall. Oregon welcomed seventy-five Black students, half of whom were “high-risk.” Illinois and Michigan State brought in five hundred and seven hundred Black students, respectively.<sup>499</sup> Five years after it took the National Guard to enroll the University of Alabama’s first two Black students, 308 were admitted without incident.<sup>500</sup> Even though in raw numbers, it was a massive increase, the percentage of Black freshmen in America’s colleges and universities increased only one tenth of one percent from 5.7 to 5.8 percent. The percentage may have been higher since there was a

one percent increase in students who checked the “other” race category, some who refusing to check “Negro” because they considered themselves “Black.”<sup>501</sup> In general, the academy this fall welcomed 66,000 more freshmen from low-income families, which Blacks made up a disproportionate share, than was expected based on enrollment trends. These students made up a mere 7.5 percent of the total in 1966. Yet, by 1968, they represented almost eleven percent of the national student body. This migration of low-income students into colleges and universities was “one of the most dramatic social revolutions of this decade,” noted an official in the U.S. Office of Education.<sup>502</sup>

University officials did not think these Black students would expect much. They thought they would be thankful since they spent millions to recruit them and had to bend the admission policies to admit them. They were wrong.<sup>503</sup> These thousands of Blacks who rushed onto campuses across America were more politicized than any other incoming class in higher education history. Eight hundred members of Howard’s freshmen class identified themselves as militants.<sup>504</sup> The more than three hundred so-called high risk students who entered SF State immediately grew frustrated with their campus environment. Those students at SF State were high risk already, not only academically, but politically.<sup>505</sup> These Howard and SF State students and others around the nation were ideologically prepared to hasten the Black Campus Movement. They would soon be in the trenches in the building takeovers, strikes, and threats.

Overall, this incoming class of Black students was usually older, poorer, and more urban than the Whites. A large number of their parents had not graduated from high school.<sup>506</sup> They received little or no financial support from their parents, and tended to major in the social sciences, notorious for producing activists.<sup>507</sup> When they arrived on

campuses they were usually greeted by BSUs whose leaders were often the smartest Black students on campus.<sup>508</sup> They were also greeted by an atmosphere that seemed like a different planet compared to their hometowns. There was the usual dorm room incident. As a Yale student said, “I was uncomfortable from the very first day when I walked into the college. There were three white guys in my room and as I entered they all turned and one said, ‘What room you looking for?’ I knew right then they were saying to themselves, ‘I hope it’s not this room.’” Others got “the great big grin and smile—‘Nice to see you’—and you know it’s not nice to see you at all.” There was the constant onslaught of silly questions from White students. “‘How does it feel to be a Negro? What do you think of King’s assassination?’ For God’s sake, how are you supposed to feel?” said a Black female student at City College. Another student at Yale said, “I came here to be a student not to educate whites about blacks. I’m tired of being an unpaid, untenured professor teaching those guys the elementals of humanity.”<sup>509</sup>

Black students for decades hated feeling like aliens. But they did not believe they could re-create that atmosphere until they gained critical masses in the mid-1960s. As one student said, “When there were just a handful of us here we felt isolated and defenseless in a white world, so we just went along, I guess. But with more black kids coming in each year we’ve started getting together and we have a lot more confidence.”<sup>510</sup> These confident students were not about their own interests. “[Black students are] very much concerned with the survival of the group, which is new,” noticed a City College professor. “When I came along, the focus was on individual accomplishments.”<sup>511</sup> This new wave was angry and determined to reform the academy into a place they can develop skills to advance Black America.<sup>512</sup> “I don’t want to be



trained to take my place in a white society where I don't belong," said a Princeton student.<sup>513</sup>

One of these politicized students who entered the academy in the fall of 1968 was Clarence Thomas, the future Supreme Court Justice. Like many colleges compensating Black America for the King tragedy, Holy Cross College recruited and admitted a group of Black students that included Thomas. He hung up a poster of Malcolm X in his dorm room, while his roommate plastered one of British movie legend Julie Christie. He was angry about the Vietnam War and the segregation in his birthplace, the American South.<sup>514</sup> And he acted on their calls for Black solidarity through helping to found the Black Student Union at Holy Cross that demanded a separate residence for Black students.<sup>515</sup>

Several officials forecasted an upsurge of Black campus activism as students like Thomas enrolled or returned to the academy. In a comprehensive 78-page report, Brandeis University's Lemberg Center for the study of violence predicted in August that "schools everywhere, at the college and pre-college level" will be the scenes of racial disorders.<sup>516</sup> In early September 1968, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* editorialized that "all indicators point to more and deeper student dissidence on many campuses in the coming year. Events of the summer, agree most persons close to the activist student movements, have only served to intensify the students' disenchantment with their lot—not only in their colleges and university but in society generally."<sup>517</sup> J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, dispatched a message the first of September to all his law enforcement officials warning them that "much of the trouble will come from a growing band of self-styled revolutionaries who are using college campuses as a base for their

destructive activities.” He continued “it would be foolhardy for educators, public officials and law enforcement officers to ignore or dismiss lightly the revolutionary terrorism invading college campuses. It is a serious threat to both the academic community and a lawful and orderly society.”<sup>518</sup> The academy did not make the same mistake it did the previous year when it refused to heed Hare’s warning. In the summer, the warning circulated at several conferences. In July 1968, the Association of American Colleges urged its nine hundred member institutions to make their educational and social structures “responsive to the needs of contemporary society and contemporary students,”<sup>519</sup> and the president of the American Association of Higher Education challenged colleges to stop denying student rights in order to lessen the rebellion.<sup>520</sup>

Before classes began in the fall, some administrators took precautions against the possibility of activism, while others simply ignored the warnings. Most were probably surprised, however, about the relatively low levels of Black campus activism in September 1968 other than the storm of controversy that hovered over California concerning Eldridge Cleaver teaching a course that fall at the University of California at Berkeley and the demonstration at the University of Illinois.<sup>521</sup> When the five hundred Black students recruited to the Urbana campus under a newly organized special educational program called Project 500 arrived to start college, many were quickly frustrated because the university, among other things, did not have room assignments or financial aid for all of them. In the evening of September 9, a group of Black female students refused to leave a highly coveted residence hall where they stayed during the orientation week of Project 500. The agitated but calm crowd of female students and their friends eventually moved over the student union. Campus administrators came and

tried to coerce them to leave—as the union closed at midnight. The students decided to stay not to confront the administration but because they were either sleepy, or nervous about leaving at such a late hour and the rumors of police coming to campus. Inundated with reports of property damage and attacks on White students, college officials called in the police at three in the morning. They arrested almost 250 Black students on counts of mob action and inciting a mass demonstration.<sup>522</sup>

Throughout the Black Campus Movement, the early fall had the lowest levels of activism since students were busy getting use to, or rather perturbed about their surroundings. BSUs were reorganizing due to their influx of new students, student leaders and their political ideologies were vying for control of BSUs and SGAs, and BSUs were trying to win their grievances through traditional channels. But usually after the BSUs were refashioned, their new managers began asserting themselves, and when they perceived administrations as stalling on their demands, protests were usually right around the corner. History turned that corner in early October. Black students boycotted the social science classes of a professor at Chicago's Crane Junior College who refused students' requests to add the work of Black social scientists to their class readings lists.<sup>523</sup> On October 10, a dozen Black students at Wesleyan College soaked four copies of the college's 1968 yearbook in gasoline and set it on fire. "The Olla Pod reflects the white Western racist orientation of Wesleyan which seeks to deny the existence and unique expressiveness of the black world," the Afro-American Society wrote in a statement.<sup>524</sup> In mid-October 1968, twelve Black students at University of California, Santa Barbara barricaded themselves at dawn inside a classroom building and remained it "Malcolm X Hall." They were demanding a college of Black Studies, more Black coaches, professors,

and administrators, a racial grievance commission, amnesty for the protests, and the firing of three athletic officials. They refused to leave and release their hostage, the dean of students, until their eight demands were met. While inside the building, BSU members spoke to the growing mostly White student crowd about the problems they faced as Black students. One White graduate student broke through a glass door and tried to end the protest before BSU members turned a fire extinguisher on him. At the end of the day, the chancellor agreed to all but one of the BSU's demands (firing of officials), and after a twelve-hour standoff, the twelve students left the building.<sup>525</sup>

While the UC Santa Barbara protest made national news, the 1968 Olympic Games were going on in Mexico City. A group of Black athletes, however, were not participating. The previous November, San Jose State Professor Harry Edwards organized and presided over a meeting of prominent Black athletes on the West coast, and proposed they boycott the Olympics to dramatize the oppression of people of African descent.<sup>526</sup> Leading up to the Olympics, Edwards met with groups of potential Olympians on a few more occasions. The Black athletes as a delegation did not carry out a formal boycott, but their pressure did result in the International Olympic Committee barring South Africa in the spring.<sup>527</sup> Some, on their own accord, choose to boycott the event, while others decided to stage some sort of protest at the games.

Kareem Abdul Jabbar, UCLA's star center, headlined the boycotters in stature. He "felt no part of the country and had no desire to help it look good." He was unwavering as he was deluged with hate mail calling him a traitor.<sup>528</sup> But his deluge was nothing compared to the backlash that smacked two daring track stars from Edwards' home turf, San Jose State. Tommie Smith and John Carlos after winning the gold and

bronze medals, respectively, on October 16, 1968, stepped barefooted with Black socks representing Black poverty onto the medal stand and into history. Smith wore a Black scarf signifying Black pride, and Carlos wore a necklace of beads for those Blacks who had suffered at the hands of White supremacy. With the Star Spangled Banner playing, the two sprinters lowered their heads, balled up their fists covered with Black gloves, and shot them up in the air for what became known as the Black Power salute. “We are black and we are proud of being black,” said Smith at a press conference after the event. “Black America will understand what we did tonight.”<sup>529</sup>

Black America understood, and no segment more than their peers. Resembling the feelings of thousands of Black campus activists, Abdul-Jabbar “was fiercely proud of John Carlos and Tommie Smith when they made their black-gloved, victory-stand power salute.”<sup>530</sup> Inspired, Black college athletes intensified their revolt in the fall of 1968. Five members of Nevada Southern University’s football team complained to the Nevada Equal Rights Commission about being harassed and discriminated against.<sup>531</sup> Yet, not surprisingly, San Jose State athletes led the way in the revolt. In November, Black football players at San Jose State demanded the college hire a Black athletic director and head football coach boycotted a game against Brigham Young University, a college controlled by the Mormons who preached that Blacks were the disciples of the devil.<sup>532</sup> Seven football players had their grants-in-aid taken away as a result. Soon after, four Black basketball players boycotted a game against Fresno State and Black athletes at San Jose State turned in their scholarship to protest the act against the football players. “We do this with the belief that justice denied any black man is justice denied all black men,” a statement explaining their protest read.<sup>533</sup> After much anticipation and fear, the Black

Campus Movement came out of the blocks slow in September 1968 trying to find its new bearings. In October 1968 it picked up the pace, and received a shove from their colleagues' Olympic protest as it did earlier in the year from the death of King and the Orangeburg Massacre. By the beginning of November, the struggle to diversify the academy—the Black Campus Movement was back on—on like never before.

Archie Lee Chatman Jr. transferred from Los Angeles City College and became a star running back at San Fernando Valley State College in the fall of 1967. He already had a passionate distaste for racism. When friends walked into his dorm room that semester, they were immediately struck by an enlarged photograph of Chatman in a football game with his arm around a White boy's neck. Underneath the picture was the inscription: "My name is Archie Chatman. I don't answer to 'boy,' and I don't eat watermelon." A year later he did not want any other Black student to be called boy either. In the fall of 1968, Chatman walked away from football to devote all of his time to the Valley State BSU as its new chairman.<sup>534</sup> Chatman and the BSU were not looking to demonstrate that semester. They were forced to. On October 17, 1968, about twenty BSU members attended a freshman football game where a fight broke out. Donald Markham, a Black athlete, ran out onto the field to help his teammates. Immediately, the White freshman football coach ordered Markham to run off the field. When Markham defiantly walked, the coach grabbed him around the neck, turned him around and kicked him in the groin. The BSU members at the game were incensed, and at an emergency meeting the next day decided they would insist the coach be fired.<sup>535</sup>

On November 4, Chatman and two other Black students met with the college's athletic director and demanded the firing of the freshman football coach. After a series of

heated exchanges, the athletic director finally told Chatman only the president had the power to fire the coach. Chatman bolted out of the AD's office and headed for the administration building, flanked by more than one hundred members of the BSU. Some wore sweatshirts that said: "By Any Means Necessary." With every step, BSUs members seemed to get more agitated with their campus and more determined to change it. When they reached the administration building, they stormed up to the fifth floor. While looking for the president, they "came to the obvious conclusion," one of the students said, "that we had the opportunity this time to confront the policy makers." They drew up eleven demands, took over the floor, and met with the president. They called for a Black Studies department, more Black students, a tutoring facility, the disarming of campus police, a grievance board, amnesty, and the firing of the freshman football coach.<sup>536</sup> "We realized on November 4<sup>th</sup> that all four things—black studies, large black student populace, black faculty, and black tutorial program—were needed if we were going to develop a body of black intellectuals...who would become a positive force in the black community," Chatman remembered.<sup>537</sup> Acting President Paul Blomgren signed the list of demands and gave the BSU his word he would honor them. After a four-hour occupation, the BSU left the building peacefully.<sup>538</sup>

While Chatman was negotiating with President Blomgren, down in Vallejo, California at Solano Junior College, forty members of the BSU staged a classroom sit-in to obtain typewriters for their organizations. Twenty-one of them were arrested. The next day, Black students at Oakland's Merritt College disrupted classes, overturned chairs, tables, and garbage cans in the cafeteria, and removed books and supplies from the bookstore in protest of their racist campus.<sup>539</sup> Meanwhile, California Governor Ronald

Reagan, in a press conference, said the Valley State “demonstrators should be dragged off by the scruff of the neck.” Acting President Blomgren agreed, repudiating the amnesty he had granted. Twenty-seven Black campus activists were arrested and charged with seventy-four counts of conspiracy, kidnapping, false imprisonment, and assault. He also rescinded his support of the demands, sparking an almost total “Black Moratorium” on classes (which lasted close to four months until most of the demands were recognized in the spring).<sup>540</sup>

The most storied and longest student strike began the next day—November 6, 1968—at SF State.<sup>541</sup> About a week and a half prior on October 28, SF State’s BSU had called for a student strike in the cafeteria. One of the speakers was George Murray, who was in the central committees of the Black Panther Party and the SF State BSU. Murray, an English graduate student and adjunct instructor at State, stood at the center of a tug of war in September and October 1968 between the California state college Board of Trustees who wanted him fired because of his politics, and SF State faculty who did not. But he did not censure himself. In the cafeteria that day, he advised Black and Brown students to carry guns to protect themselves from “racist administrators.” He then turned to the curriculum. “The Black Studies Department is no department at all,” he shouted from a table.<sup>542</sup> Murray’s explosive and widely reported call for guns on campus gave the trustees the strength they needed to win the tug of war. SF State President Robert Smith suspended Murray a few days later, igniting a fuse in the BSU.<sup>543</sup> On November 4, at a highly publicized press conference, the BSU issued a set of ten non-negotiable demands for the establishment of a Black Studies department, more Black students and



faculty, the firing of the financial aid officer, amnesty, total control of their programs, and the rehiring of George Murray.<sup>544</sup>

Still, nobody knew what to expect—except the central committee of the BSU—when the day the strike was supposed to begin finally arrived. Shortly after 11 a.m. on November 6, the college's Black students, who had been demanding for a more inclusive college environment for more than two years since they formed the nation's first BSU, filed into the college's main auditorium. Benny Stewart, the chair of the BSU, called the meeting to order. He repeated his conception of “the war of the flea” he laid out the evening before in a massive meeting of Black students that featured Stokely Carmichael, who told them their BSU “was the most notorious in the country.” He instructed them to “heighten the contradiction as we prepare for the confrontation. Too many people seek to heighten the confrontation and don't understand the contradictions.”<sup>545</sup>

The BSU spent those last ten days since it announced the strike, heightening the contradictions. Now it was time to heighten the confrontation. Stewart proceeded to talk about the war of the flea, a philosophy of guerilla warfare in which the flea sticks and moves and never confronts the dog head on. As Stewart expounded on Robert Taber's thoughts, a short, bearded man in the audience rose up. “Look man,” interrupting Stewart, “everyone knows that. We didn't come here to talk. Let's get down to business. If we are going to go out on strike today, everybody else should be out, too.” “Rights ons” now permeated a room that once was filled with uncertainty. “All right, then we'll close the school down,” Stewart said after regaining his composure. “We'll break up into groups and go into the buildings.”<sup>546</sup> Shortly thereafter, Roving bands of students were disrupting classes, and the war of the flea ensued in other ways. Small fires were set.

Toilets were clogged. Offices were ransacked. They were determined to shut this campus down.<sup>547</sup> The BSU's White student allies held a rally during the raids. After the speeches, these five hundred students decided to move on the administration building to present President Robert Smith with the strike demands. Fearing a building takeover, Smith met the students on the steps. When the crowd quieted down he intimated, "There are many important things happening on campus today, and I have no time to talk to you at length. This is not the time or the place to discuss the issues that concern you." The students pushed Smith back into the building with an onslaught of boos. He reentered his office, and heard complaints coming in from all over campus. The pricks of the flea had become too much for the dog to endure. Smith closed the campus "to protect the safety of people from frightening acts and disruption."<sup>548</sup>

The college reopened the next day. Students set up picket lines at the campus entrance. Education teams invaded classrooms to explain the strike to non-striking students. At a morning press conference, the Third World Liberation Front, a coalition of all the student groups of color, indicated its solidarity with the BSU and also added five demands, including a school of ethnic studies, fifty faculty of color, and the admission of all nonwhite students. At noon, the BSU held a massive rally. One of the speakers was John O. Killens, the famed Black novelist. He roared that the strike was a fight for the right of "self determination," and called on Black writers to glorify such "freedom fights." After the rally, six hundred students tried to take the administration building, but were rebuffed by campus police. Some subsequently dispersed. Others marched through the Business and Social Science, and Humanities buildings banging on doors and yelling, "Rehire Murray" and "On strike, shut it down!" The latter chant became the strike's

slogan. During the rally and the marching, a bomb blew open a locker and exploded in a can in the Education Building. Several fires were set in wastebaskets, a telephone booth, in the station wagon of a conservative local TV station, a newsstand, and a coach's desk. A Nigerian student was arrested for carrying a small bomb.<sup>549</sup>

To BSU leaders, November 7 was uneventful. Even though classroom attendance was off by as much as fifty percent—9,000 students were not attending classes—they decided to escalate their guerilla tactics the next day. They set about fifty small fires all over campus, one in a restroom adjoining the office of President Smith. Wearing stocking masks that Friday morning, Black student groups baffled the police with their efficiency and speed. One group invaded the chemistry department's office, overturning desks and filing cabinets before fleeing to the nearest exit and hopping into a waiting getaway vehicle. Another group did the same to the psychology office. A similar raid of the anthropology department was less successful. After smashing a window most of the raiders fled. But one Black female student decided to inflict more damage. An electric shock threw her to the floor when she tried to cut through the wires of an electric typewriter that was plugged in. She was still on the floor when the police arrived.<sup>550</sup>

After the regular noon rally of five thousand, SF State students did not move on the administration building, but one hundred and fifty Black students on the other side of the country did that day. At the University of Massachusetts, the Black campus activists presented President John Lederle with a list of twenty-one demands. The students were furious over a beating of a visiting Black person by White students the night before and wanted a public apology, the hiring of Black campus police officers, and the immediate dismissal of the campus police chief. Robert Henderson shouted the Black student

demands in the crowded lobby of the administration building. We want “yes answers on all points by Monday noon,” Henderson bellowed, or “we’ll be back with bigger or better things!”<sup>551</sup>

Back at SF State, after a three-day Veteran’s Day weekend, President Smith was determined to not have his campus overrun with BSU guerilla maneuvers. The police swarmed in every building like an invading army when the school re-opened on Tuesday, November 12. The BSU changed its disruption techniques, sending educational teams to ask professors to speak with their classes about the strike. There was also the usual noon rally.<sup>552</sup> Compared to other strike days, it was uneventful. The same could not be said about November 13, 1968—as the student strike reached a week long. Thousands of students supported the strike, but the BSU had yet to win over the majority of moderate students. Like at other campuses, a vicious act of police brutality would do just that.

At noon on November 13, the SF State BSU’s central committee emerged from its hut to a throng of reporters for a press conference it called. George Murray read a prepared statement. When asked what the BSU’s plans were, he replied: “You can tell every racist pig in the world, including Richard Milhouse Nixon, that we’re not going to negotiate until our demands are met.” During the press conference, San Francisco Tactical Squad (or SWAT Team) walked across campus into the general area of the BSU’s hut to allegedly investigate a report that the television cameraman had been roughed up by Black students. When the conference ended, the Tac Squad, all over six-foot-tall and heavy set, held thirty-inch nightstick diagonally across their chest and lined up in formation in front of the BSU’s hut. The BSU members glared at the police line unperturbed by the show of force as onlookers jeered at the cops, chanted “Pigs off

campus,” and threw dirt and objects. Eventually, the sergeant ordered his squad to “get them!” Suddenly, these massive officers advanced on the large crowd, excitedly swinging their nightsticks on any Black student who was not fast enough to get away. After catching Nesbitt Crutchfield, a BSU leader, behind the BSU’s hut, they thrust their sticks in his stomach and punched and kneed him in the back before dragging him to jail. Preston Webster, a Black reporter who tried to help a Black female student, was also clubbed as were two other Black students. Eleven students were taken to the hospital and seven were arrested. The onlookers, mostly White students, were appalled at the brutality and the singling out of Black students for wicked attacks.<sup>553</sup>

The Tac Squad thought it was going to beat the spirit of protest out of the Black students. It was wrong. The BSU immediately called a rally and many of the students who had witnessed the Tac Squad’s brutal attack gathered in a mood of vehemence. Before anyone could speak, the police were spotted at the psychology building. Angry, the crowd swarmed towards the shocked police producing yet another thrilling face off. Some two thousands students chanted “Pigs off campus!” Everybody—the students, the cops—were tense, agitated, and thirsty for blood. All of a sudden, a group of forty faculty members who supported the strike formed a line between the students and the police to the relieved cheers of the students. The police retreated to their vehicles and left the campus. The SF State faculty, still aghast at the police brutality, passed a resolution at an afternoon meeting directing President Smith to suspend classes indefinitely. He did, announcing at the press conference that the campus would be closed “until we can open it on a more rational basis.” Governor Reagan was flabbergasted when he heard the news. Shutting down the campus was “an unprecedented act of irresponsibility,” and he

demanded that “the college be reopened by any means necessary.” When asked what by any means necessary meant, he retorted: “It means that if it’s necessary we’ll call out the National Guard, and if that’s not sufficient, call in federal troops!”<sup>554</sup> The BSU had achieved its goal. It had shut the campus down and with the aid of the Tac Squad, won the majority of SF State students over to its cause.

When Black students were being clubbed by the Tac Squad, students at Howard were in the first full day of their “Towards a Black University” conference. Stokely Carmichael said to some two thousand students “you’ve got to quit talking and start acting.” Maulana Karenga told the students there were seven types of students: the forced student, the integrationist, the professional student, the athlete, the career student, and the nationalist. The nationalist “is the ideal student,” Karenga explained. “He realizes his first commitment is to his people” and a true Black university would produce this type of student. Floyd McKissick, Harry Edwards, John Killens, and Amiri Baraka also spoke. Hundreds of students from other HBCUs attended the sixty-five seminars. The conference ended five days later with participants urging for a nationwide effort to make HBCUs more “relevant to the Black community.”<sup>555</sup>

The day after the Howard conference ended, Black students at the University of California, San Francisco held a press conference on November 18, demanding more Black students and faculty, a separate admissions committee for Blacks, and an active recruiting program.<sup>556</sup> At Minnesota’s St. Cloud State College, Black students met with President Robert Wick for more than six hours in his office, not allowing him to leave until he agreed to seek financial support for a cultural center for Black students, increase the number of Black students from twenty-five to several hundred, and to recruit more

Black instructors, counselors, supervisors, and coaches.<sup>557</sup> The next day, down at Ohio's Kent State, more than 250 Black students left the campus and set up a "university in exile" in Akron and Cleveland. They pledged to not return until their demands—including an office of Black affairs, a learning development program, a fund to assist Black programs, a Black cultural center, amnesty, and an autonomous Black Studies institute—were addressed. The administration soon after satisfied and welcomed back the Black students.<sup>558</sup>

Black students at Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh, were not as triumphant. In mid-October, the BSU had called for a Black student fund, and more Black faculty and courses, and an Afro-American center. But they received the run around from university officials. By November 21, as their patience had run out and disgust was overflowing, ninety of the college's 117 Black students crowded into the president's office and insisted he attend to their concerns. A heated exchange ensued triggering some of the students to disarrange files and destroy thousands of dollars worth of equipment and artwork. The exchange did result in the establishment of a cultural center with a substantial fund for activities, the institution of Black courses, and the hiring of a few professors. Yet, about ninety Black campus activists—nearly the entire Black enrollment—were arrested, suspended, and expelled—one of the largest expulsions of the movement—touching off several unsuccessful student protests for their reinstatement.<sup>559</sup>

Instead of using their hands to damage a building, Black students at Bluefield State College led a bomb to the trick on November 21. It was the climax of a month long effort of Black students at the West Virginia college to force officials to deal with the thirty-five grievances they originally submitted in October 1968. The home of President

Wendell Hardway, who Black students wanted dismissed, had already been stoned by marauding bands of Black students and they had threatened his life in letters signed, “Black power.” Five Black students had already been suspended (one permanently) for a food-dumping protest in the cafeteria. Their concerns centered on what the Black students saw as the continued effort to convert this once HBCU into a “white commuter college.” The bomb ribbed through the walls and the roof of the college’s new physical education building yielding \$80,000 in damage. No one was injured, but the college was closed beginning on November 22 for about two weeks—marking the second college in a few weeks that Black campus activists shut down. Three Black campus activists were arrested and charged with felonies concerning the bombing.<sup>560</sup>

Arizona State University Black students joined with hundreds of Mexican and White campus activists to occupy an administration building in late November for four hours to compel the university to cancel its contract with a laundry firm “known for exploiting black and Spanish-speaking workers.”<sup>561</sup> But Black campus activists at HBCUs stole the headlines in late November and early December 1968. On November 25, about one hundred activists at Tennessee’s Lemoyne-Owen College occupied the administration building. The next day, they took over the entire campus, barricading themselves inside all of the buildings and cutting all of the telephone lines until the administration accepted their demands.<sup>562</sup> Black students at Mississippi’s Tougaloo College threatened to burn down a building that housed mostly White faculty and administrators if the college did not recruit more Black professors and institute a Black-oriented social science curriculum. The threat led to some curricula changes.<sup>563</sup> Maryland’s Coppin State College students boycotted classes in December, which led to



improved physical conditions, changes in top administrative personnel, and additional courses on Black people.<sup>564</sup> Black students at the HBCUs in the Atlanta University Center (AUC)—Clark Atlanta, Morris Brown, Spellman, Gammon Theological Seminary, and Morehouse—formed an Ad Hoc Committee of the Black People’s Alliance. In late November, the committee launched a poster and leaflet campaign condemning the four “Negro” colleges as “irrelevant” to the Black community. They called for the revamping and consolidation of the five colleges into one “all-Black” university that excludes White professors and staff, eliminates required courses that deal with European history and culture, and introduces more Black courses, and faculty. The AUC presidents (former and present) publicly denounced the committee’s demands. Morehouse President-Emeritus Benjamin E. Mays branded the agitation for Black courses as “ridiculous,” and rebuked the students charge that the AUC colleges are “tools of the white power structure to keep Negroes in a subordinate position in American life.” Morris Brown President John A. Middleton called the students “Black racists” at a school convocation.<sup>565</sup>

The action of the Black Campus Movement shifted back to California in early December 1968. The “Cabinet of the Black Students Union” called for the establishment of a Black Studies department, breaking their silence at California State University—Hayward to “dispel the rumors that the black students are satisfied.”<sup>566</sup> Over at SF State, the trustees had already replaced in late November the more liberal President Robert Smith with President S.I. Hayakawa, a Japanese American semanticist, who was charged with bringing law and order to the college and keeping it open by any means necessary, as Governor Reagan wished. He was the college’s third president in 1968. Since the

BSU had closed the campus in mid-November, the university organized a series of convocations to settle the issues of the strike. But nothing was resolved. The BSU did use the convocations as a platform to elaborate on its demands.<sup>567</sup>

SF State reopened after the long Thanksgiving break on Monday, December 2. President Hayakawa had new rules for the campus. The speaker's platform where the noon rallies were held was off limits. Faculty would be promptly suspended if they struck, and students needed permission to use sound amplification equipment on campus. Strikers ignored the rules. At 8 a.m., a group of protesters spoke from a sound truck imploring people to not go to class. When Hayakawa heard the sound truck, he "blew his stack." He stormed out of his office wearing a blue and white tam-o-shanter with mimeographed copies of his "emergency regulations," followed by police, photographers, and reporters with their pens and news cameras. He leaped onto the top of the sound truck and tried to snatch the microphone out of the students' hands. Unsuccessful, he looked around madly until he saw the wires of the amplifier. He grabbed at them until the sound stopped. Some students tried to remove Hayakawa who resisted and yelled: "Don't touch me, I'm the President of this college!" A crowd hurriedly gathered to watch their new president, thinking he was crazy before the Tac Squad arrived and hustled him back to his office. News cameras caught the entire scene, as it made local and national television news that night, and photographers took shots that were plastered on newspapers around the nation the next day. To the conservative elements of the country, the sound truck incident "was like an extravagant fantasy being played out on a living stage: the student 'anarchists' were getting a taste of their own medicine, from a cocky little man whose deportment was every bit as outrageous as their own," noted an

observer. With that single spontaneous act, Hayakawa became the symbol of presidential sturdiness, a president who could not be pushed or swayed by the student movement. He became the most popular college president of his day.<sup>568</sup>

At noon, a few hours after the sound truck incident, fifteen hundred students gathered for a rally. While George Murray was speaking, two hundred police lined up on the side of the crowd. The crowd tried to move on the administration building but was halted by a line of police. Similar rebuffs occurred at other buildings. The multitude was beginning to disperse when a little scuffle between strikers and non-strikers erupted near the campus's entrance morphed into an attack from the Tac Squad. Some students retaliated with rocks, causing the officers to break ranks and beat several students. One arrested student was ruthlessly beaten by eight officers in his ride to the station, sustaining long-term injuries to his kidneys, testicles, and spermatic cord.<sup>569</sup>

The next day—December 3, 1968—was even worse. On Bloody Tuesday, as it has been termed, the police had a new directive—to prevent any large congregation of people on campus. At nine o'clock, the Tac Squad charged a group of fifty White picketers in front of a building, scattering them. Some were arrested, other were clubbed. They chased one of them into the cafeteria and were met by a horrified group of students, some of whom were smashed with nightsticks too. One was hauled out with blood streaming from his face. Word rapidly circulated about the indiscriminate pounding of bystanders in the cafeteria. An enraged crowd of students gathered in front of the administration building to shout its anger. Within minutes, the police were chasing this crowd all over campus. All of this occurred just in the morning.<sup>570</sup>

For the noon rally, the BSU brought in four of the most prominent leaders of the San Francisco Black community to demonstrate the community's support for the almost month-long strike. Carleton Goodlett, publisher of a San Francisco Black newspaper, the Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Methodist church, Berkeley City Councilmen Ron Dellums, and State Assemblyman Willie Brown spoke to more than two thousand students still reeling over the brutality that morning. Reverend Williams urged the administration to address the demands. "The sooner they do," he said, "the sooner we're going to get back to having education on this campus instead of the tactical squad."<sup>571</sup> Like the day before, the students marched on the Behavioral Science building after the rally. This time, hundreds of police officers not only stopped their advance. It chased crowd and roughed up students. A colossal battle ensued at the center of campus as green grass and trees in that area were painted red. Students broke up campus furniture and used the pieces as weapons against the police. Over the campus loud speaker President Hayakawa shouted for the students to disperse. "If some of you want to make trouble, stay right there. The police will see that you get it." Hayakawa was not lying. They got it probably worse than any group of students in higher education history. Don McAllister, a hefty Black student, was jumped by four officers, one of whom struck his head, creating a gash that quickly bled profusely. Soon the crowd swelled to five thousand students on the central lawn trying to take cover from advancing police lines. Some of the students who tried to escape in the library were fiercely clubbed by police who thought they were trying to occupy it. One student was left lying with his face in a puddle of blood. Another was knocked unconscious with three broken ribs. Those caught so viciously by police clubs that they could not get up on their own were eventually pulled up by the police and

thrown into patty wagons. Two ambulances made several runs to the hospital. Thousands of students were politicized. Hundreds were smacked with police clubs. Dozens had to taste their own blood. Even one police officer was struck with a cast iron chair leg, suffering a serious neck injury. At an afternoon press conference, after the ferocious melee, President Hayakawa praised the police for their “restraint and professionalism” and declared, “This has been the most exciting day of my life since my tenth birthday, when I rode on a roller coaster for the first time!”<sup>572</sup>

BSU members used the politicizing momentum of Bloody Tuesday to sustain the strike for the rest of the month.<sup>573</sup> The day after Bloody Tuesday, in the mid-afternoon, a dozen Black campus activists at Fordham University crowded inside the office of the dean of student affairs until he signed a statement promising the college would not take away financial aid from Black protestors. A few days later, Fordham’s Society for African-American Advancement further demanded the establishment of an institute of Black Studies, a twenty percent nonwhite enrollment, a pass-fail grading system for Black students during their first two years, a Black counseling center, and money and universities facilities for organizational activities in the community. They met with college officials about their grievances. But serious objections were raised and Black campus activists did not get some of them met until the spring.<sup>574</sup>

The day after Fordham demonstrators were assured financial aid, the majority of its thirty-five Black female students left Rhode Island’s Pembroke College and pledged to not return until it increased its Black enrollment. Over at Brown University, sixty-five of the university’s eighty-five Black male students also marched off campus to a local church four blocks off campus. Before leaving, the Afro-American Society told Brown

officials that Black students would remain at the church until the university showed a “definite commitment” to change its policy towards Blacks. The students returned to their colleges after a weekend of intense negotiations yielded the university’s commitment to a \$1.1 million three-year “intensive program for development of black students,” the institution of “a new policy to at least reflect in each entering class the black representation in the general populace,” and the establishment of an interdepartmental concentration in Black Studies in the fall.<sup>575</sup>

As Brown students returned to campus, a group of Black students on December 9 forced college officials to cancel a regionally televised basketball game between Northern Michigan and Pan American College after staging a sit-in on the court. The Northern Michigan students’ grievances were attended to soon after with the announcement of a new campus human rights commission, the hiring of three part-time Black campus policemen, and an investigation against campus police.<sup>576</sup> Angry Northern Michigan students were reacting to the constant discrimination they faced from racist campus police officers. Students at Cheyney State College were also aghast on December 9, but about the expulsion of nine Black campus activists who had allegedly roughed up a dean and threw a bomb on the president’s lawn. They damaged the library, cafeteria, administration building, and snack bar. On December 10, about three Cheyney students marched around the administration building for thirty minutes, prevented other students from going to class, and turned back the cars of commuting students. A force of 150 state troopers were called in and sixteen Black students were arrested. Six of the arrested students were sentenced to three to six months in jail in October 1969 for malicious mischief to public grounds, but received immediate parole.<sup>577</sup>

As Cheyney State activists encircled the administration building on December 10, twenty women at Massachusetts's Radcliffe College went in at 9:45 a.m. and sat quietly requesting to see the college president, Mary Bunting, saying the seven demands they had presented to her on November 26 had not been answered "adequately." The students asked for the immediate hiring of a Black admissions officer and for thirty Blacks to be admitted in the fall. The president appeared in the crowded lobby seven hours later. She said admissions officer candidates were already being screened, and staff members were being sent to recruit Black students with \$5,000 in hand with a "minimum target" of enrolling thirty students. Satisfied, the women serenely left the lobby.<sup>578</sup>

In general, Black campus activists were far from satisfied and the movement was nowhere near letting up that second week of December 1968. Most of the Black students at Portland's Reed College barricaded themselves inside the administration building, demanding a Black Studies department under their control on December 11. The faculty later rejected the demand for student control as a supposed infringement on their academic freedom. They did vote for the establishment of a Black Studies department.<sup>579</sup> Black campus activists at San Mateo College, a Bay Area junior college, were furious their reforms, including a Third World Ethnic Studies division, had not been instituted. About three hundred of them lit small fires and even bombed a building. On December 12, they instigated several fights with students, started small fires, broke several windows, and struck the president of the college. The next day, they organized a massive rally followed by another storm they unleashed on the campus. Numerous students and faculty were injured—one student suffered a broke neck—and several thousand dollars worth of campus property was damaged in the carnage. The next week, the college

became an armed camp with 350 police crawling and harassing everyone like roaches. Their demands were not met, but the young president of the college, Richard L. Ewigleben, said a solution to the conflict could be the creation of “colleges within colleges.” To Black campus activists, they were already being forcibly created.<sup>580</sup>

On December 13, Black students also disrupted California’s Monterey Peninsula College, and Boston’s Graham Junior College.<sup>581</sup> In upstate New York that day, about seventy-five Black students at Cornell dumped hundreds of books on library floors, danced on cafeteria tables, and overturned a cart of soft drinks, milks and rolls—all to press the college to launch an autonomous college of Afro-American Studies under the control of the students. The president rejected their demands. But on the horizon was an even more devastating demonstration in the spring.<sup>582</sup> A demoralizing protest did occur that week at Washington University in St. Louis. About thirty Black campus activists occupied the basement accounting office for nine days. The protest was sparked by the beating of a Black graduate student who refused to show his student identification to what he viewed as racist campus security guards. The students demanded an investigation of the campus security force, the creation of a Black Studies program, more financial aid for Blacks, improved working conditions for Black college employees, assistance in finding off campus housing, and more Black students. This occupation, one of the longest of the Black Campus Movement, ended on December 14.<sup>583</sup>

At the beginning of the fall 1968, the discipline of Black Studies was walking gingerly towards academic institutionalization. Black students at dozens of campuses forced the academy to pick up the pace with their whips of protest. They gave the academy modes of pursuit, particularly at a well attended December 1968 conference at



Atlanta University. Some four hundred administrators, students and faculty members from colleges throughout the nation met to have “an open-minded and open-ended discussion of African and African-American studies programs.” The conference report found that “the single most important problem facing the field of Negro studies is neither the presence or absence of bibliographies, nor the availability of an integrated series of books dealing with the history of the Negro in America, but rather the critical absence of a reservoir of first-rate Negro scholars.” The field had instead been dominated by White scholars. The “overwhelming majority” of the articles in the *Journal of Negro History* in recent years had been written by Whites. In 1967, all three Guggenheim fellowships in Negro history went to White men. But since the mid-1960s, legions of Black scholars fought against that dominion after learning that “mediocre white scholars were hailed as the writers of authoritative works” on Black people.<sup>584</sup>

Black campus activists not only compelled higher education to speed up the tempo in institutionalizing their major demand—Black Studies. More generally, they were concerned with the total reconstitution of the Eurocentric academy. They were up against a generation of trustees who were usually White middle-aged conservative businessmen and opposed to major adjustments and conceding any academic space without a fight.<sup>585</sup> Black students were up to the challenge. Demonstration after demonstration, protester after protester, Black student after Black student showed the intense and passionate determination of the Black Campus Movement to reorient higher education. That intensity, that passion, that determination stood at an unprecedented level in the fall 1968 as the struggle closed in on its climax. As Robert Smith, the former president of SF State told *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in early December 1968,

higher education “is at a serious and crucial turning-point.”<sup>586</sup> Black campus activists would force it to turn the corner towards diversity in the spring of 1969, as the movement reached its apex.

