Justice and Hope

Past Reflections and Future Visions of the Stanford Black Student Union 1967-1989

By Steven C. Phillips

Published by the Stanford Black Student Union
Dear Friends:

The Black Student Union is extremely pleased to announce the publication of *Justice and Hope*. The BSU has historically worked