**CHAPTER 6**  
**THE LAUNCH OF THE CLIMAX SEMESTER OF**  
**THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT**  
**(JANUARY 1969 – FEBRUARY 20, 1969)**

As higher education walked into 1969, not all Black students were Black campus activists. Maybe the second largest group of students were “conforming Negroes.” In their college life, they were running away from their Blackness and did not want anyone to make Black people “look bad” in the eyes of White people. As a result, they were critical, sometimes publicly, of the ideologies and actions of Black campus activists.<sup>587</sup> There were four types of these Black campus activists primed to halt the functioning of higher education as the nation embarked on the final year of the tumultuous 1960s. The “radical activists,” who gave birth to the Black Campus Movement with their strong pedigree of revolutionary struggle, were now usually entering their final semesters. These radical activists, who may have made up the third highest percentage of Black students, had already organized BSUs and used them to reform admission standards and welcome in critical masses of Black students. Some of these radical activists became “revolutionaries” who advocated for calculated violence to achieve the goals of the movement, which should not be re-orientation, but the total destruction of the American academy. The revolutionaries were probably the second smallest group in the academy. However, they made up for their numerical deficiency in notoriety and zeal.<sup>588</sup>

The revolutionaries disproportionately grabbed the headlines along with the “anomic activists.” Walking time bombs, these anomic activists were in a constant state of rebellion from having experienced the most gruesome aspect of the Black experience

in America. Although the smallest group of Black students, they were in the forefront of the most radical acts of terror that would soon discombobulate higher education for the next five months of 1969. But the students who would dominate this coming charge against the academy since they were the majority of Black students were the moderate “militants” whose priority initially was a college education. They did not flock to BSUs until they felt personally threatened or a campus issue intrigued them. More felt threatened and more issues abounded in the spring of 1969 than ever before.<sup>589</sup>

When SF State reopened on January 6, 1969, the campus chapter of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) joined the BSU’s student strike. The AFT struck for more faculty control over college affairs, trying to wrestle power away from the State College Board of Trustees. As the BSU boycott entered its second month with this new force of support, more than three thousand strikers marched in a picket line that at times stretched around the entire perimeter of the mile-long campus. Sometimes the police charged the line to arrest students with outstanding warrants, but there was no violence comparable to the first two months of the strike. The campus looked virtually deserted as less than four thousand of the college’s eighteen thousand students were attending classes. Attendance figures had plummeted and stayed low for the rest of the month.<sup>590</sup>

The number of picketers tapered off to two thousand the next day as trouble brewed between the volatile coalition of the AFT and the BSU. The BSU released a statement that read, “Because of the strength of our strike the AFT has taken the opportunity to gain some long outstanding demands...We will not compromise the commitment of the thousands of courageous students by allowing the militancy of our struggle to be held back by anyone.” To demonstrate their self-determination, five

hundred students broke away from the picket lines, ran to the administration building, and chanted strike slogans defying Hayakawa's ban on gatherings. Two hundred police forced them to leave. On January 8, student picketers tightened up the line and tried to stop students wanting to get on campus. The police ordered the students to clear a path at the campus entrance. When the order was ignored, about fifty Tac Squad members—some on horses, others on foot—broke towards the line. Students scattered like birds. Some of those birds threw rocks and insults. Seven were arrested and at least thirteen injured in the first major police assault at SF State of the new year.<sup>591</sup>

As strikers argued with non-strikers at SF State, sixty-five of the roughly one hundred Black students at Brandeis University on the other side of the country stomped into Ford Hall in the early afternoon, some with mattresses in their hands, and told the staff and faculty they had to evacuate the three-story communications center holding a \$200,000 computer, the campus switchboard, science laboratories, and offices. The night before, William Middleton, a member of SF State's BSU (along with a White sociology professor at SF State) urged them to shut down Brandeis as an expression of sympathy with SF State. All they needed was that nudge. They were already deeply frustrated and angered the demands they had presented to the Brandeis administration shortly after King's death had not been implemented. An hour after taking the building, they held a press conference in the hall announcing ten non-negotiable demands. They wanted an Afro-American center, the expulsion of a White student who recently shot a Black student, a Black Studies department with the power to hire and fire in their hands, year-round recruitment of Black students by Black students, intensive recruitment of students from Africa and Black professors, and scholarships for Black students. In the evening,

Brandeis President Morris B. Abram asked the students to leave “so that we can proceed to discuss your legitimate requests.” A spokesman for the group replied, “We have nothing further to say and will not leave until all demands are met.” The students prepared themselves for a long stay in their new home, as President Abram decided he would not bring in the police to force them out.<sup>592</sup>

The next morning, about 150 White students gathered in front of the administration building, directly across from the occupied Ford Hall, to rally in support of the demonstration. Those who looked at Ford Hall saw a massive sheet draped from a second story window with a photograph of Malcolm X that read: “Malcolm X University.” The Muslim minister’s influence was also on display that day at two community colleges in Los Angeles. A dozen Black students were arrested for failing to disperse during a rally at Los Angeles Southwest College, while BSU members at East Los Angeles College went on a rampage in the administration building. As those BSU members broke windows and rolled garbage cans down the hall, school officials met with delegations of Black campus activists at Brandeis.<sup>593</sup> The discussions stalled, and that night President Abram said in a news conference “that the amnesty which I had earlier offered will expire...by 9 A.M. and that these students will be suspended forthwith,” and brought up on criminal chargers. Black students did not leave that night—correctly calling the president’s bluff. Actually, a dozen or more joined the protests, leaving only a minority of Brandeis’s Black students not in the building. Both sides met at 8:45 a.m. the next day, but no agreements were reached. There was a stalemate on the core issue—a Black Studies department controlled by the BSU.<sup>594</sup>

On Monday, January 13, about fifteen students at Queens College ransacked the office of Joseph P. Mulholland, the director of the college's Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge (SEEK) program, which gives financial and academic help to impoverished youth. Around 3:25 p.m., they brushed by four employees in the outer office, charged into the main office, and picked up the director's desk, a metal conference table, and eight chairs, carried them out of the room, and down a long corridor. They exited the building with the furniture in hand and dumped the piece between two park cars on asphalt like it was trash. Meanwhile, other students tore out phones, and ripped down pictures. They left the room almost completely empty except for the green carpet littered with debris. Earlier in the week, a Black and Puerto Rican student group had demanded complete control of the SEEK program to fire Mulholland, hire personnel, allocate funding, and change the curriculum. An advisory committee of prominent local Blacks was set up to serve as mediating force between the students and Mulholland.<sup>595</sup> The advisory committee was not able to dissolve the water of friction, only simmer it, as it would boil over again in May. While the Queens college students were ravishing the SEEK office, a couple hundred White students at Brandies began a sympathy strike of classes, and the faculty voted for the creation of a Black Studies department. But not under the control of the students, continuing the remonstrance. Actually, the next day the Black students decide to escalate their disruptive tactics. Five Black female students, wearing bandanas, paced into the reserve room at the library. One told the students there to sit down and "nobody will get hurt." Another went to guard the door with a piece of wood. After closing the window drapes and ripping out the phones, they scattered more than two thousand books and periodicals before being forced out by a worker.<sup>596</sup>

Throughout the Brandeis protest, community organizations, local schools, and even parents supplied the students with food. “Now if we only had as much freedom as we have food,” said one of the student leaders during the occupation. Many of the parents even organized a parents’ support group. At least one parent was not part of that group, and it showed on January 14. After one mother heard her child was one of the protesters, she raced to the campus, walked up to the hall and pounced on the doors with her fists and umbrella, crying out: “Christopher Carombo, come out! Christopher Carombo, come out! I don’t believe in black power!” A few moments later, a student came down the fire escape, climbed into an awaiting car and was quickly driven away.<sup>597</sup>

While Carombo tried to dodge the wrath of his incensed mother, administrators at Miami’s Dade Junior College finally removed *Huckleberry Finn* from the required reading list, officials at SUNY Albany, fearful of a threatened protest, gave into the students’ demands for more Black students and a Black studies department. And, thirty-eight of the forty-five Black students at Ohio’s Wittenberg University walked off campus in protest of the administration’s refusal to produce a statement “deploring white racism,” recruit more Black professors, cheerleaders, staff and students, reform the curriculum to reflect “the contribution of the Black man in Western World culture,” initiate two Black holidays honoring Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, and “facilities be provided for Black Students to meet together, to learn together, to socialize together.” Four days later the two parties came to terms and the Black students returned.<sup>598</sup>

The second of the four days Wittenberg students were in exile, they celebrated the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr., like other students across the nation—embroiled in protest. Brandeis students were still camped out in their college’s communications



center. About 150 Black students and their White allies at the University of Minnesota ended a twenty-four-hour takeover of their administration building. During the takeover, there was a tense battle between counter-demonstrators raising White power signs and shouting epithets like “go home and take a bath,” and the occupiers who at one point turned a fire hose on the hecklers. The students left after the university arranged to initiate a Black Studies program and a King scholarship for underprivileged students.<sup>599</sup>

On this future holiday, the entire student body at Ohio’s Wilberforce University was in the second day of its boycott of classes over thirty-four grievances. Later in the week, its student union building went up in flames, as did a classroom at neighboring Central State University causing thousands of dollars of damage. The boycott at Wilberforce lasted two weeks until officials formed a committee to reorganize this Negro university into a Black university.<sup>600</sup> Also, twenty-five Black campus activists at Pennsylvania’s Swarthmore College were engaged in the seventh day of their siege of the admission office, demanding active recruitment of Black students, faculty, and administrators. Like his peers throughout the nation, Swarthmore President Courtney Smith had been severely strained those seven days. On the eighth day of the siege, shortly before he was to meet with a faculty committee studying the demands, President Smith suffered a fatal heart attack. A whirlwind of shock shook the campus, and in sympathy, the twenty-five Black students ended their protest. About thirty Black students at the University of Pittsburgh also ended their siege of the computer center that day after Chancellor Wesley Posvar agreed to “move rapidly” on establishing a Black Studies institute, and holidays for Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. But the eyes of history were on the Quaker-affiliated school outside of Philadelphia.<sup>601</sup>

The blood continued to spill the next day. Two UCLA students, John Huggins and Alprentice Carter, leaders of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, were gunned down by members of Karenga's US Organization. The two nationalist organizations were ideologically at odds—a dissension that was catapulted to a gory confrontation by the divisional work of the FBI and LAPD. Huggins and Carter were shot at the end of a BSU meeting of 150 Black students. The students were discussing the selection of a director of the recently created Afro-American Studies Center, a selection the two groups had been at odds over since the fall.<sup>602</sup> That night, as the UCLA joined Swarthmore in the pool of shock and the splintering of Black Power Movement continued in earnest, Brandeis President Abram assured the Black students who were still in Ford Hall he would grant them amnesty if they soon left. But the university still had not budged on Black student control of the Black Studies department.<sup>603</sup> The next day, on January 18, about 150 Black students from neighboring Boston universities pulled up in buses in front of the campus. They came to show their support for the Black campus activists, entering the hall for about an hour before peacefully leaving. That afternoon, students who had occupied a building for eleven days, and according to President Abram, “had presented Brandeis University with the gravest crisis in the 20-year history,” left the hall. The protesters came out one by one—many of the men unshaven, some of the women wearing colorful African garb—all wearing buttons saying “Malcolm X.” Randall C. Bailey, one of the leaders of the Afro-American Society, told reporters that his group had succeeded in “exposing to the nation the inability of one of the most well-known liberal colleges in America to deal constructively with racism.” The struggle was “for power,” added the 21-year-old sociology major, “power to control one's educational destiny.”

Within a month of the “crisis,” the students had compelled their university to, among other things, search for the director of its new Black Studies department, appropriate \$2,000 to equip and furnish an Afro-American Center, appoint two Black professors, commit almost \$40,000 to scholarships, arrange for a Black assistant director of admissions, and hire Black student recruiters for the summer of 1969.<sup>604</sup>

SF State BSU’s strike not only spawned the Brandeis occupation, but another famous demonstration right across the bay. On January 22 at Cal Berkeley, the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) a Black-led coalition of Black, Chicano, Asian, and Native American students, began its own boycott of classes. Picketers paced back and forth at the entrances of several campus buildings, pledging to come back and do the same from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. every day until their five demands are met. They wanted, among other things, the establishment of a Third World College with Chicano, Asian and Black Studies departments, the hiring of more Third World faculty, counselors, deans, staff and administrators, and Third World control over all Third World programs. The crucial issue was the Black Studies department, first proposed in a report to the administration shortly after King’s assassination. The Black students heard from “second and third hand sources that white men were decimating their original proposal, deleting the essential community-oriented features of that proposal, and turning it into a traditional academic-scholarly-classroom-stale approach to ‘The Negro.’” At other colleges, the creation of *Negro* Studies, a de-politicized Eurocentric academic exercise with courses usually in existing disciplines, was sufficient for some Black campus activists as an upgrade to the almost total exclusion of Black people in the curriculum.

Not for those at UC Berkeley who called through their strike for a Third World College to be free from the “archaic, racist” traditions of the College of Letters and Science.<sup>605</sup>

While the passion for activism rose at Cal Berkeley during its first week of striking, over at SF State, the BSU sensed the spirits of activists were waning. It organized a rally for January 23 to reinvigorate them. At noon, students broke out of the picket lines and walked to the center of campus for the rally shouting strike slogans. The BSU expected thousands, but only one thousand were there. No police were in sight. After the crowd gathered and tried to move closer to the speaker’s platform to hear amplified bullhorns, a voice ordered the students to disperse on the campus loudspeaker since they were illegally assembling. The mass of students roared in response: “Strike! Strike! Strike!” As the students screamed in insolence, three hundred officers came up on the rear of the crowd. A second order to disperse was shouted over the loudspeaker. Defiant, the students pulled closer together, so the police could not split their ranks. The officers had other plans. They raced around the contracted crowd. When students in the rear realized they were being encircled, about a hundred bolted for freedom, disallowing the police from completing the entrapment. The officers whipped out their clubs and used them to close the circle. Everyone within the circle was now under arrest, scoring “the police...their biggest tactical victory of the strike.” About four hundred strikers were arrested and charged with at least three misdemeanors, including Nathan Hare and almost the entire leadership of the BSU and its allying groups. Every paddy wagon in the city was used for the biggest single arrest in San Francisco history. It became the beginning of the end of the strike, pushing open the door to serious negotiations.<sup>606</sup>

The UC Berkeley strike was waning as well until strikers compelled the administration on January 28 to fetch a hundred cops to disperse picketers who were blocking the main thoroughfare leading into the heart of campus. After the police arrived, a stink bomb was thrown into a classroom, several strikers interrupted classes, and vandalized at least two buildings. Moderate students grew agitated as they saw officers scurrying all over campus. The next few days, the number of students on the picket line reached its first day high, and doubled to two thousand by the month's end.<sup>607</sup>

In the first month of 1969, Black campus activists all over the nation were demanding and usually winning Black Studies departments and other measures to make their education more relevant. With every victory, threats from their enemies rose in volume inside and outside the academy in late January and early February. California legislators introduced more than forty bills to combat student protesters, including a minimum one-year jail sentence for three-time offenders. State legislatures in Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado, Illinois, and Maryland also talked about or instituted laws to curb student activism. The House Special Education Subcommittee had a series of hearings in early February on the state of higher education with a special emphasis on students protests.<sup>608</sup> An official of the U.S. Office for Civil Rights warned institutions that yielded to Black demands for separate housing or programs may violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and run the risk of losing its federal funds. Roy Wilkins, the major Black antagonist of the Black Campus Movement, cautioned that the NAACP would sue any institutions that established separate dorms or "autonomous racial schools within colleges and universities." After hearing about Wilkins' threat, Roy Innis, the national director of CORE, said "The latest NAACP outrage is the last straw. If Wilkins can use funds

supposedly earmarked for black people to fight against those same people, then CORE will commit its resources to defend and safeguard the students in their demands.”<sup>609</sup>

The debate of Wilkins and Innis in the media overshadowed two more legendary clashes between Nathan Hare and two opponents of the Black Campus Movement. At the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges in Pittsburgh in January, Hare battled Stephen J. Wright, the grey-haired president of the United Negro College Fund. “To solve the problems of American society,” Hare said, “Blacks must first blackwash—revamp—the existing educational system.” That is a “kind of separatism that isn’t going anywhere,” Wright retorted. “You have failed worse than the whites, you who have gone begging to the white man,” Hare snapped back. “In the face of your failure, we’re accomplishing. Black power has gotten blacks into white colleges in droves.”<sup>610</sup> Hare continued Innis’s rhetorical assault of Wilkins in a widely read exchange with him in the pages of *Newsweek* in early February 1969. As part of a larger spread on the “Black mood on campus,” Hare made “the case for separatism,” and Wilkins presented “the case against separatism.” In a piece subtitled, the “Black Perspective,” Hare opened saying he was appalled by “the sneaky way in which critics like Roy Wilkins accuse us of ‘separatism.’” He added, “Our cries for more black professors and black students have padded white colleges with more blacks in two years than decades of whimpering for ‘integration’ ever did,” echoing his statements in the Wright debate. He further called for Black studies programs that are “revolutionary and nationalist” because if they are not, then they are “quite profoundly irrelevant.”<sup>611</sup> Wilkins responded saying he sympathized “with the frustration and anger of today’s

black students...In demanding black Jim Crow studies...and exclusively black dormitories or wings of dormitories, they are opening the door to a dungeon.”<sup>612</sup>

Black campus activists opened the door of the dungeon with their accomplishments—to walk out of the prison of cultural marginalization. Not all accomplishments of Black campus activists came directly on the backs of their protests. Verbal or written pressure combined with the national specter of demonstrations was enough for some officials to give into demands. Some administrators did everything in their power to keep away the protest side of the movement. When Black students at the University of Detroit requested the entire sixth floor of a men’s dormitory be turned over to them, school officials obliged on January 23. About a week later, a group of Black students delivered a “Statement of Policy by the Black Students at Kenyon College.” “It is not enough to merely admit the Black student to the college,” the Ohio students wrote. “What is also needed is the admission of the Black man's culture.” Kenyon’s dean of students, Thomas J. Edwards, took the statement and request for financial aid, more Black faculty and courses seriously and erected measures that satisfied the Black students. Other administrators did the same across the country.<sup>613</sup>

They did the same in February 1969 as they saw more and more tornadoes of protests by Black campus activists ravaging colleges all around them. More than one thousand students boycotted classes to get a new college at University of California, Santa Cruz, named after Malcolm X. About fifteen hundred students disrupted the University of Virginia in a rally condemning the college’s racism, and months later with a counter Founder’s Day ceremony. In North Carolina, students boycotted classes for three days and set fires at Fayetteville State College in early February to transform that

Negro University.<sup>614</sup> On February 4, at least twenty students at Cal Berkeley were injured in a “rock throwing, club swinging melee” set off when officers tried to forcibly cut through a picket line. The next day, Governor Reagan declared a state of “extreme emergency” and turned control off the campus over to the local county sheriff. “I just feel we have come to the end of the road in depending on local law enforcement by campuses,” he told the press. The sheriff permitted noon rallies and brought a regular show of police force to the university. The strike continued, but for the next week and a half it was calm as both sides tried to avoid conflict.<sup>615</sup>

While the sheriff asserted his new powers on February 6, the BSU at Sacramento City College pulled up the weeds of racism at its college. After the president antagonized BSU members in a meeting about the college’s shortcomings, the BSU drew up ten demands: instituting a Black Studies program controlled by Black students and Black on-campus employment program, moving the community school of Afro-American Thought to the Black community, hiring a Black financial director, non-academic Black personal, more Black instructors, and providing an office for the BSU. This BSU was one of the many who journeyed through the long and grueling trek of the academic process. They spent the rest of the semester going before the student government association, administrators, and faculty senate to present their case and win their demands.<sup>616</sup>

A day after the Sacramento City BSU began its marathon, Black students at the University of Wisconsin pushed out of the blocks in their sprint for justice. In early February, the Black People’s Alliance along with other student groups and university offices, hosted an all-university conference entitled, “The Black Revolution: To What Ends?” Jesse Jackson and Andrew Young of SCLC spoke, along with Harold Cruse and



Nathan Wright, who chaired the first two national Black power conferences. Nathan Hare also said the university “needed a revolution to contest its middle-class orientation.” On February 7, the last day of the conference, the Black students submitted thirteen demands to the administration. They coveted a Black Studies department under their control, a Black cultural center, admission of the fifteen students who were expelled at WSU Oshkosh in fall of 1968, and a substantial increase in Black students.<sup>617</sup>

With the backing of the Wisconsin Student Association and twenty-three other campus organizations, the Black campus activists started their strike on Monday, February 10 with Hare’s rousing words still buzzing in their ears. There was picketing, several classes were turned over to strike-sympathetic students for discussion, and the day climaxed with a march of fifteen hundred students to the state capitol ten blocks away from campus. The next day, strike leaders followed the model of those who inspired them at SF State. With chants of “On Strike, Shut it Down,” hundreds of students invaded buildings and forced professors to cancel their classes. They formed impenetrable lines around buildings, which kept students away until the city police broke them up. Generally dispersal rather than confrontation occurred with the police unlike the following day—the most violent of the strike when students stepped up their tactics of disruption. With the police there to maintain order, it proved to be a combustible combination. Thousands of protesters dodged and sometimes were clubbed by the police as they engaged in their hit-and-run harassment tactics and tried to stop incoming traffic into the campus. Scuffles between counter-demonstrators usually members of the right-wing Young American for Freedom were rampant. Those counter-demonstrators, some of whom wore “H” armbands to identify with former Wisconsin student and SF State

President Hayakawa, also pushed protesters into the wailing clubs of police.<sup>618</sup> Wisconsin Black students were not the only ones to dominate their university that week. About ninety students, half of them Black from the Caribbean, were forced to end a peaceful two-week sit-in in a campus computer center over racism at Canada's George Williams University. When the police arrived, they were furious and had to be dragged out. But not before smashing furniture and machines and starting a fire—causing \$2 million in damages. All ninety students were arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit arson and malicious mischief, as the movement struck its first Canadian college.<sup>619</sup>

Back at Wisconsin, nine hundred National Guardsmen paraded onto campus in military formation with their fixed bayonets on February 13, alleging the city police were tired from long tense hours of chasing students. Some guardsmen rode in on jeeps with machine guns. Helicopters came to provide surveillance. If the city police caused a bomb of student activism to go off a few days earlier, then the National Guard proved to be like a nuclear warhead. After picketing and obstructing traffic during the day, about ten thousand students with Black torch bearers in the front walked from the university to the capitol in the largest student march of the Black Campus Movement. Their bodies may have been cold in the freezing weather that night, but their mouths were on fire, spewing out: “On strike, shut it down” and “Support the black demands” as they walked.<sup>620</sup>

February 13, 1969 proved to be the most intense, invigorating, and influential day of the Black Campus Movement. If there was a day—*the* day that Black campus activists pushed the academy in a corner and walloped the racism out of it—it was February 13, 1969—Diversity Thursday. The Midwest in Illinois and Wisconsin; the Northeast in

New York; the Upper South in North Carolina; the Lower South in Mississippi; and the West Coast in the Bay Area—in almost every area of the nation, a major protest occurred on Diversity Thursday. The SF State strike had already entered its third month. At UC Berkeley, after a week of relative calm with students and cops avoiding confrontations since the county sheriff took over the campus, the police made a series of maneuvers that escalated the now two-week old strike. Four squads of cops dispersed a line of about three hundred picketers who were encircling a bridge area on campus. Seventeen teaching assistants from the local AFT were conducting an informational picket line and not disrupting traffic, but they were surrounded and arrested. Furious, the campus activists vandalized the cafeteria and the library. They swept non-strikers out of campus plaza. A chanting line of picketers formed at the one of the university's gates only to be swiftly broken by a squad of highway patrolmen. Thirty-six persons were arrested on Diversity Thursday at Berkeley including Clifford Vaughns, a Black Los Angeles radio reporter. Before being hauled away to prison, police took Vaughns into the basement of a hall and brutally beat him. Vaughns beating and the renewed confrontational actions of the police injected a new life into this strike.<sup>621</sup>

Black campus activists at the University of Illinois delivered a list of demands to their administrators on February 13 for establishing a Black Cultural Center and Black Studies department, the hiring of fifty Black residence hall counselors and five hundred Black faculty, and for the university to address the local Black community's concerns. Earlier in the week, the Black students had increased the pressure for reform through a "grovel-in" of more than two hundred Black students at the home of the university's president. That weekend, vandals burned thousands of card catalogs from the university.

Over the next week, the Illinois Black Student Alliance deliberated with officials and most of their grievances were soon addressed.<sup>622</sup>

On Diversity Thursday, in the early morning at Duke University forty-eight Black students entered the administration building, walked to the central records section, told the clerical work they had to leave, nailed the doors shut, threatened to burn university records if the police were called, and renamed the area “Malcolm X Liberation School.” They made thirteen demands, including a special Black education program without grading, a Black Studies department controlled by Black students, money for a BSU building, a Black dorm, and an end to “racist policies.” President Douglas Knight declared he would not consider them as long as they stayed in the building, and by the mid-afternoon gave them an hour to leave. The Black students left at 5:30 p.m. with supporters, curious students and police officers lurking around the building. Hundreds of students, some carrying clubs, slowly started to dissolve. To accelerate it, the police drove several police cars through the students, driving them into a rage. Students hurled insults at the officers, banged on the cars and tried to set them afire. The police struck back with a barrage of tear gas, which ignited a social fire on campus with police clubs fanning the flames. Students defended themselves. One Black student even lashed at the police with a chain. When the police finally retreated into the administration building (and eventually left the campus), the throng of students had reached three thousand. Forty-five people, including two officers, needed treatment in the university hospital emergency room. Like their comrades at Illinois, the Black students kept up the pressure with more demonstrations, and soon campus officials announced most of the Black students’ concerns would be assuaged, including their own dormitory and the instituting

of the first Black Studies major at a Southern university.<sup>623</sup> Members of the Black Student Alliance at Chicago's Roosevelt University disrupted classes on February 13 to speak on their demands for a relevant educational atmosphere, and they marched on the president's office to demand amnesty, ripping out phones in disgust of his policies. Police were called in. Six students were suspended and warrants were issued for four others. Black campus activists had also interrupted classes throughout the week to conduct lessons on Black history and psychology. When one political scientist arrived at his class, he saw a Black student taking registration cards, and asked him what he was doing. "What are you doing?" the student responded. "I'm in charge here."<sup>624</sup>

Black campus activists at City College in New York City gave their own lesson on protesting as they took part in Diversity Thursday. A week earlier, Black and Puerto Rican students submitted five demands for a separate school of Black and Puerto Rican Studies and other issues to President Buell Gallagher urging him to "utilize whatever means necessary to meet" them, and announcing they would reassemble at noon on February 13 at the administration building to hear his reply. As promised, hundreds of students gathered to hear President Gallagher's response. With a cold wind blowing while he stood on a snow-covered lawn, President Gallagher rhetorically danced around saying yes to the demands to the utter disgust of the students. Livid, the three hundred Black and Puerto Rican students swarmed into the administration building and ejected its workers. They plastered their demands on walls and ceilings and waved a sign that read: "Free Huey: Che Guevara, Malcolm X University." Three and half hours later, they slipped out of the rear exit to avoid the news media and college authorities. That protest was only the salad. For an appetizer, they served the campus four days later with a

synchronized fifteen minute attack on eight buildings. In the engineering building, activists set fire to a stack of old newspapers, and broke one of the large glass windows and several display cases. They overturned tables and chairs and splattered paint over walls, clocks, and bulletin boards as they did in several other buildings. A heavyset Black student walked into the financial aid office, knocked all the books off a shelf, and smashed an electric typewriter before quietly walking out like he had just met with someone about his money. Food and dishes were tossed around in the cafeteria. Classrooms were emptied by smoke bombs. This was still the just appetizer. The main dish for late April was still brewing in the kitchen of activism.<sup>625</sup>

The City College building takeover, along with the other protests, was not all that was served on Diversity Thursday. Stokely Carmichael had launched the slogan of Black Power into America's social atmosphere in Greenwood, Mississippi, ten miles from Mississippi Valley State College. Wilhelm Joseph Jr., a Mississippi Valley State student from Trinidad like Carmichael, was radically moved by the new slogan like thousands of other budding activists. Later, he successfully ran for student body president on a ticket that boasted: "We are going to move this place! This is a black college." Under his leadership, students pressed for the ability to wear African garb and Afros, study people of African descent in their courses, and to end campus paternalism, the absence of students on committees, and the low quality of faculty and facilities. In total, they presented twenty-six demands, and to force on the college's engine to move on them, on February 13, Joseph and other student leaders organized a massive boycott of classes of ninety percent of the students. State police and campus security officers swooped in and compulsorily transported 196 students to Jackson, imprisoned a dozen others, and put out

a warrant on four protest leaders (including Joseph). All protesters were expelled. Some were allowed to reenroll though after going before an administrative council.<sup>626</sup>

The day after Diversity Thursday, seventy-five members of the Afro-American Student Organization at the University of South Carolina burned Confederate flags and fought with White students, and activists at Wisconsin still had to face the wrath of an invading army on their campus. Another one thousand National Guardsmen had arrived, making the total close to two thousand troops. They marched again to the capital, after a day of harassing students who wanted to go to class, but this time there were only about one thousand students. As they returned from the capitol, at least fifty Madison police officers advanced from behind, and walloped them with their billy clubs. Support dwindled over the weekend due to the overwhelming show of police force, compelling leaders to end the eleven-day strike on Monday, February 17, hopeful the faculty would officially support their demands at its next meeting. Like most bodies of professors across the country who were movement's most potent enemies, the faculty refused the endorsement of all of the demands, causing a small strike and later a campus-wide assault similar to the one at City College. In early March, Wisconsin granted the autonomous Black Studies department and some student influence in its organization.<sup>627</sup>

When Wisconsin Black students were returning to classes, a volcano of activism that had been active at Wiley College for two years erupted. Their decrepit living conditions, the lack of Black professors and Black courses had infuriated students at this small HBCU in East Texas. They charged into the administration building and took the president, three members of the board of directors, and a security officer hostage. Four hundred students—more than half the student enrollment—then surrounded the building.

It was part of a two-week campaign to press for their demands that ended in late February when college officials called in Texas Rangers, state and local police and closed the college. An administrative committee was set up to hear the students' grievances, and the college stayed closed until both sides pulled together an agreement.<sup>628</sup>

Members of Black Students United did not have to resort to shutting down State University of New York at Stony Brook to finalize an accord. In an assembly of one thousand students on February 17, President John S. Toll said he would set up a student-faculty committee to establish a Black Studies department, and the university will admit 150 more Black students in the fall. The students wanted an autonomous Black Studies department because, according Calvin Canton, a student leader, "A program for black [people] cannot be run by people who have oppressed us." On the same day, associates of the Toussaint L'Ouverture Society of Black Students over at Hunter College called for Black counselors, a library "relevant to the black experience," and an autonomous Black and Puerto Rican Studies department "to meet the needs of the present and future number of blacks in this school." Before February was over, the faculty assured their department of Black and Puerto Rican studies with half of its organizing committee being students.<sup>629</sup>

On February 18, while two thousand students were mobbing the administration building and university center to rid the University of California, Santa Barbara of racism and five black basketball players at Notre Dame demanded from the student body and received an apology for being booed during a game the week before, SF State President Hayakawa was continuing his spring offensive to cripple the three-and-a-half month-old strike. He already stuffed anti-strikers on student disciplinary panels, and halted the publication of student periodicals. But on this day he had the California Attorney



General confiscate all student body funds and order student government leaders to vacate their posts—effectively dismantling the student government which was the financial backbone of the strike. Its days were now numbered.<sup>630</sup> Meanwhile, the student campaign to stop the University of Pennsylvania’s incursion into its surrounding Black communities had reached its apex. In the 1960s, the university had already traumatized twenty-six hundred people—half of them Black—through demolishing their homes. In January 1969, a local Black leader announced that the residents of West Philadelphia would resist the university’s latest expanding initiative—the demolition of a local elementary school—and the total expansion project. Students began a campaign of the support. They held a rally and invited students from local colleges like Swarthmore, Temple, Bryn Mawr, and Haverford on February 18. Later in the evening to escalate their struggle, six hundred students, some from other colleges, initiated what would become a six-day sit-in in College Hall. It led to the establishment of a commission with community members that reviewed all of UPENN’s expansion projects, and the sit-in “placed intense pressure on Penn to admit more black students.”<sup>631</sup>

Two days after the UPENN sit-in, as Black students at both Massachusetts’s Clark University and Eastern Michigan University occupied their administration buildings over a series of reforms to diversify their schools, more than 150 students at Central Missouri State University were sitting with eleven of their friends in the local Black Panther Party in the college’s student union. Word got back to school officials that Panthers were there, so they called city and state police. With the officers waiting outside, the crowd was given five minutes to vacate the building. The eleven Panthers left at the request of their student friends. Some of the students who lingered longer than

five minutes had their student identification cards confiscated. The incident opened enough student eyes to the trees of racism all around them that some assembled that night to draw up a list of fourteen demands to uproot them. They included the hiring of Black faculty to teach courses on Black history and culture, the establishment of a Black tutoring program, the end of censorship of speakers, an ombudsman to mediate between Black students and administration, the unarming of campus police, and “a commitment by the administration to enter into a public dialogue about race relations.” They were submitted to a college dean the next day, and soon after, the college hired its first Black faculty member, and added two Black history courses.<sup>632</sup>

Those demonstrations could not compare to the ruckus at UC Berkeley on February 20. It was the “day of reckoning,” according to one observer. Black campus activists and their allies had finally mobilized a mass base for the strike. Unfortunately though, the widespread reports of police beatings in the basement of a hall, the public thrashing earlier in the week of Jim Nabors, a Black strike leader, the violent raids of picket lines, and the considerable police presence had made the removing of the cops from the campus the gut issue for too many White student supporters and not the demands of students of color. “The Alameda County fuzz have been running over this campus raising hell and that has to end right now,” said one White student that week. They showed them on this day. By noon, there were already several thousand irate students marching on picket lines and the ranks continued to grow. An hour later, the demonstrators—now numbering three thousand—flocked to the other side of campus to a hall where the California Board of Regents were meeting, catching the police by surprise. Upon reaching the hall, they liberated a street in front of it and chanted “We Want

Reagan.” The police ordered them to clear the intersection. Though annoyed, they obliged, making dense lines on both sides of the street.<sup>633</sup>

As the students moved off the intersection, a small squad of officers in yellow rain suits raced in a rage across campus towards the students. Faces contorted and with their riot batons brandished, they pushed through the students into the intersection. Some of the students fled across the intersection as these officers approached, and the officers hurried after them. One officer caught a student in the middle of the street, pulled him down from behind, and with an audience of thousands of students thrashed the student with his baton. Instinctually, one student with long Black hair sporting an army surplus fatigue, broke from the ranks of the crowd, darted into the intersection and with an audience of hundreds of cops, knocked the officer out cold before fleeing back into the throng with the injured student. The next moment seemed like an hour as the officer and his compatriots considered drawing their guns. They did not and what could have been one of the most deadly situations of the Black Campus Movement was avoided. The thousands of students returned to the other side of campus to continue their orderly and peaceful picketing. The picketing was due to break up by around 3 p.m. But not before the police had their revenge. They tried to break up lines causing small skirmishes. One student, running from one of these skirmishes, tossed a purple flower at the main police line. The police grabbed him, beat him, and carried him off arousing the horde of students to surge toward the police. The officers retaliated with the launch of hundreds of canisters of tear gas. Students picked some up and threw them back as so much gas clouded the campus that the administration building had to be evacuated. With students coughing, choking, and running for cover, the officers ran after them like an army trying

to annihilate its retreating enemies. Dozens were arrested. More were injured. That night, Governor Reagan called in the cavalry—the National Guard.<sup>634</sup>

## CHAPTER 7

### THE INTENSIFICATION OF AN INTENSIFIED MOVEMENT

(FEBRUARY 21, 1969 – APRIL 1969)

Before he died, Malcolm X forecasted there would be some activism among Black youth. He said “this new generation” was disenchanted, disillusioned and dissatisfied with America and was “willing to do something about.” But he did not know it would be this grand, this imposing, this widespread, this serious. Nobody could. He instructed this new generation to not follow the inactivity of his generation who “sat around like a knot on a wall while the whole world was fighting for its human rights.” Yet, he could not possibly foresee the vast majority of them untying themselves and leaving the comfortable wall behind.<sup>635</sup> Like any parent though, Malcolm X, was pleased with his ideological children as he saw his teachings manifesting so pervasively during the Black Campus Movement. The first tactic of organizing a Black Student Union that united all Black students, and advocated and supported their own interests was derived from the ideas of Malcolm X. The second decision to call this new organization “Black” of “Afro-American” came from Malcolm. James Garrett, one of the organizers of the SF State BSU, remembered that “blackness was the new consciousness or the consolidation of a consciousness that came from Malcolm X.”<sup>636</sup> The third plan of action was to issue a list of *non-negotiable* demands to the university’s administration. “The philosophy of Malcolm X” was “inherent in” these “black students demands,” noted one scholar in 1971.<sup>637</sup> As Malcolm in a speech declared, “You have had a generation of Africans who actually have believed that they could negotiate, negotiate, negotiate, and eventually get some kind of independence. But you’re getting a new generation...and they are

beginning to think with their own mind and see that you can't negotiate upon freedom.<sup>638</sup>

When administrations would not give into their list of demands, the Black campus activists decided to “fight for it”—usually the fourth tactical occurrence, again inspired by Malcolm. It was Malcolm who said in the same speech, “If something is yours by right, then you fight for it or shut up. If you can't fight for it, then forget it.”<sup>639</sup> In their fight, they took over buildings, organized strikes—whatever they could do to force the hand of the administration. The aura of Malcolm X was ubiquitous.

On February 21, 1969, the ideological children in colleges and universities across America were not able to visit his grave and give him flowers on the fourth anniversary of his death. But they were able to honor their father through programmatic roses and flowers of activism on his death-day. About twenty Black students at the Penn State broke the locks on the flagpole and lowered the American flag half staff in reverence of Malcolm X.<sup>640</sup> The Black Students' Union of the University of San Francisco sponsored and organized a Black Cultural Week dedicated to the memory of Malcolm X that wrapped up on February 21.<sup>641</sup> Black students at Rutgers held a rally as a memorial to their ideological father.<sup>642</sup> In a commemorative service, about four hundred students shared records and stories about Malcolm X at Long Island University. Elsewhere in New York City, five hundred students attended a similar daytime service at Fordham University and four hundred went to a memorial at City College. Like thousands of Black campus activists and other people across the nation, Betty Shabazz observed the anniversary of her husband's death at a New York City junior high school.<sup>643</sup>

Some administrators did not allow Black students to honor their father. University of Oregon officials refused to cancel classes during a memorial, so two

hundred Black students marched in protest. More than eighty Black campus activists at Wesleyan College did not march. Instead, they occupied a classroom building for twelve hours to show their annoyance with their professors who also refused to cancel classes and were opposed to racially reforming the college. “We seek to publicly memorialize...the death of a great American and a Black saint, Malcolm X,” the demonstrators announced as the president later indirectly overruled his faculty.<sup>644</sup>

Some students just issued demands on February 21, like the Society of Koromantee at New York City’s Baruch College, who wanted an increase in Black students and faculty and the development of a program in Black Studies.<sup>645</sup> The BSU at Stanford University led four hundred students on a rampage through the bookstore causing \$1,000 of damage.<sup>646</sup> Down at Alabama’s Stillman College, in their struggle for a Black university, more than fifty Black campus activists occupied the student union when the president closed this small HBCU after four days of disruptive boycotts and sit-ins.<sup>647</sup> At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the deadline for the administration to comply with the wishes of the Black Student Movement (BSM) expired.<sup>648</sup> The BSM had originally submitted twenty-three demands on December 11, a month after Stokely Carmichael gave a stimulating message to almost seven thousand students. The students wanted admission policies to be changed regarding Black students, including the elimination of SAT scores as a criterion since, according to the BSU, they are “based on white middle-class standards.” They desired more Black admissions officials and coaches, and the establishment of a Dean of Black students’ position, a Black Studies department, and exchange programs with Black colleges and an African university. They wanted Black students to have “full jurisdiction over all

offenses committed by Black students,” and for the university to improve the working conditions of Black non-academic employees, to open campus facilities to, and alleviate the problems of, the Black community. In late January, the chancellor of the University of North Carolina, J. Carlyle Sitterson, rejected most of the demands saying the university “cannot, in policy or in practice, provide unique treatment for any single race, color or creed.” Preston Dobbins, chairman of the BSM, said in reply he hoped that “Mr. Sitterson’s is not foolish enough to think that this is the end of the line.” The BSM extended the deadline for compliance to Malcolm’s birthday, and when the administration did not, about thirty-five Black students marched across campus chanting, “We’re going to burn this place down.” They went into the cafeteria, purchased food and closeted themselves in an upstairs meeting room for five hours. That meeting launched a pressure campaign to not only win academic reforms, like the appointment of a Black assistant director of admissions, but to aid Black workers in instituting their grievances.<sup>649</sup> Malcolm X’s ideas and life had provided inspiration and guidance to Black campus activists over the years. So it was not surprising that when they returned to their ideological source on February 21, it provided a substantial boost to the Black Campus Movement. For the rest of the February, March, April, and May, on almost every day, Black campus activists somewhere, in some way, with some notoriety, struggled against the academy. According to Betty Shabazz, they operated on Malcolm’s conviction that “if the system wishes to remain, it must voluntarily change or be changed.”<sup>650</sup>

The Monday after Malcolm’s commemorative Friday, the Third World Liberation Front rallied, overturned tables and broke windows in protest of the racism at California



State University, Hayward, and twenty Black women at Barnard College presented ten demands for a Black Studies major, more Black students and financial aid, and the establishment of separate housing and cultural facilities for Blacks.<sup>651</sup> Meanwhile, Rutgers BSUs at the Newark, New Brunswick, and Camden branches had already concurred that the time to break the legs of racism on their campuses had arrived, and a concerted blow would do the most damage. The Black students on the Newark campus struck first on February 24. Shortly before 6 a.m., twenty-five members of the Black Organization of Students (BOS) jumped out of a few cars, unloaded their food, bedding, and tools, briskly walked into a hall with its detailed schematics in hand, and within four minutes had chained all of the entrances. They renamed the first building to be occupied in Rutgers history, Liberation Hall, and announced they would stay there until the number of Black students, professors, scholarships and staff was increased, a Black Studies department established, and certain admission officers dismissed. The students slept briefly, read, played cards, talked socially and about the pressing issues of the day, issued statements to the press, made appearances on the roof, and worried about whether they would be assaulted or arrested by police. They consulted with BOS negotiators who deliberated with school officials and hastily brokered an agreement. In the early morning of February 27, the students left their home of the previous seventy-two hours in triumph with pretty much all of their concerns assuaged.<sup>652</sup>

While the Newark students prepared to leave the hall after two days, Black students on the campuses at New Brunswick's walloped Rutgers. About fifty Black men at Rutgers College and a slightly larger number of women at Douglass College entered their dining halls, stacked their trays with food, and dumped the food on the floor. The

following day, the men at Rutgers College implemented the war of the flea with vandalism, bomb threats, and minor fires resulting in classes being cancelled that Friday through Tuesday. Weeks before requested a progress report on the grievances they had submitted the previous April. A Rutgers dean “did not have much progress to report,” and told them they could present their demands the next day. The dean did not have to tell them twice. With three hundred members of the faculty and hordes of White students watching, most of the Black students showed up that morning, a large amount wearing dashikis and serious faces, and formally articulated their demands in the college’s gymnasium. Faculty and administrators convened the rest of the day and by the evening had resolved how they were going to recruit more Black students, and faculty, hire a Black assistant dean and financial aid officer, name Blacks to relevant college committees, endorse a Black Studies program, provide additional funding for cultural activities, and acquire works by Black authors for the library. They had accurately read the words of seriousness and impatience on the faces of Black students that morning.<sup>653</sup>

“We shall not tolerate the disregard of our demands and the treatment which we have received from members of the Douglass community,” the Douglass Black Students’ Committee said in letter in the student newspaper on February 21. “We are forced to take action to insure the fulfillment of the needs of black students at Douglass.” These determined Black women not only dropped food on the floor in concert with the men at Rutgers, the next day they engaged in their own guerilla tactics. They abruptly walked out of classes, yelled insults at instructors, ignored White students, locked bathroom doors, and stuffed toilets. Like at Douglass College, administrators cancelled classes for two days for students to attend workshops on racial issues and the college could figure

out how it was going to tackle their issues. Almost a year had passed and school officials still had not moved on the concerns these women reported in April 1968. There was only one Black professor out of two hundred, no courses on Black history, and few that examined Black people other than the two in literature. Not to mention the scarcity of Black administrators, secretaries, and cultural programs. Within a week, the college pledged to make all the necessary changes. But like students around the nation who had to resort to protest, the Douglass women were not happy. “I’d like to see this as the last time we’ll have to do something like this to make progress,” one said.<sup>654</sup>

While the students at the men and women’s New Brunswick colleges disrupted their campuses, the Black students at the Camden campus received mixed messages from their president on their demands. In fury, about ten of them, joined with members of the Camden community, walked into the College Center, locked themselves inside, and intimated they would stay until the president moved on their grievances. The Black Student Unity Movement (BSUM), an offshoot of the Black People’s Unity Movement (BPUM) in the Camden community, compiled a list of twenty-four demands it distributed on February 10. According to one analyst, “several of the items proposed...would have amounted to a black subcollege,” or a Black university within a university. They insisted on Black directors of students, admissions, and financial aid, urban education and Black studies departments, a Black section of the library, a Black dormitory, and for the college to serve the Camden Black community. The protesters stayed one night and left at noon after the president’s met the substance of their demands.<sup>655</sup>

During the Rutgers protests, other Black campus activists combated their colleges and universities. Twenty five Black students and their allies flooded into the president’s

office at Seattle Community College on February 25 to demand community control of a proposed branch campus in the Black community.<sup>656</sup> The next day, Black campus activists bombed a classroom building at Los Angeles's Southwest College, destroyed telephones and other property in the president office at Chicago's Central YMCA College, and at Beloit College in Wisconsin, about thirty Black students presented their president with a list of twelve issues, including an increase in Black courses, students, professors, the erection of a Black dorm and cultural center, and the end to harassment of Black students by college staff.<sup>657</sup> They told the president his reply would be the "alpha or omega" of Black-White relations at Beloit. It looked like it was going to be the omega when Beloit officials request more time that evening. Angry, about thirty Black students assembled in front of a dining hall, burned a cardboard effigy of the president, and shouted the demands. In the next week, they made a series of dramatic and disruptive readings their demands, disrupted the college through mini-sit-ins, rallies, stopping up sinks, and fire bombs until the president finally conceded in mid-March.<sup>658</sup>

Black campus activists used arson to disrupt Tennessee's Lane College as well in early March. At this HBCU with one thousand students, the Black Liberation Front set three fires in three campus buildings and organized a school wide-boycott ninety percent effective. Three hundred students occupied the student union building on March 2—in an effort to introduce courses in Black history and other initiatives to erect a Black university. All of the Lane classes were suspended and dormitories cleared by Lane President C. A. Kirkendoll two days later. He reopened classes on March 14 but only those students who signed an affidavit swearing they were not involved in the violence could enroll. President Kirkendoll's actions did not decimate the spirit activism as he

intended. It only delayed it. Later in the month, members of the Black Liberation Front and the Black Egyptians, an East St. Louis nationalist group, burned down the college's two-story science building. When firefighters tried to put out the fire, they dodged flames and rocks from students. Soon after, more than seventy students were arrested and the mayor declared a state of civil emergency, imposing a twelve-hour curfew.<sup>659</sup>

While Lane College smoldered on March 2, Black seminarians took over the main building and chapel at New York's Colgate Rochester Divinity College.<sup>660</sup> The next day, 263 students were arrested for staging a sit-in at Michigan's Ferris State College to press for a Black Studies program, an investigation of racism by some administrators, the liberalization of off-campus housing policies, and for Black professors. Out of four hundred faculty, none were Black—a situation arousing a scream for change.<sup>661</sup> The day after the Ferris State sit-in, on March 4, twenty-seven Black students at the University of Rochester seized control of the top two floors of the Frederick Douglass building and held it for six days until the administration agreed to recruit more Black students and professors.<sup>662</sup> In the second day of the Rochester siege, all forty-seven Black students at Oregon State University announced they were leaving because of its “plantation philosophy of education.” It was the peak of a week-long dispute over an order by the OSU football coach to a Black linebacker to shave off his beard and mustache or lose his scholarship. Students had already boycotted classes and athletic events and practices. On March 5, they took it to another level with the walkout explaining if OSU was not ready to accept Black culture they should not recruit Black athletes. By mid-March, the faculty and a college commission sided with the BSU. But only seventeen Blacks—10 of them athletes—returned to the campus for the spring semester.<sup>663</sup>

By early March, the Black Campus Movement (and also the White Campus Movement for student power) had already “strained the institutional fabric of American universities and colleges,” the Ford Foundation explained.<sup>664</sup> The *Chicago Daily Defender* glorified the “revolts” for having “brought forth...a healthy innovation and academic reorientation that might not have occurred under happier circumstances.”<sup>665</sup> In late January and early February, the roar of the traditionalists had become so loud that Congress was scarred into having hearings on protests in higher education. By late February and early March, the roar of reaction had reached the pitch of explosions, as Black campus activists were not the only ones making noise with bombs. President Richard Nixon endorsed a tough stand against disrupters, and so did the vast majority of American adults polled on the matter. Student demonstrations to protest the protests continued to mount.<sup>666</sup> NBC News’ Chet Huntley called the ferment for Black Studies departments another “college fad” that he hoped did not get out of hand.<sup>667</sup> Bayard Rustin, the executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, condemned the “separatist demands” of the struggle. “There is great irony in the demands now being made by black college students for separate black studies departments, for in essence these students are seeking to impose upon themselves the very conditions of separatism and inequality against which black Americans have struggled since the era of Reconstruction,” Rustin wrote.<sup>668</sup> Former Morehouse President Benjamin Mays criticized the call for Black dorms.<sup>669</sup> The National Governors’ Conference passed a resolution pledging to keep colleges open and safe. Conservative students in campus chapters like the Young American Freedom were organizing against campus activists. In the name of academic freedom, or more appropriately academic domination, faculty

unrelentingly slammed protesters “who would subordinate intellectual freedom to political ends, or who violate the norms of conduct established to protest [academic] freedom,” as Cornell professors wrote in March. State legislatures threatened to or passed measures that suspended, expelled, denied aid to, or jailed student protests. Even as the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public school officials may not interfere with students’ right to express their views in a non-disruptive manner, a lower court reaffirmed the right of colleges to expel students for conduct that leads to student protests.<sup>670</sup>

The brunt of the reaction in March came down on officials at Ohio’s Antioch College. In late February, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) told thirteen private institutions they could be violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 if they keep their Black Studies program, dormitories, or other initiatives that exclude White students. Antioch was one of those institutions. HEW gave President James P. Dixon two weeks to explain how the college’s student-directed Afro-American Studies Institute housed in a dorm for Black students was not against the law. A literal interpretation of the Civil Rights Act in this “deliberate and crucial question” might deny Black students rights that White students long have had at Antioch, President Dixon wrote back to HEW. This interaction between HEW and Antioch was leaked to the press. A *Chicago Daily Defender* columnist lambasted Antioch: “In defending the ‘Crow-Jim’ policy, Dr. Dixon gave HEW the greatest line of double talk, I have ever read.” Kenneth B. Clark, the noted Black psychologist, publicly resigned as a trustee at the college in protest of “what White segregationists have been doing to black for centuries,” Clark stated in his letter of resignation. “Yet it is whites who need a black studies program most of all.”<sup>671</sup>

Moderate liberals, like the Antioch president, were in a tough position having to satisfy the wishes of Black campus activists on one side, and reactionary conservatives on the other. They castigated activists for forcing them into this untenable position, saying their protests were leading to a rising reaction that curtailed their efforts at reform.<sup>672</sup> Black campus activists even forced authorities into these untenable positions at community colleges. Black students at the Los Angeles community colleges demanded the removal of college police, appointment of Black administrators, and institutionalization of Black Studies courses on all campuses. To induce their implementation, on March 10 Black students stopped students from attending classes at one branch and at another two days later, a Molotov cocktail exploded in the administration building causing about \$2,000 in damages.<sup>673</sup> In early March, there were also rumblings at the Chicago city community colleges. On March 12, students on the Southeast campus boycotted classes in their fight to win a Black Studies department and a student grievance board concerning racism, and on the Wilson campus, fifty students occupied a classroom building, successfully coercing school officials to replace the White president with a Black president.<sup>674</sup> Black campus activists at Howard that day seized the liberal arts building and the office of the president and held them for twenty-eight hours. This was not the first protest at Howard in the spring of 1969. Earlier, fifty students had taken over the law building for a day, sixty had picketed the administration building, freshmen had boycotted an anatomy class for seventeen days, and fine arts students had staged an almost one hundred percent boycott. The liberal arts occupation would not be the last, as another more widespread protest hovered over the horizon in May.<sup>675</sup>



The horizon had already passed at UC Berkeley. On March 14, the Third World Liberation Front issued a moratorium on the fifty-two day strike to engage in discussions on its key demand, a college of Ethnic Studies. It did win a college, but department of Ethnic Studies, as one of the most dramatic protests of the Black Campus Movement came to an end.<sup>676</sup> At Tufts University, Black students did not have to resort to protest. After the Afro-American Society met with Tufts President Burton C. Hallowell in a mid-March meeting, he announced the establishment of an Afro-American cultural center that would house twenty-five to thirty students, and have facilities for a library and group meetings.<sup>677</sup> At Chicago State College on March 14, about five hundred Black students, angered about a clash with a White student in the cafeteria, converged on the president's office and confronted him about erecting a Black cultural center that housed a new Black Studies program. The police dispersed the students, but not before the president cancelled classes and promised the students their center.<sup>678</sup>

Days later, on March 17, upon hearing that three Whites attacked a leader of Afro-Americans for Black Liberation (AABL) at the University of Houston, a mob of three hundred students overran the college cafeteria, security office, and bookstore. Earlier in the month, the AABL, along with its White student allies, staged a rally of fifteen hundred students in front of the administration building, and about seven hundred occupied it briefly that day, and five hundred seized the university center to press for AABL demands.<sup>679</sup> On March 18, 1969, about eleven thousand City University of New York and high school students converged upon the New York capitol building in 250 buses to protest the stark cuts to the SEEK program, which met the needs of students—mostly Black and Puerto Rican—who were economical disadvantaged or academically

under-prepared in New York City. The jubilant mood of the students quickly soured when they had to stand through speeches from a legion of state politicians and college presidents. Heckling and catcalls pervaded the day. But four student leaders did meet with Governor Nelson Rockefeller and extracted “a promise...of priority consideration for the SEEK program.” The war for SEEK persisted after the students left. The decisive battle would soon occur in late April at City College.<sup>680</sup>

The decisive battle of the entire Black Campus Movement ended a few days after the Albany demonstration. On March 20 at about 1 p.m., SF State BSU Chairman Benny Stewart climbed atop a table in the cafeteria and announced: “The strike is over but, to the people, the struggle ain’t.” This 133-day strike—the longest protest in American higher education history and what *Newsweek* called “a national symbol”—had galvanized the nation of Black campus activists and brought some of the most powerful politicians in the country to their knees.<sup>681</sup> The BSU settled because the conditions of protest had turned out of their favor. Morale among strikers was lowering by the day. Internal divisions among the BSU were growing wider. The AFT teachers had already settled and ended their strike, eliminating a sturdy base of support, and the BSU was never able to regain the militancy the strike exuded before the faculty latched on. BSU leaders were distressed over the health of Tim Peebles. Earlier in the month, a homemade bomb exploded in his hands in the corridor of the Creative Arts building. This 19-year-old Black student lost three fingers in his left hand, was almost blinded, and nearly died—sickening and scarring the student body, the base of the strike. Three important BSU leaders had been arrested for serious offenses in the last few months. George Murray and Donald Smothers were caught carrying concealed guns in a car, and Nesbit Crutchfield

was charged with arson after being found with a handful of rags and a bottle of kerosene in the school's parking lot. Most of the BSU leadership and the groups that allied with them had outstanding warrants for felonies. The BSU's coffers were emptied out when it had to bail out the 457 students who were jailed in the mass arrest in late January. And its time was being soaked by the deluge of campus disciplinary hearings and city court cases. With all these issues swirling in their minds, the BSU negotiated throughout the month of March. They won their autonomous Black Studies department and school of Ethnic Studies. The college agreed to "raise the percent of applicants for whom the college may waive admission requirements from 4 percent to 10 percent," assuring an increase in Third World students. But Nathan Hare and George Murray were both not rehired, and the BSU did not receive amnesty. Many of members served extended periods in jail. In an article in the BSU's newspaper in May 1969 on "Why We Settled," one of its leaders wrote, "Through observation we saw the determination and support of people rapidly decreasing due to a distant political level, communication gaps, and paranoia or fear of the Central Committee. And as the chairman of the BSU often says, 'The only way a people can be defeated is when they lose their determination to fight.'",<sup>682</sup>

Even though the movement decelerated at one of its vanguard campuses, the Black Campus Movement as a whole continued to move rapidly towards change. But not at George Washington University. Leaders of the BSU famously told reporters on March 19 that they would "vigorously oppose" the establishment of a Black Studies curriculum, and instead instructed those interested to go and take those courses at Howard and Federal City College.<sup>683</sup> The views of that BSU were in the minority, particularly in the

spring of 1969 as displayed by Black campus activists at Mills College on March 21. Encouraged by the words of Kathleen Cleaver, who told them they must “move into the 20<sup>th</sup> century,” about one hundred protesters at this women’s college burst into the president office, crowded around his desk, shouted their nine demands at the president, and held him prisoner for ninety minutes. They had made requests in February, said Sally Smith, but “we felt we weren’t getting anywhere, so we decided to turn our request into demands.” They insisted on, among other things, veto power by the BSU over hiring and firing Black professors and administrators, more Black students, and an autonomous Black Studies department. Shortly after, the faculty granted them all of their demands.<sup>684</sup>

Meanwhile, the University of New Mexico was unmoved by the threat of athletic boycott and did not sever all relations with Brigham Young University, an institution owned the Mormons, who at the time had a racist theology.<sup>685</sup> Yet, on March 22, White students were in fact moved to not harass any Black students at Northern Illinois University anymore. Previously, five White students jumped one Black male student in the presence of university police. In revenge, about 250 Black students went on a rock-throwing, window-breaking charge through their campus. They damaged cars and assaulted at least seven White students. One white student was clubbed in the head by a two by four as he curiously approached the roving band of students. “Get up, Whitey,” a Black student yelled. All of the city’s available policemen were brought to restore order. In a statement, the Black students declared, “Through this mass response to the racist aggression of whites, the black student body wishes to serve notice...that it will not tolerate or let go unnoticed any acts of violence committed on black people.”<sup>686</sup>

A day after the rampage at Northern Illinois, BSU members at Florida State walked into the housing office and tossed officials a list of their concerns that required “immediate action.” They wrote that the students “feeling of anger is so intense that we hereby promise further, that we shall not rest until all oppressions cease, and neither will you.” They demanded that residence hall secretaries be able to wear whatever they desired, maids to be able to use any kitchen or rest room facilities, and lounges for non-academic lounges be improved. FSU officials immediately granted the BSU its wishes, scoring another victory among Black campus activists for campus workers.<sup>687</sup>

Meanwhile, the BSU at the University of Maryland was hoping it did not have to resort to social combat to win its victories. The BSU composed a set of remarks it wanted President Wilson Elkins to make during his annual spring convocation speech on March 26. But the president refused to go on record as favoring progressive racial change through supporting the establishment of a Black Studies program and the total desegregation of the university. BSM members were “incensed by what they felt was a slap in the face to black student aspirations.” When President Elkins shared his watered down thoughts on the pressing racial issues, about two hundred Black students silently stood up and filed out of the Cole Field House. Later in the day, the BSU scheduled a meeting with President Elkins in April at which he agreed to establish committees to organize a Black Studies program and develop an affirmative action plan.<sup>688</sup>

March 1969 also saw fifty students at Briarcliff College inhabit an administration building to push for more Black students, and Illinois’s Lake Forest College give its Black students the right to veto the school’s decisions on which Black professors to hire—the apparent first such formal and public agreement to date.<sup>689</sup> April 1969

commenced with a telling National Black Student Union Conference at Oakland's Merritt College. From March 28 to April 5, Black students discussed in a series of workshops their desire to make Merritt into an all-Black school and their dissatisfaction with its Black Studies department. "We watch as the black studies department we fought so hard for is bastardized by and pimped off by Negroes and whiteys," said Elvoyce Hooper, the vice president of the student body and the college's BSU. They wanted the conversion to take place when the school is moved in two years to a new site. The purpose of the Black University would be to return its graduates to the Black community "in order to liberate it," said student body president, Fred Smith.<sup>690</sup>

During the Merritt conference, students at New York's Essex County College gave their officials a list of demands and received assurances on the inclusion of Black history in the curriculum.<sup>691</sup> As the conference wrapped up on April 5, about thirty of the thirty-eight Black students at Massachusetts's Williams College took control of the administration building due to the college's refusal to bring to campus Black Studies, a Black admissions officer, advisory status for Black students on Black admissions, three scholarships per year for African students, a Black dorm, more Black professors and students by the deadline—April 4, the one year anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King. Members of the Afro-American Society chained themselves inside the hall at 4 a.m., and two students with iron bars posted outside to guard the two doors. They announced through a loud-speaker, "We have no wish to wreak violence on anything or anyone." School officials decided to not force the students out. They even cancelled classes on Monday, April 7 and organized seminars on the actions of the Black students while written communication with the Afro-American Society took place. That evening,

the two sides settled. The students vacated the building after a three-day occupation shortly after midnight on April 8. The major stumbling block in the negotiations was resolved when the college agreed to provide “larger concentrations of black students within the present philosophy and structure of the residential house system.”<sup>692</sup>

The pressure from Black students did not let up. Later in the week, on April 11, students at Texas’s Lamar State College of Technology gave officials their demands and a bomb threat, forcing the evacuation of seven hundred people from the administration building. On April 13, Black students were part of the throng of five hundred who staged a “study-in” in the Albright College library in Pennsylvania as part of their struggle for twenty-three demands, six of which concerned Black students.<sup>693</sup> The next morning, twenty freshmen members of the BSU at Columbia University sat-in an admissions office in Hamilton Hall—the same hall Blacks famously controlled the year before. They did not stop the workers from doing their job or ask them to leave, but they did post guards at the door. To the astonishment of the officials, they released a statement that said, “Columbia University has been and still remains systematically racist and oppressive in its relations with Black people.” Earlier in the semester, the Afro-American Society had demanded a twenty-five-member board with Black students, faculty, and community members to “direct all programs from Black students or for the study of the black experience.” But now with the sit-in, the Society stipulated Black students be given the power to put together an admission board and staff for Black students. After a day of fruitless negotiations, the university declared the occupation illegal, subjecting the occupiers to the possibility of being put on probation, suspended, or expelled. Columbia officials rejected their demands, and in the early morning hours of April 16, showed them

a temporary restraining order and gave them a promise to discuss their issues. Soon after, the students sprinted out of the building and scattered over the campus in an attempt to not get caught. Nothing was settled, but the Black students served notice they were far from happy about the mere 250 Black students out of 17,000.<sup>694</sup>

Nor were they pleased about the working conditions of Black maids in the dormitories at North Carolina State that week. About one hundred students from St. Augustine's College and Shaw University marched to the home of the NC State chancellor to protest their horrible treatment, during which they beat up two White students and a news reporter.<sup>695</sup> The most upset of all of the Black campus activists this third week of April 1969 were those at Southern University, New Orleans. Angered already by a recent tuition hike without a countervailing increase in the quality of their education, students wanted in late March the college to improve its facilities, expand its curriculum with the introduction of a Black Studies major, increase its Black library books, administrative changes to ensure "that there shall no longer be a Dean of the University to serve as Fuhrer and honky overseer of the campus," and generally reorient itself into a Black University as a tool for Black liberation. On April 2, students approached the college's flagpole, took down the American flag, and rose up the red, black, and green Pan-African flag. It flew for a few hours and swelled not only student pride, but the local media. They took the flag down, and announced they were going to do the same on April 9 if their demands had not been met. A seething local reaction followed, led by the New Orleans superintendent of police who announced he would not allow another "desecration of the flag."<sup>696</sup>



Shortly after the flag incident, the faculty convened and issued a resolution supporting the demands of the students. It did not matter. When the students heard the superintendent blabber his threats, they became determined to do it again. They had two major enemies—like Black campus activists across the nation—their administrators and the police. Their attention naturally shifted from one to the other. Nobody, no idea, no threat could intimidate these Black campus activists, and they had to let the New Orleans know that. At 8 a.m. on April 9, seven students walked to the flag pole with their Pan-African flag and a sizeable police force there trying to scare them. They opened up their flag, reported its meaning, read their demands, pulled down the American flag, and raised their Pan-African flag in a seamless series of motions and words. When it was lifted, the police moved in to make arrests, but had to fight through a crowd of two hundred observers. Two officers were injured. Twenty people were arrested.<sup>697</sup>

During the next few hours after the melee, twenty-five students took over the first floor of the administration building and the students started their twelve-day boycott of classes. They were now fighting for the institutionalization of old demands, and for state officials to increase the school's funding and free it from their control and the society they represent. The boycott ended when Louisiana Governor John McKeithen promised reforms to the students. But they only received cosmetic changes—not the Black university they desired so immensely. They tried to renew demonstrations, but their struggle was curtailed when eight leaders were expelled in May.<sup>698</sup>

While students were boycotted classes at Southern, nine Black campus activists representing several of the Atlanta University Center colleges and one young Spellman sociology professor, Gerald McWhorter (Abdul Alkalimat), found a meeting of the

Morehouse trustees. For the previous six months, Black campus activists at the AUC had been demanding that the six colleges be consolidated into one major Black university that aided in the freedom struggle of Black people. But no one had moved on their grievances. Determined to be heard, they rushed into the room like a river and chained the doors shut from the inside. They now held hostage the Morehouse trustees and the college's president. One of the hostages was former Morehouse President Benjamin E. Mays who wrote later, "I have never met a more insulting group in all of my years." Fifty or sixty of their supporters gathered outside the meeting room. They called for the resignation of the trustees and the merger of the six colleges into Dr. Martin Luther King University. But even King's father, a Morehouse trustee who was the only trustee that was let go, opposed the changing of the name of the AUC. Rumors quickly spread through the AUC of the hostage situation and that the students had threatened the lives of the trustees. Morehouse and AUC student opinion rallied against the action, isolating the activists. Twenty-nine hours and an informal agreement later, the activists unchained the doors and released the fatigued hostages. Soon after though, the board rescinded the agreement except for the pledge of amnesty. But the protest and the work of Vincent Harding, Spellman's history department chair, led to the formation of the Institute of the Black World, one of the major cradles of the discipline of Black Studies.<sup>699</sup>

It seemed like every college and university was being rocked by protest in March and April 1969. That certainly was not the case. At some, BSUs were just being put together, like the one Fred Moore formed after he enrolled at the University of North Dakota when his father was transferred to the local air base. "We have seven black students and four Negroes here," the 19-year-old sophomore told reporters in the spring

1969. He organized the seven Black students and interrupted a class in “Negro History” to insist the title be changed to “Black History” and books by Eldridge Cleaver and Amiri Baraka be added to reading list. But Moore hated being there. “This is a total situation of soul on ice,” he said, echoing Cleaver. “When it’s cold, it is real cold. You walk down the street here and people damn near drive into the telephone pole.”<sup>700</sup>

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **THE VIOLENT ESCALATION OF THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT**

**(LATE APRIL 1969 – MAY 1969)**

The souls of campus Black folk in the spring of 1969 blazed with the flames of Black power like never before, warming the freezing climate of cultural hostility, academic irrelevance, and political accommodation. The national Black student body “found itself.”<sup>701</sup> At HBCUs across the South, almost a quarter of the students were active and another quarter sympathetic to the movement.<sup>702</sup> In general Black students had lost faith with the American political system, which had promised much and delivered little. They wanted an education that trained them to solve the problems of their communities and consequently they had to reform their universities to make them “better suited to serve their needs and desires.”<sup>703</sup> As a Columbia Black student said, “It is not that we’re anti-white or anti-anything. We want our university to become meaningful to us. We want our education to be a black education. We want it to be real.”<sup>704</sup>

The mood of Black students in the spring of 1969 reflected the general disposition of Black America. Unlike in the first half of the 1960s when most Blacks were optimistic about America and committed ideologically to nonviolence, integration, and an end to discrimination, in 1969 they were usually pessimistic. Most felt that the progress had been too slow, and Whites would make concessions only under pressure. Blacks were now ambivalent about violence, rejecting as a tactic usually, but ironically justifying the violent urban rebellions as advancing Black aspirations. There was a major thrust for Black control of every facet of Black lives—as the Black Power Movement sprinted on

the heels of those Blacks under thirty who were the most radical generation of Blacks to date. This generation pervaded Black society since the median age for Blacks in 1969 was twenty-one compared to twenty-nine for Whites.<sup>705</sup>

Black campus activists at both HBCUs and TWIs who were fighting for this meaningful and real education in the spring of 1969 mostly (but not always) had a common set of characteristics. They tended to be from urban centers where Blacks were in a racial minority, but had a large enough population to fight racism. They were usually in their early twenties, not church members, raised by progressive parents, majored in the social sciences or humanities, and were relatively wealthier and smarter than their non-active peers. Attitudes of self-reliance flowed through their veins. Discrimination and cultural deprivation factors on campus mixed with their progressive upbringing to produce an explosive mental stew—the ideology of the Black campus activist.<sup>706</sup>

It took four long years to mix this stew, what Charles V. Hamilton called a “black-student social conscience” that fed protests in the spring of 1969. In the first few years, Black students played the tedious talking game that academics love. But when their desires for more students and faculty, additional courses on Black people, and an end to housing discrimination morphed into demands for waiving criteria and recruiting hundreds of students and faculty, autonomous Black Studies departments and Black dorms, the game was over. Administrative sympathy turned into lectures of impracticability. Student patience and the non-violent approach had run its course in 1969.<sup>707</sup> By April 1969, violence became an option for more Black campus activists than ever to break the Eurocentric wall blocking their march towards relevancy. After Cornell, the whole world would know it.<sup>708</sup>

In April 1969, the Afro-American Society (AAS) intensified its pressure on Cornell to clear six Black students facing punishment for their role in the mid-December 1968 protests. On April 17, the board met to decide the students' fate. The defendants did not appear. An AAS leader, Ed Whitfield and five AAS members appeared in their stead and informed the board "it would be wise" to not penalize the students. The board began its tense deliberations at 9:30 p.m. More than a hundred Black students waited outside. They eventually grew impatient, pounded on the doors and screamed at the five board members to hurry up. At 2:00 a.m.—almost five hours later—the board informed AAS members that three of the six students were going to be reprimanded.<sup>709</sup>

Minutes before the board's decision, the first of eleven false fire alarms in nine dorms and two halls awakened the campus. About an hour after the first alarm, a six-foot-high cross wrapped in cloth was burned on the porch of the Wari House, the Black woman's co-op and a rock was thrown through its front window—riling up the Black student body, particularly due to the "cavalier attitude that the university took toward the incident." The rest of the day on April 18, rumors and discussions about the meaning of the alarms swirled. Nothing else happened Friday morning or afternoon, so the administration prepared for the upcoming Parents Weekend. That night, as the AAS had a massive meeting, false fire alarms and fire trucks ended the serenity of the evening along with bomb threats at two buildings where parents were enjoying a play and concert. The AAS meeting was more like an all-night party with a sense of anxious excitement and euphoria dancing in the minds and hearts of the students. They would avenge the reprimands and the cross-burning. They would discernibly show the inadequacy of the recently authorized Black Studies program. They were ready to take a stand against the

legacy of racism at one of bastions of the American academy. Parents' weekend when the university wanted to project its best was a perfect opportunity for this stand.<sup>710</sup>

At 5:00 a.m. on April 19, five AAS members walked into the backdoor of Cornell's Straight Hall under a heavy mist. They choose Straight Hall because it was the "nerve center of student life at Cornell [and thus] taking it over would be an act against the entire Cornell community." AAS members ordered the employees to give them their keys and leave. The employees declined. Determined, the AAS members beat the keys out of their hands. Twenty minutes later, fifty of their comrades came, some wearing Black berets and carrying wires, chains, knives, and clubs, and cleared out and secured the rest of the building. They rounded up and forced the custodial staff to leave. After learning that twenty-eight parents were sleeping in rooms, they rushed upstairs, slammed on the doors, and shouted to the parents they had to vacate the premises. Horrified, and shocked, many left quickly in their nightwear with their belongings behind. Those who refused saw their doors kicked in by AAS members. One woman was told, "The black man has risen." AAS members led the parents down flights of stairs to the hall's garbage room where they had to jump off a three-foot loading dock into the freezing morning rain. Everything was going to plan. By 7:00 a.m., AAS controlled the building and White students in the campus SDS chapter had formed a circular picket line out front, passing out leaflets that read, "The Blacks in Willard Straight Hall Are Fighting Against Much More than a Simple Reprimand. They Are Fighting to Free Their People From a System Which Denies Them the Rights to Self-Determination."<sup>711</sup>

After securing the building, everyone ate breakfast and some took up lookout positions at the windows and doors. Following breakfast, a meeting of the students was

called in which Whitfield, an AAS leader, reiterated the plan to hold the building for a few hours. Settling in, most of the AAS members called their parents “because we didn’t want them to see it on TV [first],” one of them said. Some AAS members studied for upcoming exams. Others called friends and urged them to join the occupation. At around 9 a.m., three Cornell officials went to the front of the occupied hall, navigated through the SDS picket line and with a bullhorn, commanded the students to leave. While the officials reiterated their commands, the sounds of a disturbance rang out in the back of the hall. Instantly, the administrators and SDS members on the outside, and the Black students on the inside, dashed to the scene.<sup>712</sup>

About ten White students of the Delta Upsilon fraternity had stormed into the Straight through an unguarded rear window. “Our entering was a denial of the legitimacy of their seizure,” said one of them. When the DU brothers reached the lobby area, the women’s screams notified everyone about the invasion. AAS members ambushed the fraternity brothers with their fists, feet, cue sticks, wooden chair legs, iron pokers, baseball bats, claw hammers, aerosol cans, and fire extinguishers, pushing them back to the window. Faces were bloodied and bodies were injured on both sides. As the DU brothers were expelled, one shouted: “We’re coming back! We’re going to burn it down next time!” The Black students retailed with “several threats of filling the Whites with lead.” After the morning affair, an AAS member warned “if any more whites come in, you’re gonna die in here!” They were not idle threats. Soon after, AAS members smuggled guns into the building to protect themselves. The once festive atmosphere was now filled with anger and anxiety.<sup>713</sup>



What was planned as a peaceful and brief building takeover became an extended violent hall seizure. The DU pushed Cornell student opinion behind the AAS occupiers and the administration behind the idea it had to end this occupation before someone was killed. In the early afternoon, AAS members issued four demands: nullify the reprimands of four students, reopen the question of housing, and conduct thorough investigations of the cross-burning and the DU attack. As the sun set, the number of rumors about hundreds of Whites preparing to storm the Straight rose, and the administration learned that the Black students were now armed with rifles. Everyone was on edge that night—administrators, Black student occupiers, the campus community, as “hysteria, fear, and paranoia” swirled in the upstate winds through the campus.<sup>714</sup>

The next morning, April 20, the national media had arrived and calls by those reporters who could not make it kept a constant tune in the information office. Everyone wanted to verify reports of the guns. But the minds of Cornell officials were elsewhere. They were trying to do “everything we conceivably could to negotiate with the black students and get them out of the building before night fell,” remembered one of the officials. At noon, two administrators entered the rear doors of the building and with one student watching holding a rifle, negotiations started the engine that would reach a deal that afternoon. It included amnesty, the calling of a faculty meeting and a motion for nullification of the reprimands, twenty-four hour protection of the occupiers and the AAS’s office, legal action against Delta Upsilon, a list of brothers who invaded the Straight, and university assistance in securing legal help for AAS.<sup>715</sup>

The AAS was now ready to leave after its 36-hour occupation, but first called over two Cornell administrators to walk with them for protection. As the administrators

arrived in the main room of the building, the eighty Black students assembled in silence. They lined up in military formation with women in the center. As word spread through the campus they were coming out, reporters and photographers sprinted to the entrance. One by one at 4 p.m., AAS members quietly exited the building with their fists or guns pointed to the sky escorted by ten unarmed campus policemen. Eric Evans led the way with his massive, loaded bandoliers draped across his chest, his shotgun and head held high into the air. They walked into a sea of cameras that latched onto their seventeen rifles and shotguns like digital leeches. “Oh, my God, look at those goddamned guns!” shouted Steve Starr, an Associated Press photographer, before snapping what became known as “The Picture,” which won him a Pulitzer Prize that year. When the AAS members crossed the large porch of the building, SDS members cheered in delight, while hundreds of onlookers looked on stunned into complete silence. In one of the shortest, but most dramatic, thrilling, and influential marches of the movement, the armed AAS members made their way across campus to their headquarters where they signed the agreement. An AAS spokesman proclaimed, “We only leave now with the understanding that the University will move fairly to carry out its part of the agreement that was reached. Failure on the part of the University to do so may force us to again confront the University in some manner.”<sup>716</sup>

The next evening, still reeling over the spectacle of guns, the faculty refused to sanction the agreement in the largest faculty meeting in the university’s history. “We believe to reverse the decision under coercion and threat of violence would endanger the future of the university and we refuse to do it,” the faculty concluded.<sup>717</sup> Few Cornell students bought the professors arguments and rallied around the AAS who lashed out

with incendiary threats towards the recalcitrant professors. Several campus groups were armed or arming. There was talk about taking another building. But if they did, the four hundred armed sheriff's deputies on alert who were eager to rough up the "uppity students" and "Niggers" would descend on campus and turn the crisis into a disaster. The Black students prepared to defend themselves, as Tom Jones, an AAS leader, told reporters, "It's been the black people that have died. Now the time has come when the pigs are going to die too."<sup>718</sup> With excruciating pressure coming from students, terrorizing AAS threats and the specter of violence that lurked just around the corner, the faculty reversed its earlier decision two days later. The university agreed to restructure the decision-making power structure of the university, giving the students more say, and establishing an autonomous Black Studies department that became one of the most politicized in the nation. Cornell President James A. Perkins resigned within weeks, becoming the most prominent presidential casualty of the Black Campus Movement.<sup>719</sup>

The next Monday morning, "The Picture" appeared on front pages around the world. Although guns had been used by previous groups of Black campus activists, it had never been displayed so publicly. A rain of condemnation poured down on the AAS. New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller urged the New York legislature to pass a bill that made the carrying of firearms on campus a crime.<sup>720</sup> Statements of outrage were launched from the floors of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.<sup>721</sup> Several Cornell professors resigned in protest including two department chairman and Thomas Sowell, one of the college's few Black faculty, charging he could not be a part of a college that was so "interested in its image—anything to keep the black students happy."<sup>722</sup> The *Chicago Daily Defender* editorialized that no demonstration at "all

American colleges and universities in the last year or so...has been more frightful and damnable than the spectacle of black students forcing the faculty of Cornell University at gun point to accede to their demands.”<sup>723</sup> Syracuse’s daily newspaper chastised Cornell president for his “humiliating surrender” and the faculty for their “turn-around...under the threat of violence for black militants,” warning that they “provided the green light for similar groups on other campuses.” The *New York Times* compared the Black students with the “jackbooted students” of Hitler’s Germany.<sup>724</sup> In contrast, the *New York Amsterdam News*, opined, “The Cornell University confrontation actually and dramatically reveals better than any other illustration the utter failure as far as America’s educational system is in relation to the majority black community.”<sup>725</sup>

The Black Campus Movement was now identified with violence. There was no way anyone could ignore the seriousness of the demands of Black campus activists and their determination to get them met. Just as in the previous April when King died, Black campus activists were emboldened by the reports coming out of Cornell, as if they could be stirred up anymore. Yet, unlike as a result of King’s death, the White liberal academy did not grow more sympathetic towards the movement. It turned on it and started to resent the struggle now dripping with their arch enemy—violence.<sup>726</sup> Black students did not care. Monday’s “The Picture” sparked the defining week of the Black Campus Movement—that fateful fourth week of April 1969 that saw the seizure of an entire City College campus, Harvard put its stamp of approval on Black Studies, and at least six other major colleges and universities rocked with the arms of Black student protests.

While “The Picture” was viewed around the world on April 21, twenty of fifty-five Black students at SUNY College at Oneonta demanded a Black Studies program and

more Black students, professors, and administrators.<sup>727</sup> At the same time, Black and Puerto Rican students with their allies boycotted at New York's City College for a separate school of Black and Puerto Rican Studies, and proportional representation in freshman admission, among other demands. Almost five hundred students gathered and walked in a procession through several campus buildings, chanting "On Strike; Shut it Down," like their peers at SF State. Some of the marches opened classroom doors and urged students to join the procession, ultimately stopping at the administration building where they held a mock trial. A human-size dummy, representing City College President Buell Gallagher, was charged and convicted of a host of crimes including denying Black and Puerto Rican students a separate school. They sentenced him to death and set the dummy on fire amidst shouts of "Burn him! Kill the Pig!" As flames tore through the dummy, the students sang, "Time to pick up the gun; the revolution has come," echoing a song of the Black Panther Party.<sup>728</sup>

The student strike was at least thirty percent effective that first day. That was not enough. They wanted to shut the campus down. The next morning, thirty-five Black and Puerto Rican students arrived at the South Campus of City College near Harlem and were pounded by the heavy rain. They planned to lock themselves in buildings and leave before they were attacked by police. They brought no provisions—food, sleeping bags, clothing—for an extended stay, only padlocks, heavy chains, and tools to remove the existing locks. They broke up into groups. A minor confrontation with security guards erupted at the main entrance. The students were victorious and by 8 a.m. all the gates to the South Campus were locked. At 8:30, the police removed the locks from the main gate. But the Black and Puerto Rican students formed a human barricade when White

students and faculty came and demanded entrance. Yells of “Go home” and “Let us in” were tossed back and forth over the gates. As it approached noon and it seemed clear to the Black and Puerto Rican campus activists that the administration was not going to take back the campus, they decided to morph their hit-and-run lock-in into a campus takeover. The faculty senate agreed to not use force or seek an injunction to remove the students, and President Gallagher closed the college and stated it would remain closed during negotiations. It would be shut down for fourteen days—the longest campus closure of the Black Campus Movement at a historically White college.<sup>729</sup>

The original thirty-five were joined by several hundred other activists and they proceeded to take over the entire South campus of City College and rename it the University of Harlem. Responsibilities were delegated concerning food, health, and most importantly security. Despite the colleges assurances otherwise, they felt an attack by the NYPD was imminent. Their fears were somewhat vindicated when they discovered an undercover policeman had infiltrated their occupation who the students interrogated and roughed up. The security detail also had to ensure that no Whites were allowed onto *their* campus. They famously opened it up to the Black community though. Several widely attended rallies were held with speakers like Kathleen Cleaver, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., James Forman, and Betty Shabazz. The activists held classes and lectures for some sympathetic community members and high school students. It was the first time that many of the nearby residents had ever set foot on the campus. The occupiers also organized tutorials for students to keep up with their lessons. Pre-med students set up a walk-in clinic for any medical problems. There were nightly community meetings where all of the students were able to air out the ball of frustrations that was inflated each day,

and their views about the continued negotiations with the administration. As the occupation wore on, the rhetorical heat in the meetings rose. The Black and Puerto Rican students were even at odds at one point over the marginalization of Puerto Rican desires in the five demands. But the solidarity held for those fourteen grueling days.<sup>730</sup>

Two days into the takeover, negotiations began. Six days later, three of the five demands had been ironed out, but there was still conflict over admissions and the students' separate school. A week and a half into the demonstration, court orders were issued to the university president and chancellor from students to reopen the college, and the alumni and conservative student chorus of reaction had reached a disheartening pitch, leading to administrators reopening the college on May 5. That evening, the student occupiers were served a court order to vacate the campus. Two hours later with only one demand unsettled, that of proportional admissions, the Black and Puerto Rican campus activists symbolically handed back the campus to the city and marched into the nighttime Harlem streets singing, "Deep, Deep, Down, Down deep down in your hearts. Love your brothers and sisters deep down in your hearts."<sup>731</sup>

The college was not open long, as the students shifted their tactics. On May 6, groups of campus activists, armed with clubs, roamed the campus and ordered students to leave trying again to close the college to continue their negotiations. "The University of Harlem is closed," yelled one Black student. "Go home or you're going to get hurt." When students refused, nasty battles ensued. At least seven Whites were injured and the president had to again close the college to the chagrin of thousands of students and angry professors. Classes resumed on May 8. Physical exchanges between students were more prevalent than intellectual exchanges and eleven fires ravaged the college that day forcing

President Gallagher to close the college once more and submit his resignation. President Gallagher was one of the more than seventy college presidents who had resigned from their posts during this tumultuous academic year. On May 12, the college reopened this time with a new president, Joseph Copeland. At a faculty senate meeting that day, after a long and passionate debate, the professors resolved to remove the police, close the college, and resume negotiations. Beginning with a twelve-hour marathon session of negotiations on May 15 between a dozen Black and Puerto Rican students leaders, and college administrators and city officials, the parties negotiated for months until in July they settled on a revolutionary open admissions policy for the entire City University system. The Board of Education decided to admit all high school graduates to the City University schools by September 1970. It was a striking win for the Black Campus Movement. “No major university had ever moved, almost overnight, from a rigorously selective admissions standard to a policy of guaranteed admission for all high school graduates,” wrote a group of researchers. Progressive Black America applauded the Black and Puerto Rican campus activists. Floyd McKissick of CORE wrote, “They have refused to ignore their responsibility to their communities and have ceased making fruitless ‘appeals to conscience’ to the college administrations.”<sup>732</sup>

Unlike at Cornell and City College, Black campus activists demands for a Black Studies program were somewhat satisfied at New York University, Fordham University, and Notre Dame University before they had to resort to crippling and disruptive forms of social combat.<sup>733</sup> The same could not be said about Harvard University where Black campus activists staged marches, boycotted classes, and even instituted a “free university” as a “constructive and instructive response to Harvard’s Afro-American



major,” or rather lack thereof. After they submitted their grievances to the administration following death of King the year before, Harvard formed a faculty committee to develop an Afro-American program, among other things. In January 1969, the committee issued a fifty-one-page report that recommended the establishment of a Black Studies major, a center for Afro-American Studies, and a major recruitment effort of Black graduate students. The *New York Times* praised Harvard for planning “a degree-granting program in Afro-American studies...[as] an important step in depoliticizing an issue that has become enmeshed in unnecessary controversy at many colleges.”<sup>734</sup> Harvard’s Black students were not as pleased, especially in early April when they came across an outline of the new program. They were dismayed that Black Studies majors had to combine their studies in one of the existing, and to the students, “racist,” disciplines. The set up presupposed “Afro-American Studies is less than a legitimate and valid intellectual endeavor,” said sophomore Fran Farmer.<sup>735</sup> They instead wanted an autonomous Black Studies major housed in a Black Studies department with Black students playing a central role in its organization. They spent the rest of April fighting for it. In mid-April, they opened their “free university” with seminars given by Black students and community members about Black issues, saying in a statement, “since Harvard will not provide courses and instruction of relevance to the interests, needs and concerns of black students, black students have set up a university where such will be the case.”<sup>736</sup> But their threats of social lightning hitting Harvard during the violent and rancorous thunderstorm of Black campus activism in late April proved to be decisive in them winning their demands. At a faculty meeting, on April 22, while the City College protesters were beginning their fourteen-day occupation, professors at Harvard convened

to vote on whether to approve the Black students' version of a Black Studies department.<sup>737</sup>

As the professors walked into the meeting room, they were greeted with the sight of a Black student waving a meat cleaver. Terrified, some of the professors "believed that were the black studies department vote to go against the protests, he would run amok, loping off heads."<sup>738</sup> Others saw it purely in symbolic terms. But most did trust the ultimatum offered by Skip Griffin, the president of Harvard's Association of African and Afro-American Students (AAAAS), who was one of the meeting's first speakers. "Not to make a decision in favor of the proposal that we have put here before you is to commit a serious mistake...creating a tragic situation which this university may never be able to recover from," he implored, as the crowd hissed. Even though it was wrapped up nicely, the professors still heard Griffin's threat. And they could not escape the seriousness of the situation. Rumors circulated rapidly of impending doom on the campus. Officials stood guard at the library and the museum, as according to one Harvard professor, "the shadow of Cornell was spreading to Cambridge, Massachusetts." A zealous debate followed Griffin's threat. Two hours later, the time to decide had come. "All in favor, please rise," the President requested. "All opposed." It was too close to judge, so a head count ensued, as more than seventy-five nervous Black students huddled together around their radios outside the meeting room. "The motion is carried by a vote of two fifty-one for, one fifty-eight against..." Before the president could finish, a cheer from the Black students drowned him out. "I consider this a great victory for black students and for American education," senior Clyde Lindsay told reporters. The rest of the night the Black students partied, letting out collective sighs of joy, while the faculty

let out collective sighs of relief. Some of the professors voted in favor of Black Studies due to their sympathy for the budding discipline. Others were truly afraid of allowing the possibility of the total destruction of the heartbeat of American higher education.

Whatever the reason—the debate on the legitimacy of the new discipline ended with that vote of confidence. Not only that, the faculty placed six students on the 13-member committee to develop the program, the first time in the history of this storied institution that students had ever been given a direct role in the selection of faculty members.<sup>739</sup>

The crucial victories at Cornell, City College, and Harvard proved to be yet another accelerator to the speeding struggle. At Hampton University, students burst out in frustration in April when they learned that two of the more popular sociology professors, chairman George O. Roberts and Armando De La Torre, resigned in reaction to administration disallowing Roberts to give Torre a sizeable raise. To the students, they were the latest in a long line of Hampton faculty who recently resigned or were fired due to the low salary scale and academic restrictiveness. The departing line would end with these two professors, the students charged. The students demanded a central role in all of the matters concerning their professors—from their hiring and firing to their recruiting, determinations of wages, and granting of tenure. They wanted Black administrators to replace those key positions held by Whites, higher wages for faculty, and amnesty. The Hampton officials ignored the students' demands. On April 23, a day after the historic Harvard decision, more than eleven hundred students strolled into the administration building “with the intention of occupying it until their demands were met.” Hampton University, said a student, was “geared to fitting us for a ‘nice, comfortable, middle-class’ existence with a nice-paying job in some huge impersonal corporation—that is

unobtrusive assimilation into White bourgeois society (Booker T. rides again)—rather than teaching us to think...and to preserve our cultural integrity in a hostile society.”<sup>740</sup>

When the students crowded into the building, the girls went to one floor. The boys sat down on another and all received a steady diet of bread and water. Some stationed themselves at doors to stop the traffic. The next day, the trustees closed the school, and refused to negotiate, claiming impotence on addressing the demands. The majority of the professors threw their support behind the students, as many of the demands called for an increase in their livelihoods. On April 25, another seven hundred students staged a rally in support of the eleven hundred students in the building while the trustees had their annual meeting that morning with the protests dominating their agenda. They began negotiating with the students that day, and by the following evening the board addressed almost all of the demands. Among other things, the board pledged to give complete amnesty to the demonstrators, not accept the latest resignations of the two popular sociology professors, give department chairs more power in recruiting and hiring instructors, set up a student-faculty review board, place four students with voting power on the influential Instructional Committee, and increase the pay scale of faculty. The more than a thousand Black students filed out of the building in triumph. In the early fall, they would be even more triumphant when their long demanded Black Studies program started its development and President Holland resigned.<sup>741</sup>

As the Hampton siege entered its second day on April 24, Black campus activists at Boston State College seized their administration building and at the University of Arizona held the mayor of Tucson captive for twenty minutes—the climax of a series of demonstrations including a fire bombing that led to the police occupation of the campus

for weeks.<sup>742</sup> In the wee hours of the following morning, forty members of the Association of Black Collegians (ABC) moved into the three-story building that housed the faculty club at New York's Colgate University to press for a Black Cultural Center in a structure equivalent to the faculty club. "The psychological trauma that black students face in a school such as this is criminal," [so we need a place where] "we can retire from the white community." Earlier in the week, forty of Colgate's forty-five Black students withdrew "from this white community." Now they were back with a renewed spirit. Arriving at the club at 3:30 a.m., they gave the club's cook, her husband, and six other guests until 7 a.m. to collect their belongings and leave. They did. The students settled in and started negotiating with the administration. The trustees conferred on April 26 and imposed a regulation erected the previous spring to deal with "disruptive" demonstrations. That afternoon, the students learned the university planned to obtain a court injunction if they did not leave. By 2:00 a.m. the next morning, they had abandoned the building.<sup>743</sup>

The Colgate students escaped penal action, unlike the Black campus activists at Memphis State University. In 1968, the Tennessee state legislature was one of many that passed a law making it a misdemeanor for students to remain on school premises after an official asked them to leave. On April 25, more than a hundred Black students rallied and swarmed over to the president's office for their second sit-in of the week. The dean of the students asked members of the Black Student Association to leave, but they refused, pressing for the employment of a Black dean of Black affairs, and an increase in Black administrators, instructors, and athletes. The Monday after the Friday sit-in, 109 students were arrested and charged with trespassing on state property.<sup>744</sup>

As the Memphis State activists were hauled off to jail on April 28, twenty-five Black students staged a sit-in in the offices of the arts and sciences department at St. Louis University to push for Black Studies courses and an end to harassment of Black students by campus police.<sup>745</sup> Around the same time, about seventy-five Black students, armed with guns and knives, took over the library-administration building at South Carolina's Voorhees College. After conferring with the students and receiving their list of fourteen demands, including a Black Studies department and higher wages for janitorial, cafeteria, and other nonacademic school employees, President John F. Potts decided he would not bring police onto campus to drive them out. Nor did he give them a timetable, seeking to avoid bloodshed at all costs, rather unusual moves for a HBCU president. Black students could be seen at side windows with shotguns, rifles, and knives on the lookout for police invaders. The students threw leaflets from the building. One said, "These Students Have Secured Guns For Self Defense Purposes Only And They Have Refused To Leave The Building." Another read, "We aren't Going to Allow Another Orangeburg" massacre. In the front of the building a wide expanse of glass was plastered with posters of Malcolm X and Muhammad Ali's famous quote: "Ain't no Vietcong ever called me nigger," and a sign proclaiming the college "the liberated Malcolm X University." No one would get "in or out" until their fourteen demands were granted, said one bearded Black student guarding one window with a shotgun resting on his lap. For food, about one hundred of their supporters strolled into the cafeteria shortly after dark, and ordered everyone to leave. Two students walked up to the cafeteria manager, one shoved a pistol in his back, and they took him out the back door, while the rest of the students "liberated" all of the food out of the refrigerators and promptly

delivered it to the building occupiers. Eight-six other Black campus activists at Voorhees formed a line around the president's home and chanted, "Umgawa, Black Power!" Ultimately, President Potts agreed to their demands and promised amnesty. But at least on the amnesty promise, he was overruled by the White Voorhees trustee chairman who later had twenty-five students arrested and charged with rioting.<sup>746</sup>

The day after the protests at St. Louis and Voorhees, about two hundred Black students peacefully sat-in a cafeteria at Michigan State, classes were cancelled at Manhattan Community College as Black and Puerto Rican campus activists staged sit-ins for a Black and Puerto Rican Studies department, and seven Black students at North Carolina's Belmont Abbey College occupied a science building and chained the doors in their fight for fourteen demands. Three students entered the building at 4:30, one of them carrying a .22 caliber rifle, and ordered the students to leave.<sup>747</sup>

As the tumultuous April 1969 wrapped up, and May started, a host of Black leaders chimed in on the struggle. There of course were the critics, the loudest of which at this time was Bayard Rustin, the famed Black pacifist organizer who was now the executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute. At the New York chapter meeting of the American Jewish Committee in late April, Rustin challenged college officials to "stop capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students" and instead "see that they get the remedial training that they need." To Rustin, Black students were "suffering from the shock of integration" and were looking for "an easy way out of their problems with their demands for separate dormitories and study programs."<sup>748</sup> Not all of the voices in early May were critical. Whitney Young of the Urban League not only showed his support but called "this generation the smartest, hippest group of young people in our

history...Students are trying to make their deaf elders listen to them, and work with them, and to make the imperfect present give way to a better future.”<sup>749</sup>

Activists at Brooklyn College ended April 1969 by making their deaf elders listen to them when they ran amok for three hours on their campus. More than one hundred Black and Puerto Rican students and their allies held an early afternoon rally on April 30 to publicize their eighteen demands for special tuition and open admission for all Black and Puerto Rican students, the firing of racist professor, and the abolition of mandatory attendance and required courses. A Black Studies institute had already been approved in April. It was not enough. They wanted an autonomous department. At one point during the rally, someone shouted: “We’re not taking any more from the president!” Aroused, the more than one hundred students ran to the administration building and to the president’s suite of offices. They thoroughly vandalized it. Some of the students sprayed “Power,” “Revolution,” and other terms. Five administrators and ten student representatives were inside the offices negotiating on the demands. But the time for negotiations had ended. The invaders did not allow them to proceed and stayed in the offices for a few hours until false reports of the police activity filtered in there.<sup>750</sup>

Protests continued the next few days at Brooklyn College. Three small fires were set in campus buildings, smoke bombs were unleashed, a dean’s door was knocked down, and twenty Black students pulled books off shelves and overturned racks in the library on May 2. The president closed the college in the late afternoon and obtained an injunction prohibiting unauthorized assemblies, creating loud noises, or engaging in force or violence. But that did not stop the violence. Four days later, four Molotov cocktails exploded and when firemen reached one of the buildings where a fire was blazing they



were blocked at the entrance by one hundred Black and Puerto Rican students waving golf clubs, wooden spears, and heavy clubs. Thousands of students gathered to watch the confrontation. The student body president urged the protesters to leave. He was promptly booed. And so was one administrator when he intimated through a bullhorn that the activists were violating the injunction. The conservative students in the crowd were next in line to try to disperse the Black and Puerto Rican students, hurling stones at them and shouting “Call the Police!” The firemen did and when the twenty policemen came, they hastily dispersed the protesters. But the protesters did not go home. Rallies were held. Marauding bands of Black and Puerto Rican students threw rocks at classroom buildings and shattered many windows. It was pandemonium in Brooklyn and no discussions were being held to end the ruckus.<sup>751</sup>

Seventeen Black and Puerto Rican students were charged with arson and rioting during the commotion in early May. With almost a hundred policemen stationed on campus, in the second full week of May the students just boycotted classes and turned their attention to raising funds for their bail and legal defense fees. One major peaceful demonstration did occur on May 15. Hundreds of Black and Puerto Rican students, accompanied by some Whites, slowly marched through campus for more than an hour “mourning the death of justice.” A coffin with the sign, “Peck and the Pigs” was carried at the front of the procession as the students hummed songs to the tunes of a trumpeter.<sup>752</sup>

May 1969 not only commenced with the Brooklyn College disruptions, but also with twenty-one students seizing control of a building at the University of Louisville. Police drove the students out and eight of them were expelled. Kentucky Gov. Louis B. Nunn told reporters, “If you’ll pardon me. I’m damned sick and tired of this kind of

thing.”<sup>753</sup> On May 2, thirty-four students strolled into the president’s office of Southern Methodist University and stayed there for five hours to discuss with officials their stipulations of recruiting five hundred Black students and increasing the number of Black instructors.<sup>754</sup> That day, Black and Puerto Rican campus activists at Queens College intensified their semester-long crusade for firing the director, curricula changes and gaining authority over the SEEK program, which gives financial and academic help to impoverished youth. Students had not demonstrated since mid-January when they first submitted their demands. Instead, they had been negotiating with college authorities. “Our attempts at ‘dialogue’ have failed,” the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition said in a statement issued on May 2 at 11 a.m. Two hours later, Black and Puerto Rican students went on a window smashing spree through the social science, administration, and student cafeteria buildings. As they ran from building to building, campus activists were chased by jeering White students who shouted “animals,” “criminals,” and “get back to the jungle.” This was the second straight day of violence—they had smashed windows in the dining hall and overturned card catalogs the day before—and the White students were fed up. By 2 p.m., the Queens President Joseph P. McMurray had called in the police. While the NYPD mobilized a small army of five hundred cops in six busses, seven paddy wagons and a dozen patrol cars, more than one hundred angry and conservative Whites converged on twenty Black students. Outnumbered five to one, the Black students stood their ground to combat these White students who had constantly terrorized them with racial slurs and subjections. Punches and rocks were thrown until security guards closed a chain-link fence between the groups. The students scattered when the small NYPD

army finally arrived. President McMurray suspended classes until Monday, May 5.

They would pick up their crusade to alter SEEK in September.<sup>755</sup>

After the weekend, Queens College reopened, and 365 Black campus activists at Alabama State College, who had been engaged in six weeks of protests, were arrested on Monday, May 5. They refused to break up their rally in front of the Alabama Capitol where they called for the governor to fire their president, Levi Waktins. The protesters were hauled away like animals in three trucks and charged with failure to obey a police order.<sup>756</sup> Eleven Black students were arrested in Brooklyn that day after barricading three gates at Pratt Institute. Intense negotiations produced an agreement by the weekend for a Black Studies program and recruitment of Black students.<sup>757</sup> As the two factions at Pratt were finding the middle ground that week, the Black Student Association (BSA) at Illinois's Bradley University learned that a construction company working on campus was denying employment to Black skilled workers, the BSA converged on the construction site and stopped its operations. A few nights later, a White member of Delta Upsilon fraternity spat on a Black female student at Bradley as he drove by her. Renee Grant immediately went and told the BSA and within minutes all of its three hundred members had mobilized and descended on the DU house "ready to burn it down." But they realized the perpetrator did not reside in the house. They searched around campus for him to no avail. He had hid for two days until he finally mustered up enough courage to apologize to Grant.<sup>758</sup>

That Thursday, May 8, was one of the most eventful days of the Black Campus Movement. There was something about Thursdays that generated activism, as the most storied day of the movement was earlier in the semester on Diversity Thursday—

February 13, 1969. On this Thursday, at least five campuses were overrun by the hurricane of Black student activism. At 5 a.m., about thirty Black students with clubs and chains stormed into a classroom and office building at New Jersey's Paterson State College. They controlled it for five hours until the president cancelled classes and agreed to a meeting concerning their requests for Black studies courses and open enrollment for Black students.<sup>759</sup> About one hundred Black students locked a meeting hall where negotiations were underway about the impending tuition increases they opposed and held the Indiana University administrators for more than three hours that evening.<sup>760</sup> Roughly two hundred students at Missouri's Lincoln University imprisoned three top officials to press for thirty-two demands, which consisted of the university condemning "the white men of Jefferson City who come through our campus at night intimidating our women." Four days later, the students vacated the student union building facing the warning of a mass arrest. The movement did not die with the vacation. Later in the semester, Lincoln Black students set three fires in a night of violence in which shots were fired and 150 National Guardsmen were called to the campus. The guard snatched one hundred students from their dormitories and thoroughly searched them for weapons.<sup>761</sup>

At Chicago's DePaul University, when the President John Cortelyou did not show for a scheduled evening meeting on May 8 with the BSU, members secured the fifth floor of the student activities center (SAC). When classes finished they took control of the rest of the building and barricaded themselves inside. The day before, the BSU had announced its latest list of demands, specifying, among other things, that the university should add more courses "relevant to Black students needs," and "halt immediately" its expansion into the surrounding Black and Latino neighborhoods. They wanted to speak

with the President Cortelyou about their concerns. When he refused, the DePaul students spoke to him like Black campus activists were speaking around the country—through protest. The next morning, there was a fiery standoff with White students seeking to enter the building. The sixty Black students left the building around noon when they were threatened by officials with an injunction. After leaving the SAC, they held another rally where representatives from the Black Panthers and Young Lords attended and spoke. However, the campaign started to decrease in its intensity until a building that contained the BSU offices (and the university bookstore) was set on fire a week later. Reenergized, the BSU declared it a racist attack and at a rally called for a student strike along with other sympathetic student groups. For two days, pickets formed webs around buildings and a minority of students skipped classes and some went to BSU workshops on institutional racism and BSU rallies. Campus opinion swung in the favor of the BSU and before long the administration accepted nearly all of its demands.<sup>762</sup>

Howard University was also embroiled in protests on May 8. Social work students prolonged what would become a month long boycott of classes in their crusade for more power to select their instructors. Over in sociology, in late April, students took over their department chair's office, and they did not attend classes—in an effort to retrieve an equal voice in departmental decision making. Howard officials refused to allow the students on the departmental policy-making committee. The students pledged to remain in the office until they changed their minds. The next day, a small group of students took over another office—Frederick Douglass Hall. By May 8, six buildings were occupied by Black campus activists at Howard, compelling the president to close the college. The students not only barricaded themselves inside the buildings but also the

main gate with boards, chairs, and desks to repel a police invasion. Students who were not inside buildings broke into the campus restaurant and smashed doors, windows, and vending machines. Litter was thrown everywhere. A fire gutted the ROTC building. They looted food from the university dining room and kitchen. In late March, the university obtained a temporary restraining order against building takeovers. The Howard students did not care, defying the order and the president's threats to "call on outside forces." The warning actualized on May 9. More than a hundred federal marshals sporting riot gear charged onto the campus and smashed, sawed, and cut their way into buildings to drive out the students. In their first target, Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall, seventeen students were holed in a second-floor office. On the door, the students placed a sign that read: "This is a black struggle." Two husky marshals had to kick the locked door in unison before it caved in. The seventeen students were led out to police cars shouting: "Black power!" The marshals moved onto to Locke hall of the Liberals arts college and entered through the frame of plate-glass door they smashed. No one was there. A note was, that read, "Welcome pigs...Unity is the Way." In all during the sweep of the six buildings, twenty-one students were arrested, and charged with "criminal contempt of court." Two of those students ended up serving two weeks in jail. But that did not stop their activism. At the end of the month, twenty Howard students pushed past two policemen into a meeting of the university trustees and suggested they appoint Kwame Nkrumah, the deposed President of Ghana, as Howard's next president. The *Chicago Daily Defender* endorsed the students' suggestion: "He would bring dignity and leadership of the highest order to embattled Howard." The trustees passed on

Nkrumah. But they did select James E. Cheek, a president that endorsed the concept of a Black university.<sup>763</sup>

That weekend after the Howard protests, the *New York Times* reported that “colleges and universities across the country are hurriedly instituting changes and reforms, as administrators attempt to deal with student restiveness and to avoid the kind of demonstrations that have shaken Ivy League and other major universities,” the story opened. The most significant reforms were “Black studies programs and increased effort to recruit Negroes and other minority groups,” the newspaper found. Kenneth Roose, vice president of the American Council on Education, was quoted as saying “even in areas where faculty resistance was strong, the walls are crumbling.” More walls still stood though, so the movement was far from over.<sup>764</sup>

After another weekend breather for higher education, Howard was reopened on Monday, May 12 as Black campus activists closed New York’s Union Theological Seminary. Fifty seminarians took hold of the administration building in support of the SNCC International Affairs Director James Forman’s call for reparations in his infamous “Black Manifesto” issued at a Black Economic Development Conference in late April.<sup>765</sup> Twenty-four hours later, the students exited the building with officials having agreed to invest \$500,000 in the Harlem community and raise another \$1 million to be put at the disposal of the seminary’s Black community. Black students at Pennsylvania’s Franklin and Marshall College thought they too had an agreement permitting fifty students in a course on the Black experience to assign their own grades. They forced seven teachers to sign the accord by not allowing them to leave a meeting with the students until they did.

But the faculty resolved that “the college will not recognize as binding conclusions reached under the imposition or threat of intimidation.”<sup>766</sup>

Black female students at New York’s Lawrence College seized the offices of the Institute for Community Studies as the Union seminary activists settled in for their overnight stay. At this liberal arts college for women, they demanded the institute serve rather than study the neighboring Black communities in Mount Vernon and New Rochelle. When one White female student refused to move from a chair in a hall next to the occupied office, a Black female activist punched and knocked her around.<sup>767</sup> That evening of May 13, about thirty Black students stormed into the administration building at Massachusetts’s Springfield College to show the seriousness of their nine demands. The college’s president with a court order in hand warned the students of impending police action if they did not leave. They defied him for twelve hours, leaving at noon the next day to two lines of gathered members of the city’s Black community who came to show their support.<sup>768</sup> But the tactic of taking over a building had lost its effectiveness, as more presidents used court orders and the police to force students out. Apparently, the words of U.S. President Richard Nixon, who uttered his strongest public comments on student unrest in late April, had been fully digested by mid-May. “When...students in the name of dissent and in the name of change terrorize other students and faculty members, when they rifle files, when they engage in violence, when they carry guns and knives in the classrooms, then I say it is time for the faculties, board of trustees and school administrators to have the backbone to stand up against this kind of situation,” Nixon said.<sup>769</sup> Over the course of the spring, administrators grew this backbone.



Still, the movement marched on. Black campus activists at Southern University, recently riled up by speech from H. Rap Brown, a former philosophy major there, pledged to halt protests on May 14 at a mass meeting of more than two thousand students. A delegation of twenty student leaders presented the Louisiana governor with a list of fifty-three demands for the dismissal of two deans, the abolition of the grading system, the establishment of a Black Studies program, pest control in dormitories, an increase in pay for student and non-academic workers, a Black psychiatrist, better library facilities, amnesty, and free hospital treatment for thirty-seven students injured in a melee the day before. Louisiana Gov. John J. McKeithen agreed to inspect the campus to view the students' complaints first hand if the students calmed themselves<sup>770</sup>

Unlike at Springfield and Southern where Black students halted their own protests, at Temple University in mid-May, the Black students persuaded White members of the campus SDS to abandon their two-day sit-in protesting the university's expansion. The Black students felt they were on the way to developing a joint university-community planning body to guide future expansion, and they had recently reached an agreement on a number of their concerns, such as a Black Studies department.<sup>771</sup> Matters did not progress as smoothly at North Carolina A&T College. In fact, they were tragic. The bastion of non-violent student protests at the beginning of the 1960s paradoxically concluded the decade as a stronghold of violent student protests. Earlier in the day on May 23 when a local Black high school student was ruled ineligible for a school election, an angry band of students protested what they saw as foul play due to the student's politics. The Greensboro police moved in with tear gas and clubs and drove many of the rebelling high school students to A&T's campus where they had been meeting regularly.

The high school students, joined now by A&T students, maintained their rock-throwing demonstrations and fire-bombed the student union building. Under the cover of nighttime, policemen and National Guardsmen descended onto the campus only to be met by sniper fire from a dormitory. The officers fired back, and commenting on the fight that followed, Mayor Jack Elam said, "It's just like guerillas in Vietnam."<sup>772</sup>

The battle scene grew more intense when the Black students found 20-year-old honor student Willie Grimes dead in a clump of bushes with a gunshot wound in the back of his head. He had been shot in the leg in one of the fire exchanges. The police approached him, and "Grimes pleaded with police not to shoot him," said A&T student body president, Vince McCullough. "A policeman shot him in the back of the head. It was cold blooded murder." Tempers flared into forest fires of anger among the students. Both sides stayed in their shooting trenches for the rest of the night and into the next day, May 24, when students would get some revenge. Seven police officers were shot by snipers, the worst critically injured in the back and lung by a .45-caliber slug. A student was hit that day too in the groin and was swiftly hauled off to a police car. On third day of the shootout Police Major E.R. Wynn resolved to end it. He declared a state of emergency and told the students they had five minutes to "get out of here." The students retaliated with a spatter of gunfire, wounding a sergeant in the arm. National guardsmen returned fire, while a plane and helicopter flew low over the dorms and executed one of the government's new counterinsurgency techniques tried for the first time three days earlier on White campus activists at UC Berkeley. The plane and helicopter unleashed swirling clouds of tear gas over the dorms. Coughing and choking, the students spilled out of the dorms like bugs gassed out of cracks. Some had just pajamas, other were

completely nude. The police swept the building and found nine rifles, and arrested two hundred students. Soon after they were all set free when the police could not compel any of them to rat out the snipers, ending the most horrifying demonstration waged by Black students in the nation's history.<sup>773</sup>

As the face-off was about to end in North Carolina, further south a contingent of Black students interrupted a Sunday morning service at Emory University's Durham Chapel. Shocked and quieted, the pastor and congregation listened as the students read the Emory Manifesto. The Black Student Alliance (BSA) had originally shared the manifesto, which proposed a broader framework for the admission of Black students, the hiring of a Black administrator and psychiatrist, and the establishment of an "Afro-American Reading Room" in the library, a Black dorm, and a Black Studies program, with Emory President Sanford S. Atwood two months earlier. The BSA waited for two months. But their reservoir of patience had evaporated by May 25. After disrupting the worship service, a group of thirty-five Black campus activists and their White student supporters strolled over to the cafeteria and formed a "human blockade" to protest "economic slavery" at Emory and show their solidarity with the Black cafeteria workers who had been agitating for better wages. A few days after the protests, President Atwood acknowledged that "racism exists at Emory University" and pledged to cooperate with students, faculty, and administration to "openly commit themselves to its eradication."<sup>774</sup>

Cooperation was non-existent at Seattle Community College the next day—as the climax academic year of Black Campus Movement ended on this small campus in downtown Seattle. The most violent academic year in the history of higher education fittingly ended with violence. Like the academy had to feel the brunt of the violence—

through the forcing of diversity—three policemen felt the worst of this act of violence. Members of the BSU and their White supporters in SDS demonstrated near the main entrance of their college for a Black trustee to be named to the all-White board. Police arrived and pushed the students back into the main area of campus with showers of tear gas. Bottles and rocks were thrown back through the tear gas at the police and small groups of guerilla activists roamed the area, shot at the police, and disappeared. In all, three policemen were hit with bullets and another dozen were injured by the barrage of projectiles launched by students. Thirty-four people were arrested.<sup>775</sup>

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **THE RESPONSE TO THE CLIMAX OF THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT:**

#### **REPRESSION AND REFORM**

Since the spring of 1965, Black campus activists had been blasting the “archaic illusions of scholarly objectivity, of the sanctity of the ivory tower, of the almost church-like serenity of the college,” of the higher education process’s relevance to the Black community. During the 1968-1969 academic year, those illusions were shattered with confrontations initiated by thousands of Black students that “demonstrated that American colleges were as racist and oppressive as any other of this country’s institutions.”<sup>776</sup> The White Campus Movement with their demands for student power and the end to the Vietnam War also ravaged the academy during the historic academic year. In total, more than four thousand students were arrested as they damaged more than \$11 million of property at colleges.<sup>777</sup> The more selective colleges, large colleges, and those with a history of protests bore the brunt on the activism waged by about a quarter of all students.<sup>778</sup> There were 145 violent protests this academic year in which buildings were burned, campus property was wrecked, and/or records, files, or papers were destroyed. Instances of violent rallies or marches, and demonstrations in which students were injured or killed were also included in those 145 violent protests. Students disrupted the academy in an additional 379 non-violent protests when they peacefully occupied buildings, barred entrances to buildings, held officials captive, interrupted school functions, and boycotted classes. White students took a backseat to the demands of the Black students in these protests, even as the Black student body made up a mere six percent of the American college student population. About a hundred of those violent

protests—more than two-thirds—and a little more than half of the non-violent disruptive protests pressed for Black issues. Changes in racial policies occurred at fifty-five percent of institutions with violent protests and about a tenth of those with non-violent protests.<sup>779</sup>

Most of these protests—by Black and White students—occurred in the first six months of 1969 when there were at least 292 protests at 232 colleges and universities. Usually the more violent and the longer the student protest, the more successful it was. Demands of Black campus activists were the major issues in about half of the 292 protests. White students usually did not involve themselves in the protests by Black students. Seventeen HBCUs were rocked by Black campus activism this spring. In these protests, the most popular demands were for student power (roughly 60 percent), additional Black courses (about a half), a role in faculty hiring and firing (about forty percent), more facilities or better food services (about a third), and an end to racial discrimination (roughly a quarter). Black students at non-HBCUs typically called for more Black courses (about 60 percent), additional Black professors (about a half), extra Black students (about a half), and an end to racism in a little over a quarter of the protests. The most popular form of protest to press for these demands at White colleges was rallies and student boycotts at HBCUs. Violence was more likely to occur at HBCUs, and in retribution Black campus activists at Black colleges were punished eighty percent of the time, more than any other group during the student movement.<sup>780</sup>

In late May and early June during the commencement exercises, a flourish of comments poured into the academy about the Black Campus Movement.<sup>781</sup> It came from graduation speakers like Julian Bond, the Georgia legislator who spoke at more than

twenty-five commencements, Representative Shirley Chisholm, the first Black Congresswoman who appeared at more than a half of dozen campuses, and Stephen Wright of the United Negro College Fund, who debated Nathan Hare earlier in the semester before speaking at four campuses. The NAACP's Roy Wilkins told C.W. Post College in New York that "militants who are not separatists have many legitimate demands. [But] many are not solidly grounded like the 'non-negotiable' demands." Federal District Judge Constance Baker Motley warned against the use of violence by the students in her speech at North Carolina's Saint Augustine College. At Tennessee A&I University, Andrew F. Brimmer, the sole member of the Federal Reserve Board, told Black students to focus on traditional courses rather than advocate for Black Studies, which will not provide them with "the mental discipline, technical skills and rigorous training in problem-solving that they will so desperately need in their future careers." The noted Black historian, John Hope Franklin, praised the Black campus activists around the nation for their devotion during his commencement speech at Hampton Institute. Yet, he cautioned the movement to not "destroy freedom in the pursuit of its goals." Representative Chisholm probably gave the most ringing endorsement of Black campus activism at one of the stalwarts of the movement—Howard University. Fight the system that "has been denying you the opportunity to be a total man or woman," she said. "Fight intelligently so that you get results and achieve something."<sup>782</sup>

Whitney Young of the Urban League added to the congratulatory messages towards the Black Campus Movement in the pages of Black newspapers that summer. He saluted and supported the orders of Black campus activists to change admission standards to increase Black enrollment.<sup>783</sup> Nathan Hare advised the nascent Black

Studies organizers that “the right to hire and fire” is the crucible to a viable Black Studies program. “You can write up the most revolutionary course descriptions imaginable, but if you allow the racists to hire Uncle Toms to teach them they cannot teach anything but Tomism to save their hides.”<sup>784</sup> A faction of Black publishers in the National Newspaper Publishers Association talked with President Nixon over many of the issues gripping the nation, including Black campus activism, and they submitted a statement in June. “Most of the violence on the campuses and on the streets results from the establishment’s persistent failure to heed prolonged non-violent petition for meaningful change,” the statement read.<sup>785</sup> A group of Black college presidents rebuked the Nixon administration as racist for its failure to allocate their schools enough funds, and showing favoritism to White institutions. The ongoing whirlwinds of Black student rhetoric over the last three years seemed to have finally turned these “conservative, nonassertive, Black bourgeois keepers of the peace type Negroes,” according to one analyst, into more progressive and forceful leaders willing to disturb some bases of power. Floyd McKissick, the former Black nationalist leader of CORE, classified it “a new day for Black education...No longer will he be a ‘Negro college president.’ He is proving that a Black man can be a Black college president too.”<sup>786</sup>

Most of the remarks in the summer after the climax year of the Black Campus Movement were harsh and negative. “The student who invades an administration building, roughs up the dean, rifles the files, and issues ‘non-negotiable demands’ may have some of his demands met by a permissive university administration,” said U.S. President Richard Nixon at South Dakota’s General Beadle State College. “But the greater his ‘victory,’ the more he will have undermined the security of his own right.”<sup>787</sup>



Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin added more insults to their overflowing bowl of condemnation. Benjamin E. Mays, the former Morehouse president held hostage earlier in the year, wrote he does “not understand it when students resort to violence, set fire to buildings, and threaten to burn down all the building on a campus if what they demand is not forthcoming.”<sup>788</sup> Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall, the first Black member of the U.S. Supreme Court, said that “many of us are not going to let it (the nation) go down the drain and stand for anarchy, which is anarchy, which is anarchy.”<sup>789</sup>

A few other prominent Black scholars denounced Black Studies in particular. One of the loudest voices in that choral group that summer was Martin Kilson, a government professor at Harvard who said at the annual convention of the NAACP he is “opposed to proposals to make Afro-American studies into a platform for particular ideological group. Quite frankly I don’t believe it is the proper or most useful function for a university to train ideological or political organizers of whatever persuasion.” In early September, Kilson described Black Studies as “a frightful experience of strangeness and alienation.”<sup>790</sup> Another distinguished Ivy League professor, Sir Arthur Lewis, argued that summer that Black students were “beating their heads against the wrong wall” when they demanded Black Studies departments, which was a “folly of the highest order” because “employers will not hire the students who emerge from this process, and their usefulness even in black neighborhoods will be minimal.”<sup>791</sup>

Black students did not just shrug off these critiques. They replied usually amongst themselves on their campuses, and struck back at least one prominent public forum. At a two-day law institute sponsored by the NAACP, a Columbia University student said he was not at all surprised about Bayard Rustin’s criticism over the last few

months. “Given his hookups and where he gets his money, he can’t do anything else but come out against black student demands.” Another student at the institute could not understand why Rustin had been calling Black campus activists “stupid” over the last few months. “We’re the most educated black generation” this nation has had, said Charles Duncan of Cheyney State College.<sup>792</sup> United States Commissioner of Education James E. Allen Jr. went a step further, indirectly challenging Rustin’s assertion too, announcing in late May that the campus activists were usually the smartest students.<sup>793</sup>

The grief Black campus activists received from their community leaders seemed small to the torrent of criticism from White America. Inside the academy, most Whites were firmly against giving Black students control over Black Studies departments (yet they did usually see the need for Black courses).<sup>794</sup> Outside the academy, most Whites were at least puzzled and bewildered, but more likely they were annoyed by the Black Campus Movement, particularly its violent moments. Whites believed Black students were moving too fast and pushing too hard in their demands for relevancy. And a hard line of force should be taken to stymie the movement with firmer outside control of higher education. Whites had, according to one observer, “accepted the image of the politically active Black student as he has been portrayed in the mass media—a bearded, doped-up, wooly-headed, bead-wearing savage with a gun in one hand and a Molotov cocktail in the other who is dead set on burning the colleges and universities of American to the ground to secure relatively insignificant gains or simply to see them burn.”<sup>795</sup> Certainly, all of the Black campus activists were not revolutionaries—more were reformists who had in fact made some significant gains in higher education for Blacks.

Part of the force of White reaction was the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which under J. Edgar Hoover's leadership, developed and implemented a plan that called for authorities to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" Black Student Unions. The FBI infiltrated BSUs with informers, sent threatening letters to interrupt BSU affairs, and engaged in many of its now well chronicled techniques of disruption. Hoover warned that "Black student Unions (BSU) and similar groups...are targets for influence by violence-prone Black Panther Party (BPP) and other extremists." Generally, the Bureau perceived student radicals as neo-totalitarian, communists, and hard-core revolutionaries who are "outside agitators" involved in a mass conspiracy.<sup>796</sup>

Even though the Nixon administration jumped on the necks of campus protesters like the FBI, President Nixon and his attorney general decided new legislation was not needed to control higher education. They followed the advice of their National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, which warned that measures taken against activists or sites of campus rebellions were "likely to spread, not reduce the difficulty."<sup>797</sup> But Congress did not care what the Nixon administration or the commission thought. Spurred by some of their constituents inflamed about the activists, the House and Senate started writing laws to slow the movement. One legislator introduced a bill requiring colleges and universities to file their rules and regulations with a federal office to continue receiving federal aid. A Senate subcommittee petitioned several institutions for records of progressive student groups and leaders.<sup>798</sup> About two dozen bills were passed by California lawmakers concerning student demonstrations after more than one hundred were introduced. New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts legislators outlawed guns on campus. New York legislators (along with those in Florida,

North Dakota, and Illinois) also required all state colleges and universities to adopt a set of rules governing the conduct of students, faculty, and visitors on campus if they did want to lose state aid. In addition, lawmakers in Illinois revoked state scholarships from protesters. Iowa legislators pledged state money could not be used to “provide payments, assistance, or education in any form” to students or faculty convicted of rioting, or damaging property or people. Wisconsin legislators gave college and university presidents and security offices the power to declare “closed periods” in which no one is allowed on university property. Oregon gave its governor the power to declare a state of emergency if campus property was threatened. Oregon, along with Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, and New Mexico, also forbid the blocking of public buildings, interfering with classes, and intimidating members of campus community. Washington, Iowa, and Illinois curtailed financial aid to student disrupters. North Carolina, Ohio, Minnesota, and Indiana also passed measures to quell campus activism.<sup>799</sup>

Even city and campus officers got into the act. The International Association of Chiefs of Police held a series of week-long conferences in the summer of 1969 looking for ways to avoid serious confrontations with students. Police departments initiated procedures of police response with universities to prevent unnecessary action, realizing their confrontations with students provided batteries and powered the movement. On the other hand, campus officers seemed to be preparing for war that summer. At the annual convention of College and University Security Directors, some 180 campus law officials sought the latest riot-control equipment and agents. They advocated a hard hand to smash campus protests. That is “the only way to handle disruptions,” said Wayne O.

Littrell, the association's president, at the conference. "This view is shared by other security directors, but unfortunately not by many administrators."<sup>800</sup>

Black students themselves in the summer of 1969 were relatively quiet and inactive. The Afro-American Association (AAA) at the University of Alabama in late July 1969 filed suit with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) charging its university with racial discrimination in recruiting football athletes. One of the defendants was Paul "Bear" Bryant, Alabama's legendary head football coach. "We want the athletic department to recruit black athletes with as much diligence as they do whites and without the 'Superman' requirements now used," Edward Nall, former AAA president, told reporters.<sup>801</sup> Later in the summer, Gwen Patton, one of the initial college leaders of the Black Campus Movement at Tuskegee in 1965, started to wield national influence. She led a walkout of some one hundred Black students out of the National Students Association (NSA) convention in El Paso, Texas in late August. "We no longer can be part of a racist" group, as the leaders use "black problems for their own purposes to gain financial grants from foundations," Patton explained to newsmen. The *New York Times* banded the "student secessionists" for their "irrationality," depicting it as "a blow to the civil rights movement on college campuses and to the formation of a cohesive academic community." Black students formed their own group—the National Association of Black Students—and demanded fifty percent of NSA funds that had been received to study Black issues. Soon after, the NSA gave \$50,000 to the nascent Black national student group that served as a communication network for BSUs.<sup>802</sup>

Most of the money the NSA received was from the Ford Foundation, which throughout the year had thrown around its web of cash trying to catch Black initiatives in

it. In March 1969, the foundation announced a \$3 million donation to Black colleges, including Tuskegee and Hampton, as Ford had given the academy \$30 million since 1963. The next month, it initiated a \$1 million program to increase the number of Black professors through the granting of forty-five doctoral fellowships to Black students. And the foundation pledged additional grants in excess of \$3 million for programs concerning Black students at both Black and White colleges. In June, the Ford Foundation assisted Afro-American Studies programs not nationalistic and autonomous at Yale, Morgan State, Lincoln, Rutgers, Princeton, and Howard. That summer, the *Chicago Daily Defender* portrayed Ford's grants as "a great boost to the concept of black studies program as an integral part of the academic discipline."<sup>803</sup>

Two pioneers of the discipline of Black Studies were not nearly as satisfied with Ford providing startup funds for Black Studies departments. Historian John Blassingame explained in 1969 that some universities showed their lack of commitment to Black Studies through seeking out temporary foundation money instead of setting aside permanent university funds. A year later, Nathan Hare lamented over the fact that "Ford Foundation pumped \$2 million into four of the leading universities with the most ill-conceived, establishment-oriented black studies programs in the country." Robert Allen, another pioneer, explained that "by selecting certain programs for funding while denying support to others, government agencies and foundations could manipulate the political orientation of these programs and the direction of academic research. With hundreds of such programs competing for limited funds, effective control of the future of Black Studies was thereby shifted away from black scholars and students, and instead...to the funding agencies—college administrations, government and foundations. Departments

that were thought by the establishment to be dangerously independent or radical could thus be crippled or destroyed without the necessity of resorting to violent repression.”<sup>804</sup>

In the summer of 1969, two dominant strains jockeyed for power over the three hundred Black Studies programs. Most officials of higher education picked up on the Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy’s rationale for the new discipline who argued it could be used to as a mechanism to integrate the faculty, student body, and curricula of higher education.<sup>805</sup> Meanwhile, Black campus activists, scholars like Hare, and community activists like Karenga tried to institute a discipline that would educate students on how to solve the problems in the Black community.<sup>806</sup> Black Studies was the signature reform of the struggle that everyone could see. But under the surface, for the last four years, the Black Campus Movement aided by the White Campus Movement had compelled higher education to build two overarching pillars of social responsibility and relevance with the bricks of student ideas. For decades, the academy had been socially responsible and relevant only towards the status quo and bourgeoisie White society. As a few scholars wrote in the *Educational Record* that year, “What the universities have failed to realize in almost every case is that the American educational experience is a *white* experience, an experience based on white history, white tradition, white culture, white customs, and white thinking, an education designed primarily to produce a cultural sophisticated, middle class, white American.” In this signature essay on the “Black Challenge to Higher Education,” they added that “the key word to black students today is the same one most often used by white critics of our universities: *relevance*.”<sup>807</sup> Black campus activists, along with White students, had demanded higher education become socially responsible and relevant to Black students and positive social change. Hundreds

of protests—specifically in the previous academic year—towards this end seemed to be finally paying off as the academy limped into the 1970s. This could be displayed not only through the erection of Black Studies, but the reforms occurring across the disciplinary board—specifically in the social sciences—in the summer and early fall of 1969. As researchers reported, “From every quarter, evidence is suggesting that the 1970’s will see vastly different colleges and universities than those of the 1960s.”<sup>808</sup>

Five dissident factions—Psychologists for a Democratic Society, Psychologists for Social Action, Women’s Consortium of Psychologists for Social Action, the Association of Black Psychologists, and the Association of Black Psychology Students—actively sought to reform their discipline and its affairs at the American Psychological Association annual convention in 1969. The Association of Black Psychologists and a group of twenty-five Black psychologist students raised concerns about psychology’s relationship to the Black community and wanted the association to actively recruit Black students and faculty into the area of inquiry. Delegates established a committee to study the issue and provide funds to students to travel to campuses to discuss the problems. “It was clear that many psychologists wanted a more active role in dealing with the problems of society,” according to *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.<sup>809</sup>

The American Sociology Association (ASA) convened the “most politicized meeting” in the organization’s 64-year history in 1969. Progressive attendees urged the association to stop aiding in the social control of oppressed groups. Progressive White sociologists held a counter-convention in a nearby church and formed a new Union of Radical Sociologists to “smash everything the ASA stands for.” A women’s caucus charged the association as being sexist, and a Black caucus condemned it as racist, saying



the “association has profited parasitically by victimizing the black community, by using the black community as a research laboratory for white experimentation, by using black people as human guinea pigs for publishing books, surveys, and the earning of Ph.D.’s for whites, and for gathering data on blacks for the purpose of oppression, exploitation, and control.” To revamp the association, the Black caucus demanded, among other things, that it appoint Black members to its decision-making bodies.<sup>810</sup>

Activist members of the American Political Science Association formed a caucus and won several victories at their annual conference that year. Women and Blacks received more influence in the association’s affairs, as there was “little doubt that this association has changed,” an activist member told reporters.<sup>811</sup> A caucus was established at the annual convention of the Association of American Geographers to make their discipline more relevant. “We’re changing from just looking at the way man uses the land to trying to figure out why he uses it the he does,” said one geographer. Similar shifts and caucuses were formed in several other social sciences with their activity coming to a head at the 1969 conventions.<sup>812</sup>

Before 1969, it was sufficient for scholars to hole themselves and their ideas up in ivory towers and solve intellectual problems that arose amongst themselves. That era had passed. Black and Whites campus activists spoke clearly and succinctly to the academy that if it hoped to survive another decade, then it would focus on solving the pressing problems of society. As Julian Bond told more than two thousand administrators at the 1969 annual meeting of the American Council on Education, “Until the university develops politics or...a curriculum and a discipline that stifles war and poverty and racism, until then, the university will be in doubt.”<sup>813</sup>

In the early part of the fall 1969 semester, Samuel B. Gould lectured on “The Academic Condition.” As the chancellor of the State University of New York, Gould was quite possibly the most powerful member of the academy in the nation. “We can no longer consider the university as an enterprise largely removed from the main concerns of society, but now must see it as one part of a complex web of social institutions, each of which is rapidly and perceptively changing in character and direction,” Gould explained at Colgate University.<sup>814</sup> Indeed, some major lessons had clearly been learned from the Black Campus Movement. But those lessons aside, when higher education opened its doors with the smoke now cleared during the summer of 1969 from the previously fiery academic year, it had to weather through post-traumatic stress disorder. Everything seemed out of the whack. Black students, professors, administrators, and government leaders were still at odds over some of the core demands of the movement. There were fierce tug of wars for power over newly established Black Studies programs amongst Blacks themselves and between Blacks and campus officials. Black students and their allies were divided amongst themselves over ideology, tactics, and goals, marking the beginning of the end of the Black Campus Movement. Throughout the four years of the struggle, there had always been multiple ideologies at play, but never had the students been this polarized. Never had the polarization held back activism across the country. Black campus revolutionaries who wanted to escalate the movement to another level and destroy the academy were combating with Black students who wanted to protest for reforms colleges had not yet instituted, and both of those groups were confronting Black students who wanted to focus on nurturing the gains won in the spring of 1969. They all scurried around campuses picking the massive new crop of Black students that enrolled

in the higher education in the fall of 1969. Professors were still in contention over the fundamental aspects of their disciplines. Administrators were the least divided. But they were the most pessimistic “and uncertain of how to deal with what they viewed as an escalating crisis in higher education,” reported *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.<sup>815</sup>

In all their uncertainty, administrators greeted the incoming class of students in the fall of 1969 with stern warnings against disruption. Many colleges adopted or revised their disciplinary codes and circulated them widely for the first time. Colleges increased their police forces. For example, Temple University formed its own 125-man security force after merely relying on an outside detective agency. Universities let it be known they would seek injunctions against protesters. Ohio University President Claude R. Sowle informed students that “unlawful force is not an acceptable substitute for reason. It must be met with lawful force—promptly and without hesitation.”<sup>816</sup> Most of the eight million students took the threats seriously, including the largest ever influx of Black students. The constant, forceful, and violent pressure Black campus activists put on their institutions resulted in the greatest percentage increase ever, skyrocketing from 5.8 to 6.6 percent in the fall of 1969. Black students composed an all-time high of seven percent of the freshmen class. The Ivy League and Big Seven elite women’s college accepted a record number of Black students and enrolled the highest number in their history. When higher education opened its doors the fall of 1969, more than five hundred thousand Black students walked in.<sup>817</sup>

These Black students were welcomed not only by the negative taunts of administrators but by the positive manifestations of success of the movement—most perceptibly in Black Studies programs and departments with most of the courses filled to

capacity at 250 institutions. At least fourteen colleges offered bachelor's degrees in Black Studies.<sup>818</sup> With Ronald Walters as its chairman, Brandeis University launched its Afro-American Studies department with eighty-one students signed up for ten courses, more than several departments.<sup>819</sup> The University of Connecticut opened its interdepartmental Center for Black Studies founded in July 1969. More than three-quarters of the fourteen hundred seats in its sixteen courses were filled.<sup>820</sup> Brooklyn College began its Institute of Afro-American Studies with 475 students registered for thirteen courses.<sup>821</sup> Black students at Cornell were pleased with their new Afro-American Studies department and the chair they selected to lead it, James Turner.<sup>822</sup> Eighty-three students took the courses in the new Black Studies department at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the University of California, Davis kicked off its interdepartmental major.<sup>823</sup> Ewart Guinier was one of eight Blacks hired in part by Black students to work in Harvard University's new Afro-American Studies department. With Guinier as the chair, the department, which placed fifteen new courses in the curriculum, had the highest number of enrollees at Harvard.<sup>824</sup> In their "struggle to make the University more relevant to black people," Black students at Northeastern University established the Afro Institute with free non-credit courses being offered at sites in Boston's Black community.<sup>825</sup> The BSU at Sacramento State College inaugurated the Black Ethnic Studies program it designed and organized with twenty-four course offerings filled to capacity. At Sacramento City College, the efforts of Black students in the spring of 1969 led to its college formulating and offering eight courses on Black psychology, literature, art, and history.<sup>826</sup> Ohio University celebrated the start of its interdepartmental Black Studies program with its broad counseling program, acting

director, and six faculty members from six other departments.<sup>827</sup> Black students at the University of Massachusetts continued their struggle for a Black Studies department and did manage to get their institution to offer four courses on Black people.<sup>828</sup> About thirty-one HBCUs took part in the organizing of Black Studies programs that fall.<sup>829</sup> And some of the HBCUs made strides towards the erection of Black universities geared towards the advancement of Black America. The new president at Howard, James Cheek, outlined a program for the future of the institution that included “creative and imaginative ways to deal with the problems of the cities, the economically disadvantaged, health care, black Americans and black people throughout the world.” He presented his “new humanism” at the opening convocation in the fall of 1969. Howard was now headed in the right direction, and to make sure it got there, the students continued to keep pressure on the administration throughout the 1969-1970 academic year.<sup>830</sup>

The advance guard of students for the movement on the other side of the country spent the fall 1969 semester on the other side of the emotional divide. The BSU at SF State opened its widely celebrated autonomous and nationalistic Black Studies department with Nathan Hare as the chairman in exile. BSU members, along with Hare, spent the summer interviewing and selecting faculty and workers for this Black Studies department, one of the few controlled by Black students. The SF State BSU also had to deal with four of the six Black administrators at their college resigning that summer because they were sick of being “niggers in residence.” A few days later in July 1969, S.I. Hayakawa was appointed as the permanent president of the college, an appointment that infuriated the college’s chapter of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the BSU. “S.I. Hayakawa, who calls himself the Emperor of California, is the swine who

has been delegated by the fascist gun of the west Reagan to make S.F.S.C. a fascist pig pen,” said BSU chairman Ben Stewart at a press conference called shortly after the announcement of Hayakawa’s appointment. “Hayakawa is determined not to allow blacks or Third World Students to determine their own educational destiny.”<sup>831</sup>

In the fall, Hayakawa made a series of maneuvers to undermine the Black Studies department. He would not officially rehire Hare even though Hare served as the unofficial leader of the department. As a result, department officials refused to meet with Hayakawa throughout the semester in protest. In November, an administrator sent a letter to 170 Black groups and individuals in the Bay Area claiming the BSU had threatened teachers and instituted a “reign of terror.” One organization took the bait and came out against the BSU. But for the most part, the Black community hated Hayakawa and knew it was one of his tricks.<sup>832</sup> Hayakawa sought to again eliminate BSU control of the department in December 1969. He fired departmental student advisor and BSU leader, Nesbitt Crutchfield, and other BSU members with positions, and stopped salaries of the entire staff of the department until they met with him. But the worst news came not from some action of Hayakawa, but from Hare, who decided to walk away from SF State and devote his time to publishing a newly established journal, *The Black Scholar*. He felt his best role was that of an independent scholar. “The black race is rushing against a deadline for its freedom if not its very survival and...if I, and others concerned and capable, do not play our own best roles and play them well, it is a deadline we will not meet,” Hare wrote announcing his resignation from college life forever. The nation’s most politicized and controversial department seemed “on the brink of disaster.”<sup>833</sup>

As Hayakawa tried to kill one of the jewels of the movement another one was being born. Disillusioned Black campus activists from North Carolina College, North Carolina A&T, and Duke University left their universities when they realized they could not provide them with a truly relevant education and formed Malcolm X Liberation University. The idea for a separate school emerged when Black students at Duke could not compel their university to provide an acceptable Black Studies department. Malcolm X Liberation University opened with fifty-nine students in the fall of 1969 as “a nation-building school, a school for people who want to build an independent African nation and who want to be doing things right now,” Howard Fuller, its director, explained to the press. Fuller was a local community organizer who for years like other activists around the nation had pressured students to not “betray their Black brothers” and sisters in the community. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, was the main speaker at the college’s opening ceremonies. Painted in black on a peach-colored wall just inside the door of the new building for MXLU, was a Malcolm saying that read this was a school for members of “a new generation of black people who have become disenchanted with the entire system and who are ready now and willing to do something about it.” The new college, located in Durham, North Carolina, divided its course of study into two year-long sessions. The first discussed ideological, historical, and cultural topics, while the second taught vocational skills. “This university will provide a framework within which black education can become relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for black liberation,” Fuller explained.<sup>834</sup>

That fall, another independent Black college was formed on the other side of the nation. Nairobi College in East Palo Alto, California was established because the

American academy of colleges “has been absolute hell for people of color,” said Robert Hoover, the college’s new director. Its board of trustees was composed of students, faculty, and members of the community, and it offered a two-year course schedule, like any other community college. Students went to class part-time and were required to work in a service agency to “understand the whole picture concerning people of color and...come up with some solutions to the problem in this country.” Later Donald Smothers, a former leader of the SF State BSU, took over the reigns of the college.<sup>835</sup>

In the fall of 1969, Black students left campuses across America to form these independent Black educational institutions. Sometimes those exits were forced. Hundreds of Black students were expelled. Some protesters left because their financial aid was cut off as a punishment for their activism.<sup>836</sup> These actions robbed the movement of some of its most intelligent, experienced, and committed organizers and leaders—another cause of the origination of its descent after its climax academic year of 1968-1969. The courts further deprived the movement that summer and fall as hundreds, maybe even thousands of Black students faced criminal charges stemming from their demonstrations the previous few years. Thirty-four Black students at Ohio State were indicted on five felony counts of unlawful detention, five felony counts of conspiracy to unlawfully detain, one felony count of blackmail, and one misdemeanor count of menacing threat for taking over an administration building in April 1968 and holding officials hostage. Two student trials were delayed, while the remaining thirty-two settled out of court in July 1969. In the settlement, all charges were dropped on ten students. Six students pleaded guilty to trespassing and sixteen students pleaded guilty to trespassing and making menacing threats—both misdemeanors.<sup>837</sup>



The district attorney's office of San Francisco tried to settle out of court with the 453 students who were arrested in the mass bust that shot the SF State BSU's strike in January 1969 and led to its slow death in March 1969. They were all—including BSU leaders—charged with unlawful assembly, refusal to disperse, and disturbing the peace and the DA offered them a deal of a ninety-day suspended sentence, two years' probation, and a fine for those who pleaded no contest. More than a hundred had accepted the deal by August 1969, but even more refused it. The SF State BSU set up a Legal Defense Committee to defend these students who were tried in groups of five to twelve persons by a hostile judge and jury. These cases bottled up San Francisco's courts for most of 1969 and cost the city vast amounts of money, time, and resources. Several students already on probation usually for other movement activities when found guilty were sentenced to prison from six months to a year. Those guilty students who were not on probation received suspended sentences or no more than thirty days in jail. Of the BSU leaders, Nesbit Crutchfield spent the longest time in jail—a year—for being caught carrying explosive materials in the spring.<sup>838</sup>

While groups of SF State students were herded in and out of court in the fall of 1969, another prominent trial occurred in California. For their role in seizing the administration building in November 1968, ten women and fourteen men at San Fernando Valley State College went on trial in September 1969. Each of the twenty-two Black students (and one Mexican and one Asian) faced seventy-five felony counts of “willfully, unlawfully, feloniously and knowingly” conspiring with seven named and other unnamed persons “to commit kidnapping...robbery...false imprisonment...and burglary.” In total, they were charged with 1,730 felonies—a record for the Black

Campus Movement. Originally there were twenty-eight defendants. However, charges were dismissed against three of them and one pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors. The NAACP retained a Los Angeles law firm to defend the students. The case received national exposure since it was the first mass prosecution of student protesters on felony charges and the first attempt at conspiracy convictions. During the trial, one of the students' lawyers said this case "has significant ramifications for the entire nation. If the district attorney is successful in arguing that a conspiracy existed, the black protest movement is in serious difficulty." In January 1970, twenty students were convicted of conspiracy, kidnapping and false imprisonment, and a mere four students were acquitted. In announcing his verdict, Judge Mark Brandler said, "We dare not and will not sanction or tolerate the use of force, violence, or other illegal acts to effect desired changes."

Archie Chatman (the BSU leader) and Robert A. Lewis, both 22 years old, and 21-year-old Eddie Lee Dancer were sentenced from one to twenty-five years in state prison—the stiffest prison punishment for campus activism in American history. Reportedly, they received the harshest sentences because they were judged the ringleaders of the revolt. Eight other students were assigned to the county jail ranging from three months to a year, seven students were fined, one was placed on probation, and the final student had her charges dismissed. Immediately, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, and the County Union of Probation Officers denounced the ruling. One of the students' lawyers described the sentences as a "judicial lynching." A columnist for the *Chicago Daily Defender* called them "an OUTRAGE." Black campus activists across the nation were outraged too and it inflamed their resolve for change. However paradoxically, the repression also disillusioned some students from activism, just as the several other lesser

known trials that fall 1969.<sup>839</sup> Three leaders of the Afro-American Action Committee at the University of Minnesota went on trial in October 1969 to face charges of unlawful assembly, criminal damage, and rioting for taking over a building in January. Two weeks later, 20-year-old Warren Tucker Jr. was acquitted, while 22-year-old Rose Mary Freeman and Horace Huntley, 26, were found guilty of one charge of unlawful assembly and given 90-day suspended workhouse terms.<sup>840</sup>

**CHAPTER 10**  
**THE CALLS FOR RELEVANCE BY NEW CRITICAL MASSES**  
**AT SMALL AND SOUTHERN SCHOOLS**  
**(EARLY FALL 1969 – MAY 1970)**

Repression from the courts slowed the movement. It certainly did not stop it. Black college athletes were particularly active in the fall of 1969. Grieving over inadequate medical treatment, hearing degrading remarks, and poor treatment compared to White players, ten Black players boycotted two days of practice in a row and were promptly dismissed from the Indiana University football team. At the University of Minnesota, the majority of the eighteen Blacks on its football team demanded their coaches receive “sensitivity training” and hire a Black assistant coach and guidance counselor for Black athletes. The football coach at the University of Washington suspended four Black players who refused to commit to the team and spearheaded talks among Black players to start boycotting games in protest of the athletic department’s racism. Three of the four were later reinstated when eight other Black football players refused to accompany the team to play an away game at UCLA.<sup>841</sup>

Black basketball student-athletes joined the fray when their season began. Five basketball players at Sacramento State College left their team in November 1969, pledging to stay away until the athletic department addressed their six demands for athletes to play a part in the department’s decision making process, the removing of racist

staff members, the immediate hiring of Black coaches, equal treatment of players regardless of their race, recognition of Black athletes manhood, and the establishment of grievance procedures. “The racist attitudes displayed by members of the athletic staff no matter how unintentional they may be, are direct assaults upon the humanity of black athletes on this campus as well as black people in general,” the players stated in a statement with their demands. Soon after, Sacramento State President Otto Butz established a committee to investigate racism in the athletic department and it recommended the head basketball and football coaches be reassigned to non-coaching positions. Thirty-one additional Black athletes joined the original five and issued a statement in late January 1970 that announced they “cannot and will not continue to perform under oppressive and repressive conditions simply because people in administrative positions succumb to pressures exerted by those in the community.”<sup>842</sup>

At SUNY Buffalo, Black basketball players boycotted practice and did not show up for games in November 1969 to show their displeasure with the lack of Black coaches at the school and fairness in awarding scholarships to Black athletes. Unsatisfied, they protested again on February 25, 1970, refusing to play a basketball game and sat in the center of the gym instead. That evening, BSU members were meeting with the administration over the athletes concerns and were close to an agreement when fifty White campus activists burst into the office and insisted that they be heard too. Officials refused to meet with them generating a month long whirlwind of violent demonstrations by White students that marginalized the Black athlete issue.<sup>843</sup>

The major work of activism that fall and spring of the 1969-1970 academic year occurred in the Western Athletic Conference (WAC). On October 15, 1969, the newly

organized Black Student Alliance, led by Willie Black, delivered a letter to University of Wyoming officials chastising the racism of the Mormon church and its main college, Brigham Young University, which its football team was set to play that week. The letter suggested that the Black players and students boycott the game. Upon hearing about the letter, Coach Lloyd Eaton warned his football players not to join the protest because that would violate a team rule against activism. The fourteen Black football players decided to talk over the matter with Coach Eaton. They strolled into his office on October 17 wearing black armbands, a symbol of their solidarity with the protest. A shouting match ensued in which Coach Eaton called the athletes “rabble-rousers.” He revoked their scholarships, kicked them off the team, all the while ridiculing them, saying they now had to go on “Negro relief” or back “on the streets hustling.” Six of the athletes were starters on Wyoming’s undefeated and twelve-ranked team in the nation. Coach Eaton’s dramatic and tyrannical act fueled the impending protest. During the university’s game against BYU, pickets marched outside of the stadium. Meanwhile, student and faculty groups challenged the dismissals. But the university president, board of trustees, and Wyoming governor stood behind Coach Eaton, who was quite possibly the most popular person in the state since he led the perennial powerhouse that was the chief sports team of the state. The national media covered the dispute since the football team was so widely touted. At a press conference a week after the mass dismissals, Wyoming President Bill Carlson told reporters that at his university football was more important than civil rights.<sup>844</sup>

This group of Black football players became known around the nation as the “Black 14.” Their plight not only accelerated and intensified the protests around the

WAC and at Western colleges against BYU during football season, but also against Wyoming for its treatment of these fourteen athletes. Football players at San Jose State wore multi-colored armbands in their games against Wyoming and BYU. San Jose State's football coach, Joe McMullen, wore a black armband near the cuff of his sports jacket when his team played BYU, explaining to reporters, "you can't just be involved in football. You have to be involved in life." Like Stanford, San Jose State cancelled all future games with BYU, while the University of Arizona asked that BYU be dropped from the conference. At UTEP, leaflets were passed out criticizing BYU. Violence erupted in the stands of a BYU-Arizona State University (ASU) game, and Black ASU activists attacked Coach Eaton and ASU football coach Frank Kush who supported his action. The Black Student Association at Colorado State University demanded that no games be scheduled against Wyoming until the Black 14 were reinstated. At Utah State University, the BSU called for a demonstration of the BYU—Utah State game and a student censure of BYU. A delegation representing the BSU at the University of Arizona met with its college officials and urged that BYU be ousted from the Western Athletic Conference since the Mormon church holds "that blacks are inherently inferior" and its theology is a "white supremacists" doctrine. The student senates at the University of Arizona and the University of New Mexico formally backed the Black 14 and rebuked BYU. At the Wyoming—New Mexico game, students questioned in signs whether Wyoming Blacks had been "Lynched Again?" And BSUs at all of the schools in the WAC organized crusades to convince Black athletes not to come to their colleges.<sup>845</sup>

Even though the campus activists did not need any more ammunition for their machine gun of activism, WAC Commissioner Wiles Hallock gave it to them. In a

statement issued in early November at a WAC conference meeting, Hallock, affirmed by Coach Eaton, the NCAA, and Wyoming officials, tried to publicize that the protests were caused by a national Black conspiracy to destroy Wyoming's nationally respected program. Black students were so angered by Hallock's comments that a group of fifty Black campus activists from the University of Colorado came to the WAC meeting in Denver and adjourned it, sporting black armbands with the numerals "14," which were a regular sight at games and protests against BYU and Wyoming as a tribute to the Black 14. Black students became more infuriated in early November when they heard BYU officials claim their university was not racist.<sup>846</sup>

The protests against BYU and Wyoming transferred over into the basketball season. Black basketball players at the University of Arizona proposed that a "conscience clause be added to athletic scholarship which would give black athletes the right to refuse to compete against institutions with policies similar to those of B.Y.U." And they wore Black armbands when they played BYU in early January. Police fought with anti-BYU demonstrators at that game in Tucson, Arizona, and in early February at the BYU—Colorado State game, Blacks marched onto the court in protest. There was violence at the end of February 1970 in Albuquerque at the BYU—New Mexico game, which was delayed forty-five minutes to clear debris (like balloons filled with kerosene) thrown onto the court. Maybe the longest and largest protest against BYU occurred in early March at the University of Washington. At least four days of protests were waged at this Seattle college, where five hundred activists from the college's BSU and Seattle's Liberation Front staged hit-and-run raids on eight campus buildings, dismissing classes, roughing up students who resisted, and breaking windows and furniture. The University



of Washington severed its athletic relationship with BYU by 1972. But the BSU and their community allies wanted that relationship to end immediately.<sup>847</sup>

As students throughout the West Coast joined the campaign to censure Wyoming and BYU, the Black 14 initiated their on fight. With the assistance of NAACP attorney William Waterman and later the ACLU, the fourteen Black athletes filed a \$1.1 million lawsuit against Coach Eaton and the University of Wyoming in U.S. district court in Cheyenne contending the dismissal violated their constitutional rights, specifically since the U.S. Supreme ruled earlier in the year that Black armbands can be worn by college athletes to protest the Vietnam War. The United State District Court Judge ruled in favor of the University of Wyoming and the decision was upheld by an appeals court. Thirteen of the Black 14 slowly left the campus. Most of them did not let the incident destroy their resolve for a college education, as ten graduated from other colleges, and four of the fourteen athletes went on to play professional football.<sup>848</sup>

Although much of the national attention focused on the revolt of the Black student-athlete and on the University of California's board of regents second crusade in successive years to oust a radical professor, this time Angela Davis, Black students were active in the fall of 1969 under the radar.<sup>849</sup> Twenty-five students and instructors in the SEEK program at Queens College continued their struggle for math and science courses to be taught by SEEK instructors, new SEEK personnel they approved, and the rehiring of a recently fired SEEK professor. They entered the office of the college's dean of faculty on September 10, 1969, and read him their demands, concluding, "We insist that these demands be met immediately so that the educational processes of this institution will not have to be impeded as of September 15, 1969." In the past, college officials

would have conducted marathon meetings to try to figure out how to address the demands. But like administrators across the nation, Queens authorities ushered in a new era of meeting threats with counter-threats, standing up to the force of Black Campus Movement with the force of the state. Before the deadline date, Queens administrators obtained a restraining order barring activists from disturbing the educational process of the college, which choked the life out of their ultimatum.<sup>850</sup>

Like the previous four falls, this semester was quiet early as Black students got used to their new surroundings, and the storms of repression and ideological friction among leaders took their toll. Black students did participate in the nationwide “Vietnam Moratorium” on October 15 when students and faculty members skipped classes on more than six hundred campuses and staged marches, rallies, picket lines, vigils, fasts, and memorial services in the largest student-led protest in the county’s history. Black students participated, but Whites dominated this day.<sup>851</sup> At Dartmouth College on this day, Black students focused on the arrival of Stanford Professor William Shockley more than Vietnam. When Shockley was introduced at the annual meeting of the National Academy of Sciences to share his widely touted and criticized ideas on genetic racial differences, about twenty-five Black students rose and loudly applauded him. It was not brief like most ovations. They applauded and applauded until professors figured out they were attempting to stop him from speaking. The professors implored the students to stop, and they did momentarily. When the professors stopped, the student resumed clapping, and this went on for ninety minutes. The students were determined to not allow the scientific racist spew his nonsense on their campus. They succeeded, yet seventeen of them were later punished with academic probation.<sup>852</sup>

A growing number of protests that fall were reactions to what Black students perceived of as attacks on their communities. That's what occurred at Dartmouth and it caused the first major racial incident at Clemson University since it quietly desegregated in 1963. The roughly sixty Black students at Clemson heard Whites were set to wear blackface in a student variety show. Tensions between the races started burning. Suspecting they may explode, on October 26, Black students walked off campus and stayed away for about a day until President Robert C. Edwards assured them his administration would "do everything in its power to protect them from physical harm."<sup>853</sup> About 450 Black students at Oklahoma's Langston University reacted to the sudden dismissal of their college president by marching to the Oklahoma state capitol on October 28. Thinking their president was let go because he was not conservative enough, the students insisted on speaking to Oklahoma Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett about his termination. After a series of annoying chants, the governor told the students he had set up a meeting between the students and the regents. His announcement was greeted with boos and curses. They stormed into the state capitol and exchanged insults with White state employees for an hour before seventy-five highway patrolmen cleared them out.<sup>854</sup>

Most of the protests during the 1969-1970 academic year occurred at smaller colleges and Southern White institutions that had just reached a critical mass of Black students. In October, twenty-seven Black and Puerto Rican students at Central Connecticut State College barricaded themselves inside the administration building to express their desire for a minimum fifteen percent non-White freshman class the next year, more Black and Puerto Rican professors, an Afro-American Studies program, and

Black housing and social facilities. Officials called the police, demonstrating the quick trigger of administrators that fall, and the students were arrested after just two hours.<sup>855</sup>

The first major protest of the movement that fall occurred at the end of the October at the exclusive Vassar College in New York. Before dawn on October 30, about thirty-five Black women seized a portion of their college's administration building that contained a switchboard for faculty and administrative offices, a mail room, and snack bar. The Afro-American Society (AAS) wanted the college to commit to expanding the Black Studies program to grant degrees, and to building a dorm that could accommodate two hundred Black students (as there was only fifty-nine at the college). The women closed off the section, and ten Black male students from nearby colleges stood outside the area and denied access. White students gathered outside the building, staged a rally, and milled around for the rest of the day. At a faculty meeting called that day, correctly sensing that student opinion was behind the AAS, the professors decided they would not call in the police nor seek court action. In the evening, Vassar President Alan Simpson announced a meeting would be held the following day with trustees, professors, his staff, and the Black students to discuss their demands. Louis E. Lomax blasted Vassar administrators and others like them that day for "coddling" to Black campus activists. "You must have the guts to stand up and tell a black student 'no' when he is wrong," said Lomax, a famous writer and Hofstra University professor. "Everybody is so afraid black students will riot if you say 'no.'"<sup>856</sup>

Black students had proved time and time again during the Black Campus Movement they would riot, which may be why Vassar officials, who apparently had been listening to the news the last four years unlike Lomax, choose to negotiate. After a 44-

hour stay, the Black women left the building since the college pledged to increase the number of professors, the size, and the budget of the Black Studies program, and retrieve a bus for the urban center and Black guidance counselor. Vassar said it would enlarge the facilities of an urban center for Black Studies in downtown Poughkeepsie and allow students to concentrate in Black Studies for full credit. The college chose to not give into a Black dorm, but it permitted the Black students “to live in contiguous residential space for the spring semester and thereafter” if they want. The Black campus activists at Vassar were somewhat pleased with the result of the protest. The editorial board at the *New York Times* was clearly not. “Black students in any predominantly white college face many frustrations...But the problem will not be solved—it will, on the contrary, be severely and perhaps irreparably aggravated—by withdrawal into black separatism.”<sup>857</sup>

The *Times* did not like that Vassar surrendered “to illegal action.” The newspaper was probably more satisfied to hear that college officials at the University of Nebraska used police power to end a demonstration. About sixty-five Black students in the Black Liberators Action Council gathered in the office of President Kirk E. Naylor on November 10 to discuss demands they had gave him the previous week. The students wanted to participate in scheduling Black speakers and hiring Black teachers, more benefits for athletes, and for the university to commit more funds to Black-oriented extracurricular activities. Unsatisfied “with Naylor’s answers to their demands,” their spokesman told the press, they took over his office. But the university quickly called the police, who arrested the Black students, as the sit-in only lasted ninety minutes.<sup>858</sup>

Exactly a month later, on December 10, six Black students seized the administration building, firing blanks from a pistol as they entered, and barricaded

themselves and sixteen university personnel inside with them, including the president. About one hundred Black students assembled on the front steps as a show of support. After about three hours, an injunction was read on the steps of the administration building. Within minutes, the six occupiers unchained the doors and walked out with their yearning for department for an autonomous Black Studies department and Black residential facilities still unresolved. Eight students were eventually charged with second-degree rioting as the repression rained on Black campus activists. In addition that month, eighteen Black students at New York's Manhattanville College staged a five-and-a-half day sit-in to press for the recruitment of more Black students at faculty.<sup>859</sup>

During the second week of December 1969, students led by their student government association (SGA) at Fisk University, boycotted classes to push for a "Black university." Billie Blackburn, a junior philosophy student and SGA coordinator, explained to the press that "a Black university education should be geared towards preparing students for participation in the black community." To erect this Black university, the students not only called for the institution to be "controlled and administered by black people," devoted to their cultural needs, identified "completely with blacks," and to teach "skills necessary for black existence," but they wanted changes in administrative personnel and functions, and the college to fire all of its White employees. The Black campus activists burned the automobile of the famed White historian Theodore Currier, who had been at the college for forty years and had mentored John Hope Franklin. Years later, Franklin torched the students who torched his mentored car. "At Fisk, of all places, some students were involved in some of the shoddiest activities imaginable, all done in the name of the students' rights and civil rights."<sup>860</sup>

Howard, as usual, was alive with protests that fall. Pressure from graduate students compelled the administration to remove the chair of the African Studies department in early October. Ninety-nine medical students went on strike to lean on the college to fire their dean, and reduce their course load and the number of White students admitted into their school. The administration made concessions regarding their grievances, which ended the boycott. But university-wide, one of the most important concessions came in the spring when the board of trustees welcomed two student voting members. A few colleges allowed one student to sit on their boards, but due to their four years of protests for power, Howard campus activists stood ahead of the pack.<sup>861</sup>

There had been several protests on their behalf of non-academic and construction workers in years past by Black students, which persisted in November and December 1969. Black students had supported Black food service workers at the University of North Carolina in the spring when they won better pay and working conditions and showed their solidarity again when the workers struck on November 7. They set up picket lines over their company dismissing fourteen employees for union activity, and proposing a one-third reduction of the staff. As the month wore on, and the clashes between the union officials, students, and the workers, and Chapel Hill police grew more intense, the intensity of the Black students' commitment to their cause increased. In early December, Black students clashed with the police and nine were arrested and four sent to the hospital. Ultimately, the affair ended when the company accepted many of the union's demands, including the rehiring of the fourteen workers fired for union activity.<sup>862</sup>

In November 1969, students across the country showed their harmony with electric workers who launched a nationwide strike in late October against General Electric for increased wages and fringe benefits. At the College of Holy Cross, about one hundred Black and White students tried to block access to recruiters from General Electric. Sixteen students were suspended. A fourth of the students suspended were Black even though the Black percentage of protesters was far less, prompting the BSU to charge discrimination in the suspension. Sixty-four Black students announced they were withdrawing from the school. To woo them back, college officials reinstated the suspended students and cancelled class for several days to discuss discrimination.<sup>863</sup>

The protests at Holy Cross and UNC were overshadowed by one at Tufts University in November 1969. But two hundred Black campus activists, first from Tufts, and later delegations from Brandeis, Harvard, Boston College, Boston University, Northeastern, and the University of Massachusetts gathered inside the gate of the construction site of a dormitory at Tufts University. Black community members also assembled at 6:30 a.m.—and they all barricaded themselves inside the site on November 5, and sealed off the three entrances. Two weeks earlier, the Black campus activists at Tufts had demanded a massive increase in the number of Blacks on the site's workforce. The deadline had passed and the protesters now announced that if “blacks don't work, nobody works.” They delivered a list of the names and trades of twelve Blacks to the construction company, pledging that if they were hired, then they would leave. The five Blacks and two Puerto Ricans out of 104 people working there was not enough.<sup>864</sup>

When the White workers arrived in mass, they lined up at the gate of the site and vowed to remove the chains and power their way into the building. The students and



community members picked up iron rods and readied themselves. There was a tense standoff until the university obtained an agreement from the construction company that the workers could be sent home that day with pay. The workers went home. The students stayed for more six hours in the \$2-million residence for Jackson College, the women's division of Tufts. Later in the day, the university obtained a temporary restraining order to bar the Black students from conducting another disruption there.<sup>865</sup>

Tufts Black students and their allies from other campuses and the community gathered again the next morning. But they did not find a quiet, unguarded dormitory. Instead, they were welcomed by a sprawling contingent of hundreds of officers with riot clubs, and the barks of their dogs eliminating the eerie silence of the morning. Many carried shotguns and had put away their badges. The students scattered, thinking it was suicidal to retake the building. But they called a general strike of classes, answered by more than one thousand Tufts students and faculty. Due to their activism, the Federal Civil Rights Commission's advisory committee for Massachusetts and a team of officials were sent by the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Labor to investigate the matter, which quickly became a national story. For once, the *New York Times* affirmed the efforts of Black campus activists: "Racial discrimination in the building trades must not be allowed to benefit from the vast expansion of construction programs on college campuses all over the country." Fearing a lawsuit, the university did not halt the construction project, and the company president told reporters, "As far as we are concerned, we are in full compliance with our contract." But within a week, the company had hired three Black laborers, two bricklayers, and three apprentice electricians.<sup>866</sup>

The cup of activism at Tufts spilled over into another university in the Boston metropolitan area in November. A few weeks after Harvard Black students helped shut down the construction site at Tufts, they joined with White campus activists at their own institution to conduct a two-hour sit-in in one of the college dean's offices. Claiming that Harvard had been hiring Black workers as so-called "painters helpers," and paying them up to 86 cents an hour less than the White "painters" who were doing the same work as them, the students demanded the promotion of the "painters helpers" to painters, equal pay for equal work, and the establishment of a grievance commission for Black workers. They also mandated a quota of twenty percent of Black workers on all Harvard construction sites by December 2, 1969.<sup>867</sup>

Following a series of small rallies and confrontations, Black students realized they had to do something big to compel the college to address their concern. About 170 Black students, more than half of the Black student body, rushed into the main administration building in the early morning of December 5, removed the doorknobs from the main entrances, chained and tied themselves inside with ropes, and posted themselves inside the doors. About twenty-five of the occupiers were from other colleges in the area as Black campus activists in the Boston region probably participated in each other's protests probably more than any other region in the nation. Outside, Black students watched for police with walkie-talkies. Only Black students and faculty were allowed to enter, but the students did allow the university's negotiator, Professor Archibald Cox, former U.S. Solicitor General, to come in for discussions. By 2:30 p.m., Cox and the Black students had worked out and signed an interim agreement that froze all new contracts on major construction projects while the university established a committee of students and

officials to study the issues of the painters pay and the lack of Black workers. After six hours, the students left as peacefully as they came. A spokesman for the students said in a press conference, “Our objectives were to get the University to move off dead center, which they did.” But later they learned they were going to be brought up on charges under the university’s disciplinary code. The *New York Times*, echoing the sentiments of the opponents of Black campus activism, pleaded with the academic beacon of the academy to follow through on the punishments. “The belief prevails that whatever action is taken, it will not be severe or exceed the character of the students’ infraction.”<sup>868</sup>

The negotiations that followed the building takeover fell apart because Harvard “failed to respond to the demands in a meaningful and good faith matter.” One of the issues was Black workers making up at least twenty percent of the campus construction workforce. Harvard was unwavering on its stand against fixed racial quotas. A week after the building takeover, the Black students shut down a construction site on campus in the morning and in the afternoon on December 11, they evicted the guests and residents of the university’s Faculty Club and beat drums, while campus officials threatened them with disciplinary measures outside. When the university secured an injunction, the students vacated the club instead of face criminal charges. Harvard promptly suspended about fifty Black students, pending hearings, and brought disciplinary charges against thirty-six Black students to the delight of the *New York Times*, which continued to share its opinions on the events of the Black Campus Movement that fall. The *Chicago Daily Defender* was not nearly as delighted: “The occupation...may be an infraction of campus rules, yet the high purpose which moved the black students to action should go a long way toward mitigating the punishment the administration may impose.”<sup>869</sup>

Unperturbed by the suspensions, later in the month, Black students boycotted classes to back up their calls for the twenty-percent quota, and organized rallies in December. At one held in Harvard's Memorial Church, about one thousand mostly Black students assembled to hear former CORE director Floyd B. McKissick call Harvard the "citadel of higher education and racism." McKissick championed the students' decision to disrupt the college with protests. "The cat is racist and he won't listen to you behind closed doors. You were forced to come out and demonstrate, but you did it as black people, exercising the philosophy of black consciousness."<sup>870</sup> McKissick was not the only major figure who spoke at a Boston campus that December 1969. Mesia Hewitt of the Black Panther Party, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Ralph Abernathy of SCLC, and CORE's Roy Innis shared the stage for the first time that decade at Boston College and like Black students across America, they were enraged about the recent police invasion of the Panthers headquarters in Los Angeles, and the vicious murder of the leaders of the Chicago Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. "The Panthers today, next week CORE or the SCLC, the week after it may be the NAACP," roared Innis. Abernathy ridiculed President Nixon for having to bring "thirty five hundred experts and a handful of poor people to Washington to tell him there's hunger in his America." The Panthers Hewitt told the crowd that his organization's intention, like Malcolm X five years earlier, "it to take your government and charge it before the UN with genocide." And Wilkins urged his fellow peers to be more flexible in their tactics.<sup>871</sup>

The murder of Hampton and Clark in Chicago resulted in representatives from BSUs at twenty-five colleges and high schools in Illinois issuing a statement demanding

a halt “to the murder, oppression, harassment and intimidation of our leaders and the black community in general...The Black Student Union is not going to continue to sit around and watch these dogs slaughter our leaders.” BSU representatives in California met that month in Fresno, California and decided on a loose charter of “The Three BSU Principles”: become a self-determining people, make educational intuitions relevant, and intensify the struggle against racism and capitalism. Both assemblies exhibited that BSUs were starting to return to focusing on off-campus issues. The political assassinations, harassment, and unjust jailing of their leaders rose as 1969 marched on, causing the attention of Black campus activists to turn away from their racist colleges and universities—another phenomenon that slowed the movement for relevance.<sup>872</sup>

Unlike the larger Black Campus Movement, Harvard Black students did not let up their pressure on the academy in January 1970. Thirty-six Black students did not report to a series of disciplinary hearings because they said “we cannot recognize the university’s legitimacy in constructing the laws for the mechanism for which it seeks to enforce them.” In their stead, the Black students conducted their own “fact finding hearing” in January 1970. Several university officials were invited to defend themselves but none attended. LeRoy Boston of the New England Consulate of the Republic of New Africa served as judge and found the university negligent and racist. Later in the month, fifty-two Black students in Harvard’s law school signed a petition ridiculing the administration’s disciplinary action.<sup>873</sup> The three months of activism seemed to pay off somewhat in early February. Harvard announced on February 9, 1970 it had signed a pact with Jackson Construction Company requiring the proportion of nonwhite workers to range from nineteen to twenty-three percent over the course of its two projects. “The

university was under the gun,” said the Harvard official who completed perhaps the nation’s first construction contract with racial quotas. Harvard’s Organization for Black Unity said the pact did not resolve the issue since the two projects only amounted to one twelfth of the university’s ongoing and planned projects.<sup>874</sup>

The Black Campus Movement did hit a few other campuses that spring of 1970. Throughout January 1970, the BSU at Florida State University had tried to organize a meeting with the faculty senate to share its long list of grievances. To force a meeting, in the evening of January 29, thirty-five members of the BSU sealed off the top floor of Bellamy Hall. When faculty and staff tried to walk off the elevator to go to their offices the next morning, they were obstructed by furniture. That morning, the president, upon hearing of the takeover, called a special session of the faculty senate. When the students heard the news of the impending session, they terminated the occupation. A few days later, a special session of the faculty senate was convened with nine Black students representing the BSU. A BSU spokesman read an opening statement. “We have reached a point at which the prevalent mood among blacks, struggling for dignity and productive existence on this campus is severe frustration...We feel that it is time to call upon the Faculty-Senate to mobilize its resources and its constituency to assist the university administration in the resolution of this emergency.” When the spokesman finished reading the carefully worded statement, he offered thirty proposals the senate should implement, including additional Black students, professors, deans, coaches, administrators, doctors and nurses, athletic officials, house managers, and resident counselors, a role in deciding policies affecting them, for the non-academic employees to be paid the federal minimum wage, the Tallahassee Black community’s involvement in

any plans of expansion, and the establishment of a Black Cultural Center.<sup>875</sup> The BSU's concerns received backing when the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) informed FSU it needed to commit itself to recruiting Black students and faculty. Out of more than one thousand professors, a mere three were Black. With the aid of HEW, a newly elected student government sympathetic to their concerns, and a Commission of Black Student Affairs, the BSU spent the rest of the semester implementing their programs, such as their Black Cultural Center.<sup>876</sup>

Just as in the previous February, Black campus activists were particularly active during the second month of 1970. So were the police. In early 1970, the Student Government Association at Mississippi Valley State College issued its second list of demands in successive spring semesters and charged its administration with violating their rights to dissent and due process. They wanted more Black courses, the ability to wear dashikis, and student control of student activity fees, among other things. The dictatorial President J. H. White retorted, "If the students are desirous of remaining in the school, you will have to abide by the rules of the institution or withdraw from the institution." Students refused to leave, and welcomed the legendary Mississippi activist, Fannie Lou Hamer to speak in early February 1970. She passionately attacked President White and at one point even told him he needed to retire, "go home, and be quiet." She added, "I've seen some of the world's greatest Toms in service, but this man must be a Nuclear Tom." That night, still sizzling from Hamer's fiery speech, students met to plan a boycott of classes that started the next day.<sup>877</sup>

A few days later, on February 11, the students staged a massive march on campus. A 58-man police force aided by campus police told the marches they were under arrest.

That day, 896 Black students were arrested—the largest mass arrest in higher education history. They were charged with violating a state law that prohibits students from interfering with those attending classes, and taken to a nearby state penitentiary where they all stayed for twenty-four hours.<sup>878</sup> While the almost nine hundred Black students from Valley State sat in jail, 351 Black students at Dallas’s Bishop College were brought to jail the evening of February 12, 1970. Their arrests ended their six-day sit-in at this HBCU in which they pressed for more faculty cooperation, better cafeteria and dorm room conditions, a curfew relaxation, better job opportunities, and the hiring of full-time medical personnel. After reading their list of nineteen demands, they occupied the Collins Chapel and vowed they would not leave until their demands were addressed. When the more than 250 officers finally ended it, they had to load the arrested students into four city buses, and a dozen police wagons. Criminal charges were filed against them for disrupting school activities.<sup>879</sup>

Mississippi Valley State President White did not file criminal charges, but he did expel the students—close to a third of the student body. The ruthless president also closed the campus for a week. Students were required to re-register and sign a statement pledging to not take part in protests. By late February 1970, only a few dozen had signed the pledge and registered, as one strike leader said, “Anyone [who] signs this should be enslaved.” The activism now shifted to ousting President White. “We’ll boycott until infinity,” said a student leader. Many students transferred and enrollment fell by sixty percent. Still, the college’s trustees formally commended President White for his “superior judgment in dealing with the student boycott of classes.”<sup>880</sup>



At the summit of these demonstrations against President White, a former Valley State student put a stranglehold of activism on another Mississippi campus. Wilhelm Joseph Jr., Valley State student body president and leader of its 1969 protests, was now a law student at the University of Mississippi causing havoc. Joseph had formed a BSU that demanded more support for Black students and a Black Studies program. But their wishes went on deaf ears. In late February 1970, a BSU leader brought his little stereo, James Brown's "I'm Black and I'm Proud," and some Eldridge Cleaver speeches to a BSU meeting. The intoxicating sounds of Brown and Cleaver stirred the minds of these students towards activism. The next evening, on February 25, 1969, about a hundred Black students marched towards the building where a campus concert was being held, chanting, "What're you going to do? Do it to them?" When they made it inside the concert hall, they strode down the aisles while the choir was signing, "What Color is God's Skin?" A BSU leader grabbed a microphone and exclaimed, "Well, he sure ain't white." After a few tense moments, some of the students gave the Black power salute, and one activist read their demands. Within in minutes, they left and were met outside by a throng of police officers dressed in full riot gear with their guns pointed at them.<sup>881</sup>

Sixty-one Black Ole Miss students were arrested outside the chapel for breaching the peace. Two days later, twenty-eight additional Black campus activists were arrested while they rallied in front of the chancellor's home and the local YMCA—resulting in now almost half of the Black student body in chains. A major debate followed on campus, like at all colleges and universities that felt the wrath of the Black Campus Movement, concerning the requests of Black students and the tactics used to get them. John Donald, the BSU president, said, "We feel that our needs are of such urgency that

we cannot sit idly by and be apathetic and complacent any longer.” Members of the college community argued about whether the arrested students should be punished. The university’s judicial council and trustees voted to suspend eight of the Black campus activists for one year. Despite the repression, there were reforms. A committee was erected to investigate the students’ demands, which resulted in among other things, the establishment of a Black Studies program in the fall of 1970.<sup>882</sup>

That month, Black campus activists rebelled also at Boston College, Amherst College, University of Washington, and Voorhees College. During the second week of February 1970, Black students at Boston College insisted that ten percent of the upcoming freshman class be Black, the aptitude tests for admissions of Black students not be used, more control over financial aid for Black students, and the erection of a Black dormitory on campus and “Black house” in Boston’s Black community for the educational and social needs of Black students and residents. Their implementation became an urgent matter when forty Black students dropped out of school when they lost their financial aid. BU Black students staged a series of protests beginning with peaceful march to the university’s executive vice president office to present the demands. A student strike was later organized and 137 Blacks and about two hundred White students honored it, and Black students took over a building for ten hours. School officials eventually decided to dedicate five times more funds to recruiting Black students.<sup>883</sup>

Also, in February 1970 in the Boston area, about two hundred Black students from five area institutions staged an occupation of four major buildings at Amherst College calling for “the right to determine our own programs, policies, and directions.”<sup>884</sup>

At Voorhees College, where dozens of Black students flashed guns in a building takeover the previous fall, Black campus activists initiated a peaceful boycott of classes on February 18, 1970 to force the reinstatement of four recently dismissed Black instructors, the resignation of the White chairman of the board of trustees, and the introduction of a Black-dominated board of trustees and relevant curriculum. The Voorhees curriculum was “totally irrelevant” and designed to perpetuate White supremacy, said Alvin Evans, a leader of the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee that spearheaded the boycott. The boycott crippled the regular affairs of the college. To stop the growing power of the protests, 250 National Guardsmen were brought to the campus. By early March, the college closed indefinitely since both the students and trustees refused to budge on their desires for the college.<sup>885</sup>

Unlike the previous spring, March 1970 was a relatively quiet. Black campus activists at West Virginia State College seized their administration building to protest against their college’s rebuffs to name a dormitory after Malcolm X.<sup>886</sup> Towards the end of the month, the University of Michigan, one of the vanguards of the White campus activism, erupted with Black campus activism. For years Black campus activists had been quietly urging University of Michigan officials to bring in more Black students. But the non-coercive tactics were not working. They organized the Black Action Movement (BAM), bringing together all the Black student groups on campus. Shortly thereafter, they presented their grievances to the university’s Board of Regents at the board’s February 1970 meeting. They craved an unequivocal commitment from the university to increase the Black percentage of its student body from its current level of three percent to

ten percent by 1973. They wanted the percentage of Black administrators at the same level and a service-oriented Black Studies Center, among other things.<sup>887</sup>

By the next meeting of the regents on March 18, 1970, the Michigan administration told the students it could double the Black student enrollment by 1973, but tripling it would be too financially difficult. The regents affirmed the administration, riling up BAM, which said the regents' proposal is "worse than the president's weasel-worded statement..., pretending to make a change when all it does is capitalize on the same old message: 'S-H-I-T.'" Two days later, Black students called a strike and gained the support of a coalition of anti-war groups, the student government, and other progressive White student groups. Picket lines wrapped around the campus and many faculty and university employees refused to cross them, effectively shutting down the university at times. Attendance dropped substantially, specifically in the social sciences. There were bomb threats, windows were smashed in some campus buildings, and on one occasion a group of seventy-five Black students ran through a campus building and dismissed classes themselves, breaking glassware and other property.<sup>888</sup> Two weeks of turmoil ceased on April 1 when the Board of Regents finally decided to triple the enrollment of Black students. Vice President Spiro Agnew condemned the decision, charging it was the first step in lowering its admission standards and the devaluation process of the University of Michigan degree.<sup>889</sup>

Even though the students were not active in March 1970, the critics of the movement were, and no one was livelier than Bayard Rustin. That month, he said, "I'm very much opposed to separation under any circumstances and I'm also opposed to black studies."<sup>890</sup> In April 1970, Black icons circulated on college campuses speaking about

off-campus issues unlike in previous years when they urged students to reform their colleges—another decimator of the movement. At Boston University, comedian and social activist Dick Gregory told the students they “can wipe out poverty and hunger if they want to.”<sup>891</sup> Angela Davis in a speech at the University of San Francisco discussed the Soledad Brothers, Bobby Seale, Erica Huggins and others who are “fighting for our freedom.” She asked, “Are we exposing the fascist oppression of genocidal war against black people? Are we exposing it. Are we letting the world know about it; are we fighting it?”<sup>892</sup> Martin Luther King Sr. told a group of students at Sacramento City College that Whites “have spent over seventy years working on the separate but they haven’t done a damn thing about the equal,” and he argued “it’s either non-violence or good-bye America.”<sup>893</sup> Betty Shabazz spoke on the other side of the country at Northeastern University, exclaiming, “Everything we do today helps humanity tomorrow. Although my life is threatened today, yours is threatened tomorrow.”<sup>894</sup>

While influential leaders educated students in April 1970, groups of Black campus activists sped up the movement that had slowed for months. Advocating for a Black and Puerto Rican Studies program, additional Black and Puerto Rican students, faculty, and scholarships, about ninety Black and Puerto Rican protesters took over the administration building at New York City’s Wagner College.<sup>895</sup> Black students staged sit-ins to press for their demands at New York’s Keuka College and Highland Park Community in Michigan.<sup>896</sup> At the end of April 1970, Black students turned their attention to a major off-campus issue—the Connecticut case of the eight Black Panthers, including Bobby Seale, who were facing murder charges for allegedly killing a former Panther. Thousands of students boycotted classes at nearby Yale University. Columbia

University activists also demonstrated that month to compel their university to provide bail money for New York Panthers charged in a bombing-conspiracy case.<sup>897</sup>

In the spring of 1970, Black students not only had to see their leaders jailed and eliminated from the public sphere. Their hard fought gains were dismantled as well, as the struggle to maintain diversity was launched, which would eventually supersede and end the Black Campus Movement to gain diversity. The controversial all-Black Afro-American Unity House at Antioch College, publicly investigated in the spring of 1969 by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, disbanded in January 1970. Black Studies courses were discontinued at Western Kentucky University and Bennington College in Vermont. As a sign of the times, the closings occurred with a modest amount of publicity.<sup>898</sup> The same could not be said for SF State.

After a year of bickering between the Black Studies department controlled by SF State's BSU and S.I. Hayakawa's conservative administration, Hayakawa pulled the plug on the entire teaching staff of the department on March 2, 1970 in one of the most widespread political firings of Black professors in American higher education history. In all six professors received pink slips, including Patricia Thornton, acting dean of the School of Third World Studies. "We expected them to dismantle the department. We just expected it to be more subtle," Thornton told reporters. Hayakawa also cut funds for and took the reins over SF State's Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), which had traditionally recruited and supported Black students—acts together that Thornton called the "educational genocide of black people on the San Francisco State campus." Eight of the twelve instructors of the Black Studies program at nearby Fresno State College received similar notices that spring. Upon hearing of the mass firing, Fresno Black

students firebombed a \$1 million computer and destroyed everything in their path as they raced through six campus buildings, forcing college officials to declare a state of emergency.<sup>899</sup>

SF State and Fresno State Black students felt there were under attack, and so did Cornell students that spring. In late February 1970, the police found an unlighted kerosene flare on the porch of the Wari House, a Black women's cooperative, after discovering a lighted flare that had been thrown through the window of a car parked in front of the house. A month later with most of the students away on Easter break, an arsonist struck the 70-year-old three-story building that housed the Africana Studies and Research Center and was the pseudo-home of Cornell's Black students. The two upper stories and its roof were burned out with damages in excess of \$100,000. The Black Studies library with tapes, books, and documents concerning Black people, research files from Black Studies professors, and doctoral dissertations and many student projects were lost in the fire. When Black students returned and saw their home ripped to shreds, and heard the rumors that White racists set it off, flames resurfaced on campus, this time in the hearts and minds of Black campus activists. A new hastily set up Black Studies center could not put out the flames.<sup>900</sup>

The morning after they returned, Black students met with Cornell President Dale R. Corson. They demanded Black security guards at their temporary center and at the Black woman's cooperative, and the construction of a permanent replacement for the burned building by the fall. President Corson told the students he wanted to meet again with the students and review the issues. More meetings, more study—the Black students wanted action now. They went into the meeting upset. They left enraged. Stanley

Reeve, president of the Black Liberation Front, addressed the gathered crowd of Black students outside through a portable loudspeaker. He roared, “This administration doesn’t think it has to be accountable to black people. We’re going to have to change that. Like we said, somebody is going to have to pay. Mr. Corson is going to have to pay. Now, we going to be moving from here as a group. Let’s go!” The throng of about thirty Black students calmly and stoically walked into the nearby campus bookstore. They smashed a window and a display case, threw greetings cards and other items on the floor, and snatched clothing, records, and books and strode out as coolly as they came. No one—not the bookstore employees or the college officials—tried to stop them. They knew better and let them walk back across campus to the temporary center and leave a line of price tags marking their route. That night though, the campus police filed a complaint against the students with the university’s judicial board.<sup>901</sup>

Two days later, on April 8, when it appeared the looters might be punished, the Cornell Black students went on another rampage. They built a huge bonfire with the books and records they had “liberated” from the bookstore. Like a tornado, they charged through the campus and smashed windows, broke furniture, and overturned two cars. The next day, the university obtained an injunction against “further acts of force, violence, damage or disruption,” and set a curfew, which stopped further acts of protest that spring. Black students instead focused on rebuilding their campus community.<sup>902</sup>

Not only did the Cornell Blacks think they were being attacked, but four hundred Black students from several colleges who attended a “Black Unity Conference” at Stanford University from May 1-3 in 1970 shared similar feelings. In their education and Black Studies workshops, they exclaimed that many Black Studies programs were being



assailed and they resolve to fight to keep them afloat and gain or keep control of them. Yet, the issue of Black Studies was relegated to the margins. At the conference's plenary session, the students adopted a resolution calling for a mass demonstration on Malcolm X's birthday, May 19, to demand the release of all Black political prisoners, the return of Blacks from Southeast Asia, the end of the draft for Black youth, and Black control of the Black community. Little did they know the fury of the murder of a total of nine Blacks in two incidents in a week would be catapulted as a headliner for these demonstrations.<sup>903</sup>

In the meantime, on April 30, 1970, Black and White campus communities across the nation were disrupted when they learned that President Nixon again escalated the Vietnam War, ordering troops into Cambodia. His announcement resuscitated a dying anti-War movement in college across America. One of those colleges was Ohio's Kent State University where on May 1, anti-war student groups and the BSU staged protest rallies. That Friday night, they paced through downtown Kent, Ohio, smashing windows in their path, prompting the mayor to call in the National Guard. Kent State students, like other activists, continued to demonstrate over the weekend with another anti-war rally and burned the college's ROTC building to the ground. By Monday, May 4, the National Guardsmen arrived and broke up an anti-war rally with tear gas. Students took the canisters and threw them back at the guardsmen while officers chased students around the campus. At one point, a small group of guardsmen found themselves surrounded by a throng of angry student protesters. Almost instinctually, the guardsmen knelt, and opened fire on the students. Four students were killed and three seriously wounded. The White Campus Movement now had its Orangeburg Massacre. Kent State was closed, all the students were sent home, and the National Guardsmen cordoned off the campus. That

day, Kent State President Robert J. White told the press, “Everyone without exception is horror-struck at the tragedy of the last few hours.”<sup>904</sup>

The anti-war movement received an explosion of life due to the widely publicized and what were perceived as murders at Kent State. A few days later, students and faculty at Brandeis University called a national student strike against American foreign policy, and students struck at more than 450 colleges and universities in the most widespread student strikes in the nation’s history. About half of those campuses were shut down. In California, Governor Reagan closed down all twenty-eight campuses of the University and State College systems for four days. Those days following the Kent State massacre, some students conducted a one-day strike, other pledged to stay away from classes until American troops came back from Vietnam. Other student groups staged massive marches, like the one in Boston in which 10,000 students walked to the Massachusetts statehouse. Still others burned anything that signified America or its foreign policy, such as the army truck and American flag that were torched at the University of California. And almost everywhere, students battled police officers, and national guardsmen. Twelve students were wounded by shotgun fire at SUNY Buffalo, but the worst police-student battle was at the University of Wisconsin where three thousand students waged war against guardsmen and cops and damaged thousands of dollars worth of property. Students also dropped out of the college for the remainder of the year in protest. Some Black and White students banded together to capitalize on the widespread student disorders and demonstrate for campus reforms, like those at Georgia Southern University. Four hundred students at this college in Statesboro, Georgia, marched on the president’s office and handed him a list of twenty-four grievances. One of them was the hiring of

additional Black professors. Speaking at the Pentagon, President Nixon called the campus protesters “bums.” The academy retaliated with a shower of condemnation on his administration. One group of thirty-four college and university presidents sent him a telegram imploring him to “consider the incalculable dangers of an unprecedented alienation of America’s youth and to take immediate action to demonstrate unequivocally your determination to end the war quickly.” President Nixon by mid-May 1970 tried to make overtures of reconciliation with the campuses. But it was too late; only a withdrawal from Vietnam could do that.<sup>905</sup>

Even though Black students hated President Nixon more than Whites, and more were found to be against the war, Black students did not fully engage themselves in the strikes and demonstrations that followed the Kent State murders. They were more likely to stay out of the way of police and considered the white students “merely playing the game of revolution” with “little sense of the consequence.” Blacks did protest against the war *and* racism at Yale, SUNY Buffalo, and at HBCUs like Georgia’s Albany State College and Payne College, Miles College in Alabama, and Pennsylvania’s Lincoln University.<sup>906</sup> Black colleges were relatively quiet though, and Black campus activists generally did not participate in the anti-Cambodian incursion demonstrations. In Chicago in early May 1970, Black students protested against the state’s proposed tuition increases instead. Throughout the 1960s, Black students tended to abstain from protests led by White students. This occasion was no different. Black college students were severely ridiculed for their absence. To Black students, their blood had not meant much to White students, and this was payback.<sup>907</sup>

In less than ten days after Kent State, Black students would have their political assassinations to rile them up. The first urban rebellion of the new decade left six Black men dead in Augusta, Georgia on May 12, 1970. Upon hearing of the slaughter, the national Black community, and Black students on campus, thundered in fury. In a few days, while Black America was psychologically digesting the Augusta massacre, it also learned about a tragedy in Jackson, Mississippi. Every spring during the Black Campus Movement, Black students at Jackson State College released their anger by throwing rocks at passing White motorists on Lynch Street, a major city thoroughfare that cut through the heart of their campus. On May 13, 1970, they were furious about the six Black men who were cut down in nearby Augusta. They were furious about the four students who were cut down at Kent State. They were furious about the draft, the Cambodian incursion, President Nixon, and the recently discovered bell in the campus warehouse that used to summon students to class and chapel like slaves. They were furious. Reports surfaced around Jackson that these HBCU students had revived their springtime ritual and had shattered many windows and dented cars. One officer asked the radio dispatcher, "Havin' nigger trouble on Lynch Street?" By a little before 10 p.m., the police had cut off the east and west ends of Lynch Street, but White motorists poured onto the street through side streets. Every time they spotted a car with Whites, they unleashed a slew of rocks and bottles, not only damaging the cars, but passengers inside. As it etched closer to midnight, the intensity and destruction increased. During the melee, the students tried to overturn a campus security officer's car and seize and burn the ROTC building to no avail. They did succeed in making two huge roaring bonfires with benches from a campus park, tires, and wooden garbage wagons.<sup>908</sup>

City police and the Mississippi Highway Patrol, under the orders of Mississippi Governor John Bell Williams, an avowed segregationist and “race-baiting demagogue,” had been authorized to invade Jackson State to restore their semblance of order. According to Charles Evers, the highway patrolmen were “a bunch of redneck murderers, most of them. Nigger-haters, let me call them, and long-haired-hippie-haters...Most of them were ignorant, and most of them were avowed racists, and many of them were ex-Klansmen or present Klansmen who went from the sheet to the badge.” By 11:45 p.m., the two dozen patrolmen carrying twelve-gauge shotguns were lined up in front of the Jackson police behind a steel tank with ten officers and gun-ports that could launch tear-gas canisters. In formation, they marched on campus and lined up in front of the ROTC barracks, facing Lynch Street and a men’s dormitory on the other side of the street with a rowdy crowd of two hundred students hurling insults and rocks. Neither could reach the officers more than a hundred yards away. Eventually, about one hundred students, accompanied by area Black youth, made their way down Lynch Street to sack the shops of White merchants on a street near the campus. They stopped at a women’s dorm on the way to retrieve more recruits. During the exchange, an area Black youth shot his pistol in the air, as other students and community youth shattered a traffic light and officers from the ROTC barracks formed a roadblock to block the students downtown foray. It was about 12:35 a.m. on May 14. As it got closer to morning, the bonfire, the student crowd, and their energy dwindled. Two hours later, the campus was quiet.<sup>909</sup>

The next morning, there were few signs of the previous night’s rebellion except for the black scorch mark on the Lynch Street pavement from the bonfire. Classes met as scheduled. In the afternoon, President John Peoples met with student leaders about the

causes of the riot, and for nearly two hours they told him about their issues with Kent State, Cambodia, the lack of a bridge-walk over the dangerous Lynch Street, the strict curfew for women, and the terrible food in the cafeteria. Worried about a second night of rioting, President Peoples asked the police chief to close Lynch Street after dark. The chief declined. White Jackson did not want to give up its “right of way through” Black Jackson. The campus was calm, but tense most of the day, until about 9:30 p.m. when about 125 students cheered on a small group of rock-throwers who tried to hit White automobile targets on Lynch Street. While the rock-throwing increased, a Black community member drove up to the scene of the melee, jumped out of his car and told the students that Charles Evers was just shot. Evers, the brother of deceased Medgar Evers and former head of the Mississippi NAACP, was a local hero and his daughter was a student there. Most of the students did not believe the false story, but it heightened their anxieties. Other Black community youth came and hurled Molotov cocktails at a dump truck and set it on fire, as the crowds of students cheered. Just as the night before, the Jackson police and state patrolmen mobilized and stormed onto the campus with the order to “go in there and scatter them damn—those Negroes.” The boisterous students were again in front of the same dorm as the night before but instead of marching on campus and lining up hundreds of yards away at the ROTC building, they formed a line directing in front of the men’s dorm. Now they could hear the hurls of insults, coming from the students outside and the five stories of students yelling from their windows. “Pigs!” “Motherfuckers!” And the rocks were now hitting them.<sup>910</sup>

Soon after, hundreds of national guardsmen marched down Lynch Street towards Jackson State. Before they could get there, a Jackson lieutenant assembled a group of

officers to disperse more than one hundred students in front of a women's dormitory, Alexander Hall, back up Lynch Street. As the throng of officers approached the dorm, nearly a thousand young women were inside in their nightwear talking, fixing their hair, listening to the radio, and watching the ruckus outside. It was about midnight, and some of the female students had just entered the dorms after being escorted by their male friends before curfew. The lawmen stopped in front of the dorm, and they had to weather a sea of insults from the outside crowd of a hundred students. "You white pigs!" "White sons-of-bitches!" Only a chain-link fence separated the officers from the one hundred jeering students and the five-story west stairwell of the dormitory. With a bull horn, an officer tried to address the students, but his attention was thwarted by a bottle that smashed loudly into the Lynch Street pavement. Fear raced through the bodies of the officers. "They're gonna shoot!" a student screamed. The student was right. Officers unleashed a mass of bullets towards the students, who quickly fell, tried to take cover, and raced into the dormitory. They even shot at the dormitory. Chips of brick, concrete, and glass fell like an avalanche on the students taking cover below. Female students scurried about in the dorm to other rooms and under their beds trying to dodge bullets. Thirty seconds later, the patrolmen stopped shooting, sent for all of the city's ambulances, and approached the dormitories checking the student bodies lay sprawled in front of them. Near a small magnolia tree in front of Alexander Hall, they found two young men dead. One was 21-year-old Phillip L. Gibbs, a junior at Jackson State and father of a young son, and the other was Earl Green, 17, a senior and track star at a local Jackson high school. Scattered about, they also found eight Blacks students and one

community member injured. The campus was closed for the rest of the semester the next day.<sup>911</sup>

Federal investigators traveled to Jackson as the highway patrolmen went around telling reporters they responded to sniper fire. An outcry of sadness and fury bristled through Black America when it woke up that morning of May 15, 1970. Yet no group was more upset than Jackson State students and Black youth across the city. Days later, more than five hundred Black Jackson young people from Jackson State, and local high schools and junior high schools boycotted classes and marched on the governor's mansion to protest the Jackson tragedy, and firebombed at least half a dozen White-owned stores that week. Several members of Congress including New York's Adam Clayton Power and Michigan's Charles Diggs arrived in Jackson to conduct their own investigation and attend the funeral of the high school student who was murdered.<sup>912</sup>

Like White colleges erupted after Kent State, so too did Black colleges after Jackson State and the Augusta tragedy. Pennsylvania's Lincoln University and Payne College in Georgia closed indefinitely out of respect for those killed. According to Howard President James E. Cheek, the resentment of his students over the slaying was near the "breaking point." He cancelled classes for the rest of the semester so students, faculty, and administrators could meet "to analyze the problems of black people and propose solutions." Rallies were held at Maryland's Morgan State College where students clashed with police. Classes were suspended for a day at Bowie State College in Maryland. Rallies and demonstrations occurred at traditionally White institutions too. When several Black students at Ohio State University tried to lower the American flag to mourn the deceased, a group of White students tried to stop them. Punches were



exchanged. Black students also barred the entrances to the library and several classroom buildings that day.<sup>913</sup>

Fifteen HBCU presidents met with President Nixon and urged him to recommend that police officers not carry guns on campuses and make a national televised address to affirm “government’s resolve to protect the lives of black citizens.” President Nixon demurred, but as a palliative he did offer more money to HBCUs and establish better relations with the Black community.<sup>914</sup> The sedative did not put the activism of the Black college presidents to sleep, nor did it quiet the throng of Black leaders who ferociously slammed Mississippi and American racism. Charles Evers started to reconsider his long held tactic of non-violence. “I’ve preached nonviolence because I don’t think blacks can win the other way, but there comes a time when a man doesn’t care anymore about winning. The day of killing niggers is gone to hell.” In a column, Floyd McKissick observed that the “conscious of America” was “touched” when the four White students were shot. But “the conscience of American was not even pricked” when the two Black students and six Augusta men were killed. “We must all learn from this. For it is further evidence that there is no way for Black men to reach the conscience of white America.” Despite the President’s Commission on Campus Unrest finding that racism not self-defense led to the slaying of the students, Jackson State students and their allies in the city and around the nation, had to battle two long years to try to get justice for the two deceased students. In the fall of 1970, a Mississippi grand jury found the police “were justified in discharging their weapons,” and in April 1972, an all-White Mississippi jury ruled that neither state officials nor police were liable for civil damages as a result of the tragedy. The *New York Amsterdam News* editorialized, “This decision is

simply another nail in the coffin of America's system of justice and equal treatment in the courts.”<sup>915</sup>

Repression usually either pushes the brakes harder to slow a movement or accelerates the movement faster. It depends on whether the movement before the repression is slowing down or speeding up. The murdering of the Orangeburg students and King in the spring of 1968 caught the movement when it was accelerating, and those two events compelled Black campus activists to slam the pedal of the movement. On the other hand though, the Jackson State massacre occurred when the movement was slowing, and thus it proved to be yet another factor that continued the demise of the Black Campus Movement.

**CHAPTER 11**  
**THE DECELERATION OF THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT**  
**(JUNE 1970 – DECEMBER 1972)**

During the 1969-1970 academic year, about two-thirds of American higher educational institutions had to deal with at least one protest. Most of the issues were war-related or other off-campus issues, like the freeing of Black political prisoners. Still, Black campus activists fought hard for relevancy with their more than one 150 incidents. They were even lively at junior colleges, organizing more than eighty protests at more than fifty schools. Blacks were relatively more active than White students from January to the end of March, but the White Campus Movement overshadowed Black campus activism in May 1970 with Vietnam War taking center stage.<sup>916</sup> In early June, a coalition of Black students from five New York City colleges held a “dialogue with Political Candidates” in Brooklyn. In calling for the public forum, the coalition stated, “Black people have been too far removed from the political realities—from the real power who control our communities. We must make our presence felt now in the current political

crisis at both the local and national levels.”<sup>917</sup> It was a step also away from on campus politics, which Black students focused on the previous five years.

Nonetheless, that summer, there were acts of Black campus activism. Twenty Black students at Pennsylvania’s Westminster College in early June demanded that a Black administrator be hired, or at least for the open assistant director of admissions position be filled with a Black person. President Earland I. Carlson rejected their demands. Angry, the Black students threatened to withdraw from the college and make every effort to discourage other Blacks from coming before a representative from the state Human Relations Commission settled the matter.<sup>918</sup> Students at Paul Quinn College in Texas were angry too about their irrelevant college experience. In late July, they set fire to three buildings and when firemen came to extinguish the blaze they fired rocks at them. The school’s new cafeteria and men’s dormitory both burned to the ground.<sup>919</sup>

As the Paul Quinn buildings scorched, another relatively huge mass of Black students prepared to enroll in American higher education. The percentage of Black students leaped from 6.6 percent to 7.7 percent in the fall of 1970. The mammoth enrollment of 522,000 in the fall of 1970 was more than 100,000 the total in 1968, and had doubled since 1964. Most of these Black students in 1970 went to colleges in the North and West as opposed to those in the fourteen South states—the first time that occurred in the nation’s history—a product of the work of Black campus activists at traditionally White institutions.<sup>920</sup> That did not mean Black students were running away from the HBCUs in South. Quite the contrary—the nation’s thirty-three public HBCUs saw record enrollments that fall with the combined number of Black students exceeding one hundred thousand for the first time. Almost ten thousand more students attended

those thirty-three colleges in 1970 than the year before. Southern University had more than ten thousand students, while Tennessee State, Norfolk State College in Virginia, and Baltimore's Morgan State College each brought in more than five thousand students.<sup>921</sup>

This throng of Black students was greeted with fierce threats like the year before. Disruptions, protests, and activism will not be tolerated, school officials told students across America as they walked into their dorm rooms. Several institutions stiffened campus rules like Yale and John Hopkins and there was a strong effort to make students aware of these rules and that they will be enforced. Students received conduct codes in the mail before they got to campus. They received them at registration. They saw them in college catalogues. They heard them at university assemblies and convocations. President Frederick P. Thieme of the University of Colorado told his students it would be “a tough year” for disrupters and that “every rule and regulation will be enforced.” Preparing if disorders did come, riot-control plans and spy networks were developed, and campus police forces were bolstered in numbers, equipment and with more training. Ohio State doubled its force and South Illinois almost quadrupled its number of officers, while some campus forces purchased new kinds of anti-riot equipment—guns that fire wooden pellets, shields against rock throwers, and machines with high intensity lights, water, or loud sounds to break up crowds. Administrators received training as well during the summer of 1970 on how to deal with protests. One program was run by the U.S. Army.<sup>922</sup>

Amidst all of the warnings, at least some Black students were able to go to orientations specialized for them like at the University of Cincinnati and see new relevant reforms materialized.<sup>923</sup> Several Black Cultural Centers opened at colleges across

America, such as those at University of California at Berkeley and Lafayette College in Pennsylvania.<sup>924</sup> The University of San Diego swung open the doors to its new “Third College,” which taught Blacks and Chicano students the skills they needed to improve their communities.<sup>925</sup> New York’s Lehman College began its Black Studies department, the first with the power to grant a bachelor’s degree in New York City. The department offered forty-five courses for its twenty majors.<sup>926</sup> The New York State University College of Arts and Science at Geneseo and New York City Community College also established Black Studies departments that fall of 1970.<sup>927</sup> By the spring, the program at New York City Community College had more than one thousand students.<sup>928</sup> Enrollment in Black Studies courses stayed high in several colleges like Kent State University.<sup>929</sup>

Black students engaged in a rising number of protests to defend attacks against members of their community, another effort that took away from their activism to reform the academy. At New York City’s College for Human Services, thirty Black and Puerto Rican students struck for three weeks until mid September 1970 protesting the firing of Black administrator.<sup>930</sup> Contending the thirteen Black law students at Wayne State University declared ineligible for re-enrollment this fall were discriminated against in the grading of last term’s final exams, eight Black students in the third week of September 1970 blocked registration proceedings by standing in the doorway of the registration building. They later took over the building and vowed to stay there until the thirteen students were allowed to enroll. Eight hours later administrators gave in, and they peacefully left in triumph.<sup>931</sup> In November, after the president of the student body at Norfolk State College was expelled for visiting a girl’s dormitory, more than five hundred students went on a window-breaking and furniture-breaking spree in the building

while they held the president captive. Two hundred city police and fifty state troopers equipped with riot gear were called to quell the activism.<sup>932</sup> In December, two recently fired law professors at DePaul University who were central in tripling the college's enrollment were rehired after a week long series of student demonstrations.<sup>933</sup>

There was at least one major non-defensive protest that concerned on campus issues. In the spring of 1970, eight Black football players at Syracuse University boycotted practice to draw attention to their complaints of racial discrimination. The student-athletes were promptly suspended by head coach Floyd "Ben" Schwartzwalder. In August 1970, after several days of unfruitful negotiations, the suspensions were made permanent. Beginning in September, the eight players increased their pressure on the university to not only end the racial discrimination, but to get back on the team. They issued a statement of "expectations" for more Black coaches and athletic personnel, "a full scale investigation into charges of racial discrimination," and an advisory committee peopled with Black athletic alumni that ensured that "the participation of black players" is "commensurate with their skills and talents." But coach Schwartzwalder was unmoved. To plead their case, the students brought Jim Brown, the former Syracuse All-American and NFL running back, to campus. Brown conducted his own investigation and found that the Black athletes had been called names like nigger and dumb, had to face poor medical treatment, and there was a double standard in choosing players for positions. Brown told the press, "I refuse to believe that the Syracuse community...will tolerate the persistent demonstrated acts of discrimination which are so evident as I now address you." Syracuse investigated the matter but refused to reinstate the eight Black athletes.<sup>934</sup>

Other than this campaign at Syracuse and a few others, Black students took a semester off from their fight to reform American colleges and universities, again showing the end of that fight was near. The calm on “most of the country’s campuses” that fall had “been so pervasive as to have been almost unsettling,” according to a report in the *New York Times*. “A change is there,” the newspaper continued, “that is certain, not only in comparison with the tumultuous springs of the last few years, but also with the quieter autumns.” Black students were frightened and drained from the massacre at Jackson State and the consequent confrontations. Ideological divisions continued to widen. And Black Studies had been set up in colleges across America, which blunted the thorniest issue of their activism. As an Oberlin sophomore said, “The administration is giving us what we want. They’re taking all of the steam out of issues.” Many of the Black students who made sure the issues were constantly boiling were removed from the campus before the fall of 1970 either voluntarily through graduation or involuntarily through imprisonment, expulsion, suspension, having to go underground, or frustration from the increasing difficulty to stir campus activism. Black students tried to live in the Black student nation they had fought for the previous three years—living together, eating together, going to class together, studying together, partying together, sitting together at athletic events and in student center, and running their own slates for student government. But the nation was always under attack. “We have to constantly fortify our position,” said another student at Oberlin. The campuses were “quiet but not content.”<sup>935</sup>

They were not quiet about off campus issues. The case of the Soledad Brothers, three Black inmates in California charged with killing a White prison guard earlier in the year, had caused some Black students to organize and demonstrate for their freedom, just



as they did for other cases involving Black political prisoners. The press coverage of the Soledad Brothers increased when Jonathan Jackson, the younger brother of the most famous Soledad Brother, George Jackson, tried unsuccessfully to force their release when he entered a courtroom and took several prisoners hostage at gunpoint in August 1970. The shotgun used by Jonathan Jackson, who was killed in the hostage affair, was connected to Angela Davis, the subject of repression as a UCLA professor. Davis was charged with conspiracy, kidnapping, and homicide, and after evading the police for two months and becoming a Black household name, she was captured and arrested in October 1970. A writer for the *Chicago Daily Defender* forecasted that “the Angela Davis case has all the potentials of a classic cause celebre.”<sup>936</sup> The writer was right. A massive Free Angela campaign was kicked off that mirrored in magnitude the Free Huey (Newton) campaign in the late 1960s. Black campus activists in the fall of 1970 were one of the driving forces of this initial effort to free yet another Black political prisoner.

Shortly after her capture, Raymond Winbush sat in his class at the University of Chicago listening to his professor. He began to hear another sound. He heard a muffled chant that had rhythm, but he could not make it out. It must be coming from outside, he thought. He looked out of his classroom building and saw the origin of the noise. A large gathering of students were at the opposite end of a clearing, marching towards his building—screaming, shouting. As they got closer, the chant grew louder. Finally, he could distinguish the words: “Get out the classroom and into the streets!” He knew why. He looked at his “Free Angela” button on his shirt, looked at his bewildered professor, packed up his books, darted out of the class, and joined the crowd.<sup>937</sup> The Chicago rally was one of the first of many Black students organized in their effort to free the brilliant,

charismatic, and most importantly 26-year-old Davis. Black students honored her in other ways. At Sacramento City College, the BSU gained national recognition and outrage from White America when it influenced the college's student senate in November 1970 to name Angela Davis honorary homecoming queen.<sup>938</sup> Black students were certain that Davis was being framed, which was the unanimous opinion of Black and White students who rallied at Brooklyn College in January 1971.<sup>939</sup>

One of the largest demonstrations was held in February 1971 at the Atlanta University Center. In the Sisters Chapel on the Spellman College campus, about one thousand students gathered for "Solidarity Night for Angela Davis." A letter was read to the cheering crowd of students from Davis. She called on them to build a unified movement to fight racism and oppression. "Times not longer permit us the luxury of choosing between involvement and non-involvement because silence is a vote cast in favor of genocide," the letter stated. Ruby Davis, the mother of Angela and keynote speaker, urged the students to help in the campaign to free her daughter. The elder Davis was brought to Atlanta by the recently organized student group, Atlanta University Center Council of Student Presidents and Blacks for Angela Davis. She is guilty of nothing more than "helping the downtrodden," the elder Davis roared.<sup>940</sup>

The Davis campaign seemed to reinvigorate the Black Campus Movement. After a semester of little activity, Black students renewed their right for relevancy in January 1971 with athletes leading the way. At California's St. Mary's College, the BSU issued eleven demands in January 1971 and five of the seven Black players on the school's basketball squad boycotted activities. By early February, the college agreed to hire a Black coach as well as establish grievance procedures for Black student-athletes, which

ended the boycott.<sup>941</sup> In February 1971, four sophomore football starters at Texas Christian University quit the school in protest of the “limited social activities.”<sup>942</sup>

Also in February 1971, Black students at Merritt College tried to block the removal of their college to the East Oakland hills without replacing it with a “community controlled” campus at the present site. Along with Chicano and Asian students, the BSU rallied on February 1, boycotted classes, and occupied the campus administration office with the slogan, “On strike – keep it open.” The demonstrations were “not to close down the school but to keep it open,” said one strike leader. Within a day, the Peralta District trustees agreed to allow Blacks, Latinos, and Asians to be involved in the transfer of equipment to the new campus and future operation of the old campus.<sup>943</sup> Meanwhile, Black students stepped up their efforts to make Texas’s Prairie View A&M College relevant. On February 24, they burned the office of the dean of men to the ground, overturned and damaged a college police patrol car, and ravaged the campus bookstore, smashing its windows and stealing thousands of dollars of merchandise. Soon after, the college was closed and all students were forced to re-apply for admission.<sup>944</sup>

The next month saw the climax of a year long crusade to weed the racism out of Oakland Community College in Michigan. In October 1970, the Association of Black Students (ABS) demanded a review of all the “textbooks we find irrelevant to Black students,” any dismissed White faculty or administrator be replaced with a Black person, and the number of Black students be increased, among others. Over the next four months, ABS and administrators discussed the university’s progress, or lack there of, in a series of meetings. The provost reported that “excellent progress” was made. To the Black students, little had occurred. With new support from other progressive groups,

ABS reissued its demands on March 8, 1971 and it gave the university one week. A meeting was scheduled on the deadline day, March 15. But the administrators were late. Furious, about eight Black students strolled into the cafeteria and broke tables and windows, overturned chairs, set fires in restrooms, and battled it out with the resisting White students. Two days later, the administration gave in to practically all of the students' demands.<sup>945</sup> That month, the administration at Notre Dame also satisfied their Black students, promising to add four more Black professors in the next two years.<sup>946</sup>

In contrast, University of Florida President Stephen C. O'Connell was not nearly as giving as a result of the largest demonstration at a White college in the spring of 1971. On April 15, 1971, sixty-eight Black students crowded into President O'Connell office to discuss their dire need for more Black students and a Black Cultural Center. He refused to talk. The students refused to leave his office until he changed his mind. The occupiers were arrested soon after by campus police and President O'Connell pledged to punish them. After the arrests, UF student body president, Stephen Uhlfelder organized a rally to raise money for the students bail. Three hundred students marched to the administration building when the rally finished and jammed the halls outside of president's office. President O'Connell came out of his office and tried to talk to the students. But they shouted him down, insisting on amnesty for the sixty-eight arrested students. He declined to grant it. Eventually the throng of students left the building, joined the hundreds of students outside until the police tried to disperse them first with their riot batons, and then tear gas. Later that night, on the day that would be known as Black Thursday, a raucous crowd of two thousand angry students flocked to President O'Connell's home. They screamed that he should resign. They criticized the college's

abysmal racial policy. They jeered at the officers in riot helmets that surrounded the mansion. After President O'Connell and his family were ushered out by a police escort, most of the students went home. But a small contingent stayed through the night.<sup>947</sup>

The next day, the protest leaders called a general strike of classes, and on April 17, an orderly crowd of 350 Black and White students marched through streets of Gainesville, Florida, chanting: "O'Connell's got to go!" That night, about three hundred students faced off with nine riot equipped policemen across a driveway in front of their president's home. They made up sports-type cheers announcing the need for the president to resign. President O'Connell remained defiant. "I will not even consider [resigning], nor will I deal with demands from so-called leaders." The demonstrations eventually fizzled. Later in the semester, 128 Black students withdrew from the university in protest of its refusal to grant amnesty to the arrested sixty-six Black students. Despite the mass withdrawal, or even probably because of it, the university did recruit more Black students and a year later it established an Institute of Black Culture. Betty Shabazz was a guest at the institute's opening.<sup>948</sup>

Another distinguished Southern White institution erupted in protest the month. Like Black students around the nation, Black campus activists at the University of Georgia had demanded changes in the spring of 1969. But college officials had made little progress in two years. On May 7, 1971, Black students issued a new set of demands to the administration and fifty Black students (and another fifty White student allies) gathered in an outdoor assembly to pledge their support for them. They insisted on more Black student-athletes and coaches, more financial assistance for Blacks and the BSU, the disbursement of Black domestic workers in supervisor positions, the inclusion of

Blackness in the curriculum, and the percentage of Black students to be raised to the percentage of Blacks in the state.<sup>949</sup> While they were drawing up these demands, a different southern college had to feel the violent wrath of the movement in early May 1971. Hampton Institute in late February 1971 asked a group of male residents in Harkness Hall to move from the first to the fourth floor. The group appealed to the dean of men, who told them “that is your hard luck,” and to the president who affirmed the dean’s position. The student government took up their cause, saying, “We will no longer suffer these blatant violations of student rights and abuse of administrative policy. The power is with the people and the people must struggle to maintain that power.” This small spark would set off a scorching fire at Hampton—literally and figuratively.<sup>950</sup>

Black campus activists put together a list of modifications Hampton needed, including the firing of the dean of men, voting representation on the board of trustees and on the committee that sets student codes, and the establishment of tuition levels and scholarship availability at least two years in advance. With this list in hand, about one hundred students assembled in front of the Katherine House where the board of trustees was meeting on April 23, 1971 and tried to force their way in. They banged on doors, windows, and walls unsettling the trustees. The Hampton president and a few of the trustees came outside and ordered the students to vacate the premises. The order was ignored and the students lashed back with verbal insults. Realizing they either had to cancel the meeting or meet with the students, the trustees cancelled the meeting. Three days later, the administration suspended five students who were involved in that protest, including student body Vice President, Roxanne E. Sinclair. The decision was immediately appealed and about one thousand students rallied in anger. A representative

from the administration came and told the students during the rally the appeal had been denied and the five students must leave the campus. Two complied. The other three stayed put and were engulfed in a crowd of defiant students who dared anyone to take their friends off campus. That evening, a majority of the student body attended a town hall assembly and voted to strike until the “Hampton Five” were reinstated. For the next two days, more than ninety percent of the students boycotted classes—one of the largest strikes by Black students during the Black Campus Movement—and they returned to classes on April 30 to await the outcome of the judicial committee hearing on May 3. At the hearing, one student was cleared, three were placed on probation for a year, and Sinclair, probably the most popular student on campus, was suspended for the rest of the semester. If the “Hampton Five” could not live their college lives at Hampton, then nobody would, a livid group of Black campus activists reasoned. Hampton became a war zone. Dormitories were trashed. Several campus buildings were bombed. More were set on fire. Most had to suffer through harassing bomb threats. President Roy D. Hudson, who said he “didn’t want to wait until someone was killed,” closed the school for the rest of the semester and cancelled the commencement exercises for the class of 1971.<sup>951</sup>

As Hampton burned in May 1971, two other groups of Black students burned up their colleges with activism. About twenty-five Black students at Connecticut College conducted an overnight sit-in in the administration building and compelled school officials to hire a Black administrator and increase the Black student enrollment. At the University of Rhode Island, thirty-five Black students locked themselves inside the administration building and insisting on additional Black students (particularly those who are impoverished), additional Black professors, a bus for Black students to travel to Black

community for their tutoring program, and a Black Studies program approved by the Black students. The lock-in ended when the police arrived clubbed their way through the entrances and used to gas to clear the building.<sup>952</sup> In addition to this activism, Black students met yet again that month of May 1971 at Rutgers University. Black students from the eastern seaboard came to unify their organizations at the Congress of African Students Conference.<sup>953</sup> One of the matters probably discussed was the decline of the Black Campus Movement. Black campus activists participated in less than 140 protests during the 1970-1971 academic year, less than half the number of demonstrations during the tumultuous 1968-1969 academic year. Two years removed from its fastest speed, the movement was slowing to a stop.<sup>954</sup>

As the movement slowed in 1971, Black students did not have icons that accelerated their activism. Most of the Black students were barely hitting adolescence when Malcolm X was alive. Thus, his influence on this crop of students was not nearly as powerful. Stokely Carmichael was in exile in Guinea learning about Pan-Africanism and African scientific socialism, and European neo-colonialism from Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure. H. Rap Brown and Maulana Karenga were in prison. Virtually all of the national and influential Black Panther Party leaders were either dead, in jail, or in exile by the summer of 1971.<sup>955</sup>

With the removal of these prominent Black Power figures, the social movements that made up the Black Power Movement declined and the Black Campus Movement was no different. Even though the movement slowed, it had not stopped when the academy opened in the fall of 1971. For the fourth straight year, a record number of Black students walked into those doors. While the Black student enrollment was about 522,000



in the fall of 1970, it rose to 680,000 in 1971, as the percentage of Black students stayed about the same at 6.6 percent. More than half of these students were attending traditionally White colleges, and for the second straight fall, Black colleges experienced a steady increase of students, nearly doubling its enrollment from a decade prior.<sup>956</sup>

Many of these Black students took advantage of hard fought campus reforms in the fall of 1971, like the new Afro-Asian Institute at Temple University.<sup>957</sup> Others fought hard for some of the off campus issues that gained the interests of Black students. One of the compelling issues that fall was the Attica massacre in New York when officers brutally killed, and injured prisoners when they took back the prison from the prisoners who had seized it to demand better living conditions. Black campus activists, aghast when they heard the news of this tragedy, organized protests across the nation. Some three hundred Black students rallied for three hours in October 1971 near the Atlanta University Center listening to progressive preachers, students, and community activists deplore the unprecedented murdering of forty prisoners and their hostages in upstate New York. The students then marched waving “Remember Attica” posters to the Georgia state capitol, and met with several Black state legislators.<sup>958</sup>

Unlike the Free Angela campaign during the previous academic year, the Attica catastrophe did not invigorate the fledgling movement in fall of 1971. Only a few protests occurred. The lack of coed dorms and the inability of entering the dorm rooms of the opposite sex were firmly resisted on Black colleges in the early 1970s. In October 1971, almost half of the student body at Ohio’s Wilberforce College entered the dormitories of the opposite sex during restricted hours in a peaceful protest. Forty-three

participants were suspended, sparking a boycott of classes. After the strike crippled the campus for three days, classes were cancelled and the campus was shut down.<sup>959</sup>

While classroom buildings were empty at Wilberforce, the BSU at the University of Nevada complained about the lack of office space. The BSU had properly requested space on several occasions, and while other groups had been given space, the BSU was still left with none. Seventeen BSU members spontaneously occupied and claimed the office of the vice-president for student activities until the university “came up with a comparable one” for the BSU. The two parties negotiated for the rest of the day and it was decided the BSU could use the VP’s office for a week as the university attempted to find them another. Two spaces—one off campus and another in shabby condition—proposed by the administration were rejected by the BSU that week. Nevertheless, officials assured the BSU they would find an adequate space, so the Black students planned to leave the office by the deadline on October 28, 1971. But the night before, the college’s student senate held its regular meeting and discussed the office occupation. A faction of white students jumped on the disruptive acts of the Black students, polarizing the campus and hardening the Black students resolve to now stay in the office. One White student said, “We are concerned that one small minority can come in and take over the campus...The administration keeps backing down and they have for years.”<sup>960</sup>

When the Black students were served their eviction notice the next evening, the messenger could not get in—the office was barricaded. Forty-five campus and city police forces assembled outside the building. Hundreds of students gathered—some to defend the Black students and others to help the police pull them out. The officers made their way inside the building with the university’s president. When he reached the

outside of the office, he read the students the Nevada Revised Statute that states it is a misdemeanor to interfere with the normal activities conducted on public grounds and to refuse to leave when asked by a proper official. The sixteen Black students ignored him. After moments of silence, the officers forced the door open against the resistance of the occupants. Once inside, the Black students were arrested, and were walked to the waiting paddy wagons. They were immediately suspended and charged with misdemeanors. The day after the arrests, the BSU picketed the president's office and gave him six demands. In addition to the office and the exoneration of the arrested students, they asked for more decision-making power for Black students, special admissions requirements for Blacks, and additional faculty and courses concerning Black people. School officials eventually lifted most of the suspensions and addressed most of the BSU's concerns.<sup>961</sup>

The administration had not addressed the grievances of Black students at Kentucky's Murray State University though resulting in them disrupting an alumni luncheon that fall.<sup>962</sup> The Concerned Black Students (CBS) at Iowa's Grinnell College disrupted their college as well when members of the group seized the Burling Library on November 30, 1971. Grinnell established a Black library and a new admissions board for Black students consisting of a Black students' affairs director and two Black faculty. Before the Black books were on four shelves in the library next to the lost and found.<sup>963</sup>

Black campus activism picked up somewhat in the spring of 1972. But compared to previous years it was sluggish. In March 1972, six Black players on Stanford's basketball team handed their coach a twelve-point inventory of matters. The differential treatment and unequal scholarship offers between Black and White athletes needed to stop, and they yearned for an evaluation of coaching, the scheduling games with Black

colleges, and a greater use of Black officials.<sup>964</sup> The next month, after prodding from Blacks, Michigan State University, pledged to recruit more Black officials, coaches and trainers, to name two athletes to the screening committee seeking out an athletic director, and to form a grievance board in the athletic department.<sup>965</sup>

Most of the Black campus activism in April 1972 occurred in New York City. At Fordham University's Lincoln Center campus, more than five hundred Black and Puerto Rican students showed their opposition to the school's "racist practices." Like other colleges across the country, the school fired half of its Black Studies departmental faculty, and according to the students, harassed the remaining professors. At a heated rally, the Black campus activists furiously called for the reinstatement of the faculty and the immediate hiring of a director of admissions to truly make the campus an educational center for urban youth.<sup>966</sup> Over in Brooklyn, Black students rallied at the newly founded Medgar Evers College for the reinstatement of eleven faculty members critical of the college, and for the introduction of pre-med, pre-law, and journalism programs. Almost all of the 750 students at college oriented towards the Black community—one of the many established during the Black Campus Movement—boycotted classes beginning April 24, 1972. They also picketed outside of campus buildings with posters that read: "Academic excellence is what's needed at Medgar Evers" and "We want quality education." As the students crafted their picket lines on the morning of April 25, the dean of student services read them academic regulations and unlike in previous years of the movement, they listened quietly, principally the section on penalties that stated that students are subject to suspension, expulsion, and/or arrest for prohibiting conduct. After

seven days, the students ended the boycott and disbanded the picket lines when they received a promise from the chancellor he would look into their grievances.<sup>967</sup>

The foremost confrontation of the movement that spring was initiated by the Black campus activists at Harvard. In January, Harvard's Pan-African Liberation Committee (and other student groups) put their stamp of approval on a position paper that reported that Harvard was the largest university stock holder with \$21 million invested in the Gulf Oil Company, which did business with the Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola who were waging a war with revolutionaries to hold onto the colony. The students, led in part by Harvard law graduate Randall Robinson, charged that Harvard was "directly contributing to the bombing, napalming and machine-gunning of black people in Angola." Earlier in the semester, the Black campus activists had staged a mill-in at a university hall until President Derek Bok agreed to let them meet with the board of the Harvard Corporation. In mid-April, the board announced its refusal to sell the stock, arguing that it is not "morally wrong." The next morning, on April 20, Black students seized Massachusetts Hall, Harvard's oldest building, and demanded the university divest all of its Gulf Oil stock, give a public statement of the reasons for its divestiture, appeal to other stockholders to do the same, and among other things, full amnesty for the protesters. By the end of the day, a temporary restraining order had been issued that required students to leave. They did not budge. The university refused to call the police or negotiate on their demands. It was a stalemate. One Black student leader said, "The only way that we are leaving is if they sell their stock or the police take us out."<sup>968</sup>

A few days into the takeover, President Bok said selling its stock would not compel Gulf to leave Angola, and even if it did, another company would quickly fill the

vacuum. The Pan African Liberation Committee promptly issued a rebuttal. “We do not assume that monetary divesture by Harvard would cause an immediate financial crisis for Gulf...By divesting its stock, and making a strong public statement condemning Gulf’s actions, Harvard would be helping to establish a climate in which various actions which are being perpetrated to get Gulf out of Angola would have a better chance of succeeding.” Six days into the takeover, the student occupiers went on a hunger strike to “escalate the struggle.” They were joined outside by an elderly Black man who approached the front of the hall carrying two heavy cases. In one he had an amplifier, and the other an electric guitar, both of which he plugged into an outside outlet. “Tell me how long, how has the train been gone....” He began to sing the blues. Soon after, the students felt the blues in their own situation when they learned if they stayed they faced six months in prison. Thirty Black students left peacefully after a week of occupying a building, which to Randall Robinson, the PALC spokesman “was only to focus attention on Harvard’s irresponsible and immoral decision not to divest itself of Gulf stock.”<sup>969</sup>

As the Harvard students recovered from their hunger strike, twenty members of the BSU at Brooklyn’s Pratt Institute hungered for the dismissal of their dean of students, briefly taking control of his office in the morning of May 8, 1972. The dean was “not sensitive to the needs of black students,” the BSU charged, but Pratt President Henry Saltzman declined to terminate him.<sup>970</sup> Also in May 1972, Black students at Southern Illinois protested against the discrimination in employment on their campus, and five Black campus activists took control of their administration building at Wisconsin’s Lawrence University demanding a larger Black student enrollment. Black campus activists also requested separate dorms or wings of dorms that semester at the University

of Pennsylvania and the University of Michigan. Neither request was granted. In presenting a series of grievances, the BSU at the University of Oregon denounced “the practice of some faculty members to grade minority students lower because of a preconceived notion that minority students cannot achieve.” Black students issued demands that spring of 1972 also at SUNY Buffalo, University of Wisconsin, Drexel University, Franklin and Marshall College, and Creighton University.<sup>971</sup>

Their seemed to be only a few battles left in the war between Black campus activists and administrations in spring of 1972. Benjamin E. Mays, the former Morehouse president, noticed in his travels that the “campuses—one of the whole—are much calmer.”<sup>972</sup> Previous cohorts of Black students had won their bodies, land, and resources for the new Black student nation, or Black universities, in the academy. Now, this cohort was beginning the long process of maintaining and defending this Black nation. Low level confrontations between Black students and White students were rampant this spring of 1972, as they rose during the Black Campus Movement as the Black student enrollment rose. The tension, hostility, hate, and polarization were inevitable with a generation of Black students leaking with Black consciousness and throngs of White students who had little contact with Blacks before going to college. White students “expected blacks would want to be integrated into [white] campus life” or at least be “grateful for getting into a good school.” And a large number of Black students aggressively rejected White students and manifestations of Whiteness. Dormitory incidents were the most rampant, usually stemming from music wars in which both races tried to drown the other’s music out with theirs. Fights occurred due to racial slurs. As Kitty Thompson, a Black sophomore at Penn State said, “People holler coon

names out the dorm windows sometimes. 'Brown sugar.' 'Oreo cookie' ... There's so much frustration for black students up here." To ease the tension, Black and White students at traditionally White institutions generally stayed away from each other except in the classrooms. Many colleges and universities had separate living arrangements, some approved, some unapproved but uncontested. Without a second thought, students usually ate at "Black" or "White" tables in cafeterias. Black students organized their own campus newspapers, such as *Nommo* at UCLA. Due to their exclusion from the White cheerleading squad, Black students at Kent State University created their own. They successfully mobilized themselves, took over student governments, and used the funds to help nearby Black communities.<sup>973</sup>

Higher education was still not responding to the real needs of Black students, found an Indiana researcher who surveyed more than one thousand colleges. "Much is said" about aiding Black students, but "little is being done," the study concluded. Without Black campus activists in their faces like in years past and an academy-wide financial crunch giving them a ready made excuse, administrators dropped the ball on financial, academic, and social resources for Black students. "They really don't want us here," Lois Watson, a junior Black student at the University of Texas, told the press. "They kind of just tolerate us." Still though, by that spring of 1972, most colleges and universities had relented to the pressure of the Black Campus Movement and "opened their doors" to Black students and personnel. "The recruiting drives," according to *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, "started hastily in the closing days of the civil rights movement" were "well-entrenched at most white institutions." *The Chronicle's* report in the spring of 1972 on "Higher Education and the Black America," further stated that "the



black studies programs—created rapidly, guiltily, after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.—now fill a standard, if insecure, niche in the curriculum.” But the struggle of Black campus activists still had one more semester.<sup>974</sup>

Coming into the final semester of the Black Campus Movement—the fall of 1972—the number of Black students again increased from the year before. The enrollment exceeded 700,000 for the first time, reaching 727,000. But the psychological makeup of this large new wave of Black students was different than those who struggled to reform the academy. The majority were nationalists and opposed integration, but unlike during the height of the movement, only about a fourth supported activism, maybe because the majority of Black students were somewhat satisfied with their college experience and only half of them claimed they had not faced racial discrimination.<sup>975</sup>

Consequently, Black students were not necessarily using their time planning the next demonstration as much as they were studying progressive literature in the fall of 1972. At Howard where students five years earlier were studying Malcolm X, Frantz Fanon, and others concerning activism, they were now studying Karl Marx and scientific revolutionary principles. Black card players had reappeared that fall in the cafeterias and lounges, which to one observer was “an important indicator of the state of political affairs among black students.” The Black professor added, “for during the heyday of the black student movement, many of the card players could be seen among the rank and file of the protesters and demonstrators; and it is no accident that this and other forms of black student escapism come at a time when political activism among blacks on campus is at the lowest ebb since its emergence in the early 1960s.” Many BSUs had withered away or been driven away from the academic scene, like the once powerful group at California

State University at Los Angeles. Some BSUs were still alive, but without the leg of political activism. At UCLA, the once pioneering and radical BSU, had four major activities in the fall of 1972: a sickle cell anemia event, a prison project, a film series, and Black Culture Week. This change compelled one Black professor to ask that semester: “What happened to the black campus revolution? Whatever happened to the gun-toting nationalist, the uncombed hair, the demonstrations, the handbills, the placards, the protests, the black leather jackets and Malcolm X sweat shirts that came to be symbols of black student militancy in the 1960s.”<sup>976</sup>

The specter of Black campus activism, still did affect a few universities as it silently left the academy during this final semester. Six football players at Troy State University staged a walkout of a game in early October 1972 protesting the “inadequate academic counsel, unfulfilled promises to black athletes on the nature of their scholarships, and improper utilization of players.” Their scholarships were taken away, as athletic officials disagreed with their stances, and said there was nothing to negotiate. But this was a minor protest.<sup>977</sup> Actually, the culminating major protests occurred at HBCUs where ironically the first demonstrations of Black Campus Movement were launched in the spring of 1965.

The final chapter of the Black Campus Movement was written at the school with the largest collection of Black students in the nation—Southern University. The towering Southern University with its three campuses in Baton Rouge, New Orleans, and Shreveport, was one of the most historic of the historically Black colleges. In the fall of 1972, President G. Leon Netterville ran the three campuses from its main campus in Baton Rouge like a feudal lord. With no faculty senates, nothing went down that he did

not approve. That included the hiring and firing of faculty, which was why Psychology Chair Charles M. Waddell resigned in mid-October 1972. President Netterville did not allow him to fire a professor in his department who was known for slapping female students on their behinds. Waddell was the latest of a series of excellent professors who had quit as a result of President Netterville's dictatorial policies. A group of students from the Baton Rouge campus met with President Netterville over the matter. But it was a waste. The president claimed impotence. So the students turned to the only people they could rely on—themselves. They mobilized all of the campus groups on the Baton Rouge campus and organized Students United, and the next day drew up a list of demands and a plan for their implementation. In the 15-page statement, the group exclaimed: "For too long the administration has move to discourage and/or remove those faculty and administrative personnel who have displayed a commitment to the resolution of problems of students in particular and black people in general." Before three thousand student spectators, the demands were formally presented to President Netterville on October 23 who told the students he needed "more time to consider the proposals." The students wanted equal say with the president through the formation of departmental and executive councils peopled in part by students that determined policy.<sup>978</sup>

Most the students thought President Netterville would give a favorable response to the demands. So the more than five thousand students were stunned when the next day on October 24 in a gathering in the men's gym, President Netterville rejected the two students to one faculty and one administrator ratio of the councils and proposed he would give them advisory status. Their shock quickly transformed into fury, as the five thousand students rushed out of the gymnasium like a pack of bulls and marched five

miles to State Board of Education's office to see the State Education Superintendent Louis Michot. But Michot was away in Atlanta, and when one of his subordinates came out to speak with the students, they called for the resignations of President Netterville, and two other administrators. They were not finished marching that day. Numbering almost seven thousand, they walked over to the state capital in one of the largest Black student marches in American history to meet with Governor Edwin Edwards who told the students he would be willing to help. The students thought they had the governor on their side. They were wrong.<sup>979</sup>

The Black campus activists returned to campus and organized a boycott of classes that was eighty percent effective. On the second day of the boycott, the students formally presented their demands to the State Board of Education at its meeting. The presentations eventually turned into a four-hour argument between the students, administrators, and board members. Soon after, the board rejected the students demands. The boycott of classes continued. On October 31, a throng of one thousand Black campus activists were rebuffed by security police when they tried to enter the administration building to meet with President Netterville. They instead rejoined a rally in the gymnasium and later in the day received word that the campus was closed. President Netterville said the "closure of the university was done in the interest of safeguarding students, faculty, staff, and administration and the protection of life and property." Classes were cancelled until November 6.<sup>980</sup>

The canceling of classes did not diffuse their activism. It actually had already spread to Southern University in New Orleans (SUNO). The day before President Netterville closed the Baton Rouge campus, Black campus activists at SUNO initiated

their own boycott of classes and issued a set of demands. They requested the establishment of departmental and executive councils, the resignation of President Netterville, and the firing of their top administrator, Vice President Emmitt Bashful, better bus services, an ambulance service on campus, a campus physician, and a student audit of financial records. Most importantly, they wanted a Black university. One Black campus activist said, “We refuse to go to a Negro university any longer with Negro administrators.” When Vice President Bashful did not respond on November 1, students tore down the American flag, replaced it with the red, black, and green Pan-African flag, and took possession of the SUNO administration building. During the nine-day takeover, the students communicated with administration through sensitive Black faculty and local legislators. On November 7, the governor grew weary of the sit-in and announced if the students were not out by November 9, he would send in the city police and national guardsmen to sweep them out. Black legislators spent the morning and afternoon of November 9 negotiating with the governor, who finally awarded the improved medical services, the right to fly the Pan-African flag, amnesty for the participants, the ability to audit SUNO’s financial records, and a city bus service along a street leading up to the campus. Also, Vice President Bashful agreed to resign. The students left the building that day as victors to the cheer of their gathered supporters. One of their leaders said, “The Brothers and Sisters who spent the last nine days in this building have shown their willingness to struggle for the things we believe in and we haven’t as yet had all our demands met. So we won’t quit struggling until we have them all met.” Later that night, the students decided to continue their strike from classes until the rest of their demands were addressed, specifically the firing of President Netterville.<sup>981</sup>

Meanwhile, on November 6 as the SUNO students carried on their occupation, the Baton Rouge campus reopened with more than three hundred heavily armed sheriff's deputies and city police ready to stamp out the class strike. But it persisted, as negotiations had stalled when the campus was closed. The activism even stretched to Grambling College, another HBCU in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. For a week in early November, Grambling activists staged peaceful demonstrations in support of Southern and their own grievances—substandard housing, classrooms, and food. They escalated their activism the next week and went on a window-smashing, mattress-destroying, furniture-breaking spree through campus, damaged the football field, and set several fires until they were dispersed by security officers who fired warning shots and tear gas. Seventeen students were arrested, one of which was the president of the student body charged with “anarchy and criminal disruption of the educational process.”<sup>982</sup>

As the Grambling affair soared, the SUNO takeover ended and the strikes on both Southern campuses etched on. Activists even tried to disrupt Southern's football game on November 11 with Florida A&M University. About 250 Black campus activists walked onto the field carrying placards and urged athletes to boycott the game while they sat in the middle of the field. After thirty minutes, school officials coaxed them off the field. It appeared there was no ending this last major effort of the Black Campus Movement without giving into their demands. The Southern officials thought otherwise. They moved to stop the strikes by chopping off its heads. After student leaders organized roving bands of students to go from building to building to coerce students to join the boycott in mid-November, the authorities now had their excuse to attack. In the wee hours of November 16, the Baton Rouge police arrested four Students United leaders and

charged them with “disrupting the normal educational process.” When other Students United leaders heard of the arrests—despite the governor’s pledge of amnesty still in effect, they went to see President Netterville about getting their comrades out of jail. They stormed into the administration building—three hundred strong—and up to his office. When President Netterville learned about what happened, he told the students, “Wait right here, I’m going downtown to see about it now.” He made a phone call, and without the students knowledge instructed the police to come and clear out the campus. He bolted out of his office and left for a meeting with the state board of education.<sup>983</sup>

The students milled around inside and in front of the administration building figuring out their next move on this Thursday, November 16, 1972. Fifteen minutes later, the multitude of students, now numbering three thousand, started to leave when they saw a wave of sheriff’s deputies, state troopers, and city police splash onto campus. They gave the students five minutes to leave the building and disperse from the area. It was a standoff—the students were not going anywhere. When the five minutes passed, a state trooper tossed a tear gas canister into the crowd. It did not explode. A student picked it up and tossed it back over the line of state troopers and into the assembled sheriff deputies. The canister now exploded, and sent the deputies scurrying wildly for their masks. When they got them on, they turned towards the crowd of students and opened fire with their tear gas canisters. And, one unknown officer targeted and emptied a single shot from his shotgun at Hergert Harris, one of more prominent Students United leaders, as he bent down to retrieve a canister. Two dozen pellets bristled over Harris’s head and struck and killed 20-year-old Leonard D. Brown Jr. of Gilbert, Louisiana, and Denver A. Smith, a 20-year-old computer science major from New Roads, Louisiana. Both students

were shot in the side of their heads. The officer had tried to kill Harris, but missed. The deputies turned and saw Nate Howard, another student leader. “That’s one of the niggers, let’s get him,” one deputy screamed. Quickly, students encircled Howard and pleaded with the deputies for his life. They let him go. The campus was immediately closed and did not reopen until January 3, 1973—more polarized than ever.<sup>984</sup>

This tragedy was too much for the national Black student community to endure. They still had not recovered from Jackson State. In contrast to the previous murdering of Black campus activists, sadness was more pervasive than fury when Black students around the nation heard about the shootings. The reaction was “scattered and subdued.” Only at nearby Grambling College was there a violent reaction to the killings. Student groups prayed, called for impartial investigations, and sent telegrams and flowers to Southern. At nearby Louisiana State University, Kerry Pourciau, the school’s first Black student body president, led a small memorial service. At Howard, in a service in a large auditorium to mourn the deaths, one student said, “This has got to be the last time.” Classes were cancelled for a day at Morgan State to allow students to attend a protest rally. Students held a rally as well at the University of Wisconsin with candle-lights and made in a series of demands to the Wisconsin governor for a fair investigation. At Cal Berkeley a short silent observance memorialized the two deaths. A dance and music performance, part of the SF State Black Studies department’s “Baraza” festival, was dedicated to the two deceased Black students. About 175 Black students and their progressive allies at Stanford held an impromptu rally where BSU President Charles Ogletree described the murders as “a direct attack on black students everywhere.” Dartmouth and Kent State lowered their flags to half-staff. More than one hundred Black



students at the University of Connecticut took over their administration building for an hour demanding their administration release a statement condemning the killings.<sup>985</sup>

As the outcry over the killings seized the nation's Black student consciousness, one group of Black students developed more resolve in their effort to reform their college. In a packed gymnasium at noon on November 30 with eighteen hundred riled up students, the student body president, John Crenshaw, at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff emphatically declared, "We want a new leadership, Black leadership" to save our school that "is on the brink of death and is still dying. It is crumbling on the midst of progress." He called for the resignation of Chancellor Lawrence Davis and his three administrative confidants who were resisting the transformation of their Negro college into a Black university, hiring and firing based on loyalty instead of ability, and the cause of their college's enrollment dropping more than fourteen hundred students in three years. He further called for a boycott of classes until these demands were met. Almost ninety percent of the students heeded his charge and simply went home or staged rallies, stand-ins, or sit-ins. Despite the overwhelming portion of his student body skipping classes in protest, Chancellor Davis did not resign, arguing the crisis was only brought on by a handful of "militant" students. After a series of repressive counter-maneuvers, the support for the strike waned and the student government ended it on December 8. Chancellor Davis soon after went before the campus community and assured them he was not a dictator, but he was willing to organize a "united front" to build the school, which pacified the moderate students. This struggle to fire their chancellor at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff was crushed in December 1972.<sup>986</sup>

Meanwhile, that month, Louisiana Governor Edwards tried to deflect blame from landing on himself and the Southern officials he allowed to stay in power before the tragedy in November at Southern. He said over and over again, “It was the students who initiated the confrontation” by throwing the tear gas canisters first. Students United had its own spin on the events. In a statement released to the press, the group said the murders were “premeditated, plotted, and implemented.” President Netterville trapped the students by keeping them “in the administration building under the false belief that he was going downtown to see about the release of imprisoned students,” Students United contended. The Southern students also formed with local and national Black figures the Black People’s Committee of Inquiry to investigate the killings. After two days of investigating, the committee issued its preliminary report on November 29 condemning the sheriff’s deputies for the brutal murder. “It is clear that the governor and sheriff are resorting to loud denials and accusations of the students to divert attention from the irresponsibility of law enforcement agents,” the commission found. Some of the Southern Black campus activists also went on speaking tours to publicize the truth of the tragedy. Speaking at the University of Illinois a few days after the shooting, 24-year-old Ama Saran criticized the Louisiana governor. “First he said the students on campus had guns. When that was disproven, he said outsiders did the shooting. When that didn’t go down, he said maybe the troopers mistook buckshots for tear gas when they loaded their guns. He’s had to back down all the way.” But the governor did not back down on the students’ demands. In order to walk on campus, students on the Baton Rouge campus were required to present two identification cards, one issued when they signed a loyalty oath. Campus guard forces were tripled on both campuses. The leaders of Students

United on Baton Rouge campus were barred from campus and were served injunctions, and the strike leaders at SUNO were intimidated, followed and faced disciplinary hearings. Throughout this all, the Black campus activists persisted in sustaining their strike—the last protest of the Black Campus Movement.<sup>987</sup>

## **CHAPTER 12**

### **THE CULMINATION OF THE BLACK CAMPUS MOVEMENT**

The Southern students never received justice for the deaths of their two comrades nor did they ever get their demands addressed. However, on the whole, Black campus activists did generally compel higher education to give into their demands, which had the most drastic effect on cooling the Black Campus Movement that torched the academy from the spring of 1965 to the fall of 1972. First and foremost, due to pressure from Black campus activism, Black students poured into the academy at a growth rate of 50,000 per year between 1965 and 1973—what two scholars called the “golden age of black educational opportunity.” Tuition increases, financial aid decreases, and the end of the Black Campus Movement in the fall of 1972 reversed the rate, as the percentage of Black freshman dropped from its peak in the fall of 1972 at 8.7 percent to 7.8 percent in the fall of 1973. However, it increased again for the fall of 1974, marking the first time the number of Blacks in the academy went over the 800,000 mark at 814,000. That fall,

Blacks made up about nine percent of the total student body (compared to five percent in 1964), and twelve percent of the freshmen class, which was comparable to the eleven percent of Blacks in the country's population.<sup>988</sup>

The success of forcing the academy to bring in that rash of students had already pacified Black students when the number started to decline in the late 1970s. Higher education gave into a series of other demands that curtailed Black campus activism. During the apex academic year of 1968-1969 alone, more than 650 colleges instituted Blacks Studies courses, programs, or departments, and more than three hundred schools established special admissions programs for Blacks. By 1970, after the three most scorching academic years of the movement, almost one thousand colleges had adopted more open admissions policies or crafted particular adjustments to admit Blacks. Nearly one thousand colleges had organized Black Studies courses, programs, or departments, had a tutoring program for Black students, were providing diversity training for workers, and were actively recruiting Black professors and staff. Almost three hundred colleges were providing financial aid for Blacks and had developed diversity policy statements. In addition, during the 1970-1971 academic year, around four hundred colleges instituted Black Studies courses, programs, or departments, almost two hundred institutions hired Black professors, and more than one hundred established special admissions programs. Usually, local public colleges and public state universities, Western and Northeast institutions, higher ranking, and large urban institutions were the most responsive to the demands of the Black Campus Movement. Meanwhile, the private church colleges, the Southern colleges, and the lower ranking schools were the least responsive.<sup>989</sup>

In terms of Black Studies, the discipline simply did not exist when the Black Campus Movement emerged in the spring of 1965. Even courses concerning Black people were rare. Yet, when the movement died on Southern's campus with the death of those two students, courses on Black people were widespread and a new academic discipline had been forced down the academy's throat. With the death of the movement, the interest in Black Studies courses and the drive for a nationalist oriented discipline dwindled. As early as the fall of 1973, an official in the city college system in Chicago—one of the hotbeds of the Black Studies movement—noted the city had entered a 360 degree revolution concerning Black Studies. "We're finding a new mood on campuses," said Sy Friedman, the City College of Chicago director of public information. "It's not just black studies, but the whole climate is changing." As interest lessened from their high amongst those students who gave birth to it, the attacks on the newborn continued to come, particularly from Black scholars. The critics jumped Black studies in an article in a Black magazine in the spring of 1972. "There is no need for Black studies as a separate discipline," said Maceo T. Bowie, the Black president of Chicago's Kennedy-King College. Kenneth Clark called the discipline a "continuation of the Jim Crow approach to higher education, tragically compounded by the acquiescence of Blacks themselves." Thomas Sowell and Martin Kilson criticized the supposed inferior elements of Black Studies. And the author of the magazine article stated it does not "qualify Black students for the needs of the academic world...Black studies stress rather than diminish racist concepts." One Black academic even called the discipline endangered. "I don't see any reason to be optimistic about the survival of black studies programs," said the Director of the University of Texas's African Studies program, Geneva Gay.<sup>990</sup>

Although interest waned and attacks increased in 1972 and 1973, by mid-decade the discipline of Black Studies thrived. The United Press International, the American Association of State Colleges, and Nick Aaron Ford's groundbreaking study of the discipline all demonstrated the success the Black Studies. Even *The Chronicle of Higher Education's* report on "The State of Black Studies" in late 1975 reported the demise of the discipline proved to be exaggerated. The programs and departments "are not where they thought they would be by this time, but they're slowly becoming more established," Elias Blake, Jr., the author of a report on Black Studies, told *The Chronicle*. There were more than two hundred Black Studies departments and programs across the nation in 1975, and enrollment had not declined too much. Some two thousand students were taking courses at New York's City College, roughly one thousand were in the classes at UNC, and about seven hundred were enrolled at Cal Berkeley, Howard and UMASS. More importantly, many of the programs and departments were supported in 1975 by permanent institutional funds as opposed to temporary money from foundations or government agencies. Still, the dearth of Black doctorates, and the contention among Black Studies leaders about whether it should be liberation-oriented or just another academic exercise plagued the building of the discipline.<sup>991</sup> But overall, Black Studies as a discipline flourished as did the Black Cultural Centers, Black dorms, Black tutoring initiatives, Black cultural weeks and a slew of Black faculty, staff, administrators, coaches, athletes, and students. As more reforms were initiated, the more the movement dissipated. They were so prevalent on campuses across America the moderate Black students saw no major need to continue the revolt to gain relevance. In those instances in

which relevance did not exist, the students turned to bargaining. But that was few and far between, as most of the places had to enough reforms to mollify them.<sup>992</sup>

Repression was just as important to the demise of the movement. Black campus activism was slowed by the introduction of laws by Congress and state governments that made it a crime to use some of the tactics that worked for students, and the strict student codes and measures. As the protests mounted so did the threats and warnings from administrators, professors, lawmakers, police officers, governors, federal officials, and most importantly, their parents. More and more administrators as the struggle elapsed called on the police to destroy protests, and/or issued injunctions against Black campus activists engaged in disruptive demonstrations that forced them to stop or be arrested. Campus police forces were bolstered on many campuses, and essentially erected police states that made it harder to protest. All of these initiatives led to the destruction of the army of Black campus activists who were killed, imprisoned, exiled, expelled, suspended, or dropped out due to constant harassment. Not to mention that many simply graduated.

Another decisive and significant form of repression unreported and unnoticed by some administrators and Black campus activists alike (even though they felt the harsh affects of it) was the activities of the intelligence community.<sup>993</sup> The FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) not only infiltrated, ridiculed, imploded and exploded Black nationalist groups in the community like the US Organization and the Black Panther Party, but it did the same to progressive BSUs and their allies on colleges across America. The program to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" campus activists and their groups was set up by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in a memorandum to the bureau's field offices on May 10, 1968. Hoover, explained why the FBI needed to

go after Black campus activists in particular in a memorandum to his staff in the fall of 1970. He wrote, "Increased campus disorders involving black students pose a definite threat to the nation's stability and security and indicate need for increase in both quality and quantity of intelligence information...We must target informants and sources to develop information regarding these [black student unions]...on a continuing basis to fulfill our responsibilities and to develop such coverage where none exists." The FBI tried to subvert the Black Campus Movement through anonymous letters to parents, legislators, local elected leaders, trustees and regents, and college officials that in turn caused the receivers of those letters to usually use their means to suppress the struggle. The FBI manipulated local and national media for its aims, circulated misinformation in alternative campus newspapers, and tried to remove student groups from colleges. It targeted colleges like Antioch and tried to compel its administrators to curtail student activism through creating waves of community resentment. Active BSUs were investigated by the FBI, such as the ten organizations in Eastern Pennsylvania, and the FBI kept a running list of "key activists." Organizational, personal and ideological conflicts within BSUs were ferociously exacerbated and capitalized on by the FBI. The FBI (as well as college administrations, local, state and federal police, and the military) recruited, employed, and deployed an army of Black spies (students and college employees) that collected data on the activities of student groups at the least, and at the most actively thwarted those activities. A mole at PMC Colleges in Chester, Pennsylvania reported to the FBI that the members of the college's BSU were "not engaged in any militant type of activity on campus, and...not advocating or supporting such activity elsewhere." There was also an informant in one of the nation's more active



BSUs at Harvard. In the summer of 1970, the White House issued a “Decision Memorandum” that directed that “coverage of violence-prone campus and student-related groups is to be increased. All restraints which limit this coverage area are to be removed. Also, [Central Intelligence Agency] coverage of American students (and others) traveling or living abroad is to be increased.” Although COINTELPRO officially ended in 1971, the FBI subversion of the Black Campus Movement continued at least until the movement was concluded in late 1972.<sup>994</sup>

All of this repression by the intelligence community, higher education, and the state along with all of the demonstrations sucked the energy out of Black campus activists. Consequently by 1973, weariness and apathy had taken over. As one student put it, “The fatigue of the 70’s has set in.” They also grew weary and apathetic when they noticed that after the thousands of protests, the fundamental character of higher education had not changed—and that struggle they were calling a revolution was in fact a reform movement. When the “apathy set in,” according to one observer, “only isolated struggles” cropped up and died out. The weariness and apathy led to students being disillusioned with activism in 1973. More Black students believed that strategies emphasizing negotiations were more effective than pressure tactics by Black groups.<sup>995</sup>

Paradoxically, as the Black students grew more disillusioned with activism in general, in one particular area they were not disenchanted. They were more than willing to activate themselves when those gains or a member of their community came under attack. The basis of the Black Campus Movement was a struggle to gain reforms that did not yet exist in the academy. In other words, organizing and protests towards that end dominated the efforts of Black students from the spring of 1965 to the fall of 1972. In the

spring of 1973, another movement among Black students emerged (and has continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century) in which most of the protests were to protect members and allies of the Black student community and maintain the gains won during the Black Campus Movement. In sum, during the Black Campus Movement, Black students forced diversity into the house of the academy. Since that time, Black students have fought to ensure that the Black student community stayed and was comfortable in that house.

As soon as reforms towards relevancy were integrated into the academy, they were attacked from factions of students, professors, administrators, lawmakers, and community groups. Simultaneously, as more Black students and faculty were enrolled in higher education, so too were there additional assaults on this new community. So the struggle to maintain reforms and guard this budding congregation of Blackness paralleled the dominant struggle to gain more reforms during the Black Campus Movement.<sup>996</sup> Yet, in the spring of 1973, the struggle to maintain and defend became the prevailing activity of Black students. The most notable demonstration in the spring of 1973 occurred at Ohio's Antioch College where beginning on April 20, 1973, Black students closed the college's main campus for six weeks with a student strike. The Antioch protest was part of a nationwide trend among Black students who resisted the financial aid cutbacks that semester.<sup>997</sup>

The attacks continued in the fall of 1973 at Brooklyn College. Brooklyn College fired fifteen counselors in its SEEK program, twelve of whom were Black or Puerto Rican, and hired twenty-five counselors, who were mostly White. A group of Black and Latino students at New Jersey's Ramapo College occupied a building for three days in November 1973 to force the university to end its discriminatory practices in awarding of

financial assistance and other aspects of the college's operations. Seventy-five Black students at Rutgers University condemned the racism at their school too, and pressured the university to fire an ignorant dean, and hire additional Black professors when they disrupted a basketball game in December 1973.<sup>998</sup>

The movement to maintain and defend carried on into the spring of 1974. Basketball, football, and track student-athletes at the University of Mexico staged a weeklong boycott in April 1974 to press for the firing of the school's basketball coach, who ejected the school's first Black player earlier that spring. However, there was at least one protest to gain that spring. More than one hundred Black students were arrested in April 1974 after seizing a reading room in the library and pledging not to leave until the University of Connecticut created more opportunities and Black Studies for them. These types of demonstrations for new creations were rarity at this time. Black students were more likely to protest administrative cuts in their programs, such as those activists who took over their admissions office at Macalester College on September 13, 1974.<sup>999</sup>

There seemed to be several hits on Black students and their programs in 1975 due to rising tuitions and cutbacks in aid. As *The Chronicle of Higher Education* reported that spring of 1975, "Minority-group faculty members and students on many of the campuses said they feared that the gains they won during the 1960's were being eroded and that their universities would use hard times as an excuse for even more backsliding in recruitment." Black students at the University of Michigan felt threatened and presented nineteen demands to their administration on February 18, 1975. They were charges that Harvard was trying to cripple its Black Studies department, leading to remonstrations and the department chair, Ewart Guinier, writing a 19-page letter of complaint to the

university's board of overseers in February 1975. On May 6, 1975, campus police officers broke up a three-hour sit-in at the computer center of the University of California at Santa Barbara and arrested twenty-five Blacks and Latinos protesting the reduction in funds for the Black and Chicano Studies departments. They also wanted additional Black and Latino faculty, the resignation of the affirmative action coordinator, the university's chancellor, and the editor of the student newspaper. But there was one major offensive protest that spring of 1975. About fifty Black and Latino students took over University Hall at Brown University until school officials agreed—thirty-nine hours later—to increase the number of Black and Latino students over the next three years by twenty-five percent, step up its recruiting in the Providence Black community, give a non-White recruitment officer the primary job of recruiting Black and Latino students, include a Black student in the admissions review process, hire more Black professors and staff, and grant the student protesters amnesty.<sup>1000</sup>

The offensive protest at Brown was overshadowed by the defensive initiatives that year. Due to the refusal of school officials to promote a Black professor and declining Black student enrollment, Black students met with the presidents of SUNY at Stony Brook and the College of Old Westbury in August 1975 to discuss what they called the “rampant institutional racism” at both institutions. In October, approximately 250 Black students held a peaceful march at the University of Alabama to protest the decision of the student senate to not fund a Black student newspaper. They also complained about the low numbers of Black instructors, students, and Blacks participating in student government. The next month, after Black students at Cornell University heard a rumor about a Black female student being raped by two White men, three hundred Black

students swarmed into the administration building and held President Dale Corson hostage for forty-five minutes. Students were also incensed about cutbacks in Black programs. As a sign of the times, New York City's Board of Education voted in December 1965 to scrap open admissions in its City University—the elimination of one of the most widely touted achievements of the Black Campus Movement. Black students and their reforms were regularly hit by the forces of the academy, and during the last few decades they have consistently and effectively fought them off, such that many of the gains won during the movement still exist.<sup>1001</sup>

Aside from reform and repression, another major factor contributed to the demise of the Black Campus Movement. A new type of Black student started to dominate BSUs and the Black student community generally across the nation in the spring of 1973. She was more individualist than the Black students who waged the Black Campus Movement. He was not as nationalistic and socially responsible. She was more concerned about her career and economic security than the Black campus activists of a few years earlier. He was more interested in traditional politics than disruptive protests. She was more optimistic and approving of her education and society than those Black student protesters who ravaged the academy. He blamed Black individuals more for their plight than the system. She felt she had more to lose, as opportunities were greater for her than those Black students during the Black Campus Movement. No nationally renowned Black Power leader was effectively propelling him towards activism. She did not believe her role as a Black student was to reform the academy like her predecessors.<sup>1002</sup>

Without question there was a different student in the spring of 1973 reaping the fruits of eight years of brutally hard work by the most active generation of Black students

in the nation's history. The student was extremely distinct from that Black student who was still recovering from the murder of Malcolm X, Sammy Younge Jr., Jimmie Lee Jackson, and the other vicious killings of the Civil Rights Movement. Still, a group of Black students in the spring of 1975 had the wherewithal to remember—to remember the Black Campus Movement—most specifically its lowest moment. With a drenching rain soaking him as he stood in front of Alexander Hall at Jackson State University where five years earlier two Black youths were killed, a young Black student shouted to his gathered peers, “We must stick together and be together!” For the fifth straight year, Jackson State students assembled to memorialize one of the ultimate tragedies of the struggle to reform the academy. Pointing to the new construction around the campus, Darryl Thomas, chief justice of the student government association declared, “We should never let brick and concrete overshadow the events that happened here. We must remember!”<sup>1003</sup>

Several Black students died; hundreds of Black students were injured and imprisoned; thousands of Black students were suspended and expelled; tens of thousands of Black students sacrificed their security through waging protests; hundreds of thousands of Black students were unduly harassed—but they have not been remembered. The struggle of Black campus activists has been marginalized in the accounts on the student, Black Power, and Black Student Movements. Despite the dramatic effect it had in forcing diversity onto higher education and the sacrifices of thousands of Black students, it has rested for the last forty years on the margins of the American historical consciousness. Even resting on those margins, there was only general knowledge of the struggle. This dissertation was an attempt to specify the efforts of Black campus activists and move this influential movement to the center of the nation's historical consciousness.

Diversity in higher education, and practically all of its manifestations, from Black Studies departments to Latino Studies to Women's Studies, to the throngs of Black students to the plethora of Black coaches and administrators, to the widespread ability of the scholars to challenge the Eurocentric nature of higher education and the Western world—their origin lies in the demands and protests that rocked the academy from the spring of 1965 to the fall of 1972—the Black Campus Movement.

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>2</sup> Andrew Barlow, "The Student Movement of the 1960s and the Politics of Race," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 19 (Fall 1991), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> John Erlich and Susan Erlich, "Introduction," in *Student Power, Participation and Revolution*, eds. John Erlich and Susan Erlich (New York: Association Press, 1971), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> "The Campus Revolutions: One is Black, One White," *New York Times*, May 12, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> James A. Foley and Robert K. Foley, *The College Scene: Students Tell It Like It Is* (New York: Cowles Book Company, 1969), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> For the concept of "oppositional space," see Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> See Molefi Kete Asante, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Buffalo: Amulefi Publishing Company, 1980).

<sup>8</sup> See Harry Edwards, *Black Students* (New York: Free Press, 1970); James McEvoy and Abraham Miller, *Black Power and Student Rebellion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1969); See Joy Ann Williamson, "In Defense of Themselves: The Black Student Struggle for Success at and Recognition at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities," *Journal of Negro Education* 68 (Winter 1999), 92-105.

<sup>9</sup> Edwards, *Black Students*, p. 3, 62.

<sup>10</sup> McEvoy and Miller, *Black Power and Student Rebellion*, p. 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> See Ibram Rogers, "The Marginalization of the Black Campus Movement," *Journal of Social History* 42 (Fall 2008), p. 175-182.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytical History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1969), p. 101-2, 216-221.

<sup>13</sup> Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 179.

<sup>14</sup> See David C. Nichols, *Perspectives on Campus Tensions: Papers Prepared for the Special Committee on Campus Tensions* (Washington DC: American Council of Education, 1970). The Council did redeem itself

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<sup>15</sup> Gerald J. De Groot, *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley Publishing, 1998); Philip G. Altbach, Robert S. Laufer and Sheila McVey, ed., *Academic Supermarkets* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971); Calvin B. T. Lee, *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970: Changing Styles in Undergraduate Life* (New York: McKay, 1970); Elvin Abeles, *The Student and the University: A Background Book on the Campus Revolt* (New York: Parents' Magazine Press, 1969); Erlich and Erlich, "Introduction," p. 12; Roger Rapoport and Laurence J. Kirshbaum, *Is the Library Burning?* (New York: Random House, 1969).

<sup>16</sup> See Julian Foster and Durward Long, ed., *Protest! Student Activism in America* (New York: Morrow, 1970); Seymour Martin Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1972); Janet Harris, ed., *Students in Revolt* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970); Seymour Martin Lipset and Philip G. Altbach, ed., *Students in Revolt* (Boston: Houghton, 1969); Donald E. Phillips, *Student Protest, 1960-1970: An Analysis of the Issues and Speeches* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985); Art Seidenbaum, *Confrontation on Campus: Student Challenge in California* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969); Frank L. Ellsworth and Martha A. Burns, *Student Activism in American Higher Education* (Washington DC: American College Personnel Association, 1970); Immanuel Wallerstein and Paul Starr, ed., *The University of Crisis of Reader* (New York: Random House, 1971); Julian Nagel, ed., *Student Power* (London: Merlin, 1969); John Taft, *Mayday at Yale: A Case Study in Student Radicalism* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976); Gary R. Weaver and James H. Weaver, ed., *The University and Revolution* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

<sup>17</sup> See Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol, ed., *Confrontation: The Student Rebellion and the Universities* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

<sup>18</sup> For more information on the San Francisco State BSU movement, see William Barlow & Peter Shapiro, *An End to Silence: The San Francisco State College Student Movement in the 60s* (New York: Pegasus Press, 1971); Dikran Karagueuzian, *Blow It Up!: The Black Student Revolt at San Francisco State and the Emergence of Dr. Hayakawa* (Boston: Gambit, 1971); William H. Orrick, Jr., *Shut It Down! A College in Crisis: San Francisco State College October, 1968 - April, 1969* (Stockton, CA: University Press of the Pacific, 2006); DeVere Pentony, Robert Smith, and Richard Axen, *By Any Means Necessary: The Revolutionary Struggle at San Francisco State* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970); DeVere Pentony, Robert Smith, and Richard Axen, *Unfinished Rebellions* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971); Howard Finberg, ed., *Crisis at SF State* (San Francisco: Insight, 1969); Joseph Axelrod and Mervin B. Freedman, eds., *Academics On the Line: The Faculty Strike at San Francisco State* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970); Kay Boyle, *The Long Walk at San Francisco State* (New York: Grove Press, 1970); John Summerskill, *President Seven* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1971); and Leo Litwak and Herbert Wilner, *College Days in Earthquake Country* (New York: Random House, 1971).

<sup>19</sup> Stefan Bradley, "'This is Harlem Heights': Black Student Power and the 1968 Columbia University Rebellion," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 32 (January 2008), p. 106; Stefan Bradley, "'Gym Crow Must Go!' Black Student Activism at Columbia University, 1967-1968," *Journal of African American History* 88 (Spring 2003), p. 163-181; Stephen Donadio, "Black Power at Columbia," *Commentary* 46 (September 1968), p. 67-76.

<sup>20</sup> See Wayne Glasker, *Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967-1990* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 2002); Delia Crutchfield Cook, "The Desegregation and Integration of Central Missouri State University" (MA. thesis, Central Missouri State University, 1992); Richard P. McCormick, *The Black Student Protest Movement at Rutgers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Donald Alexander Downs, *Cornell '69: Liberalism and the Crisis of the American University* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); William H. Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest: Black Student Activism in a White University* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985); Timothy K. Fitzgerald, "Twilight in the Afternoon—The War at Home: San Jose State College (1964-1970)," (MA. thesis, San Jose State University, 1997); Alford A. Young, *Revolt of the Privileged: The Coming Together of the Black Community at Wesleyan University, 1965-1976* (Middletown, CT: Center for Afro-American Studies, Wesleyan University, 1988); Warren L. D'Azevedo, "The Ethnic Minority Experience at the University of Nevada, 1874--1974," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1998), p. 225-292; Conrad M. Dyer, "Protest and the politics of open admissions: the



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<sup>23</sup> See Earl Anthony, *The Time of the Furnaces: A Case Study of Black Student Revolt* (New York: The Dial Press, 1971).

<sup>24</sup> See James L. Palcic, "The History of the Black student union at Florida State University, 1968-1978" (PhD. diss, Florida State University, 1979); Corey Harmon, Little Paper Cuts: The Struggles and Demands of Black Students at the University of Oregon (Unpublished Paper, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> See Joy Ann Williamson, *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois, 1965-75* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Joy Ann Williamson, *Radicalizing the Ebony Tower: Black Colleges and the Black Freedom Struggle in Mississippi* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Ione D. Vargus, *Revival of Ideology: The Afro-American Society Movement* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1977).

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<sup>29</sup> See Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama, ed, *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004).

<sup>30</sup> See Jeffrey Alan Turner, "Conscious and Conflict: Patterns in the History of Student Activism on Southern College Campuses, 1960-1970" (PhD. diss, Tulane University, 2000).

<sup>31</sup> See Jerrold Wimbish Roy, "Student activism and the historically Black university: Hampton institute and Howard university, 1960-1972" (PhD. diss, Harvard University, 2000).

<sup>32</sup> See Gilbert A. Lowe, Jr., and Sophia R. McDowell, "Participant-Nonparticipant Differences in the Howard University Student Protest," *Journal of Negro Education* 40 (Winter 1971), p. 81-90; Sophia R. McDowell, Gilbert A. Lowe, Jr., and Doris A Docket, "Howard University's Student Protest Movement," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 34 (Autumn 1970), p. 383-388; Lawrence B. de Graaf, "Howard: The Evolution of A Black Student Revolt," in *PROTEST! Student Activism in America*, Julian Foster and Durward Long, ed. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1970).

<sup>33</sup> See Jack Bass and Jack Nelson, *The Orangeburg Massacre* (Macon, GA: Mercer, 1984); Tim Spofford, *Lynch Street: The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988); Denton J. Davis, "The Smith-Brown incident: Black power advocates involved in a struggle to redirect Southern University," (MA. thesis, Southern University, 1997); Tim Thomas, "The Student Movement at Southern University," *Freedomways* 13 (Winter 1973), p. 14-27; Bernard Friedberg, "House and the TSU Riot," in *Life Styles in the Black Ghetto*, William McCord, John Howard, Bernard Friedberg, and Edwin Harwood, ed (New York: W.W. Morton & Company, 1969), pp. 36-51; Blair Justice, *Violence in the city* (Dallas: Texas Christian University Press, 1969); Vonya Le Thornton, "Student activism at Central State University during the civil rights era, 1960-1968," (MA. Thesis, Wright State University, 1994); Jelani Manu-Gowon Favors, "Shelter in a Time of Storm: Black Colleges and the Rise of Student Activism in Jackson, Mississippi," (PhD. diss, The Ohio State University, 2006).

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<sup>35</sup> See James Bowen, "Black student militance: Campus unrest among black students, 1968-1972," (PhD. diss, Columbia University, 1985); Patricia Gurin and Edgar Epps, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement: A Study of Students in Historically Black Colleges* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975).

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<sup>38</sup> William R. Corson, *Promise or Peril: The Black College Student in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1970), p. 20; Michael W. Miles, *The Radical Probe: The Logic of Student Rebellion* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 192.

<sup>39</sup> James Benet, "Introduction," in *Blow it Up! The Black Student Revolt at San Francisco State College and the Emergence of Dr. Hayakawa*, Dikran Karagueuzian (Boston: Gambit, 1971), p. 1; Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> See Fabio Rojas, "Social Movement Tactics, Organizational Change and the Spread of African-American Studies," *Social Forces* 84 (June 2006), p. 2147-2166; John H. Bunzel, "Black Studies at San Francisco State," *The Public Interest* 13 (1968), p. 22-38; William H. Orrick, Jr., *College in Crisis: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Nashville: Aurora Publishers, 1970); Lawrence Crouchett, "Early Black Studies Movements," *Journal of Black Studies* 2 (1971), p. 198-199.

<sup>41</sup> See Martin Kilson, "The Black Student Militant," *Encounter* 37 (1971), p. 80-85.

<sup>42</sup> Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harrold, *The African-American Odyssey, Combined Volume* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008), p. 625.

<sup>43</sup> Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Joe William Trotter, Jr., *The African American Experience, Volume II, From Reconstruction* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), p. 577; Anthony, *The Time of the Furnaces*, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Trotter, Jr., *The African American Experience*, p. 577.

<sup>46</sup> Molefi Kete Asante, *An Afrocentric Manifesto: Toward an African Renaissance* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), p. 55.

<sup>47</sup> Asante, *An Afrocentric Manifesto*, p. 59.

<sup>48</sup> Ama Mazama, "The Afrocentric Paradigm: Contours and Definitions," *Journal of Black Studies* 31 (March 2001), p. 388.

<sup>49</sup> Asante, *An Afrocentric Manifesto*, p. 64.

<sup>50</sup> Molefi Kete Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990), p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> Mazama, "The Afrocentric Paradigm," p. 397.

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- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.
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- <sup>59</sup> Mazama, "The Afrocentric Paradigm," p. 399.
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- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>64</sup> Cleveland Sellers, *River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC* (New York: Morrow, 1973); Huey P. Newton with J. Herman Blake, *Revolutionary Suicide* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973); Elaine Brown, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (New York: Anchor Books, 1992); Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970); Angela Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1974); Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure)* (New York: Scribner, 2003).
- <sup>65</sup> I conducted these four interviews in the summer of 2006 while working for *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*.
- <sup>66</sup> For example, concerning the student movement, Calvin B.T. Lee's *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970*, contains a chapter called "The Black Student," and, Michael W. Miles's *The Radical Probe* has a section he named "The Black Student Movement." And concerning the Black Power Movement, in *New Day in Babylon*, William L. Van Deburg has a section titled "Black Power on Campus." And, in Alphonso Pinkney's *Red, Black, and Green: Black nationalism in the United States*, there is a section on "Afro-American Studies" and another called "A note on the blackening of Howard University."
- <sup>67</sup> See Werner Sollors, Caldwell Titcomb, and Thomas A. Underwood, ed., *Blacks at Harvard: A Documentary History of African-American Experience at Harvard and Radcliffe* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Cohodas, *The Band Played Dixie*.
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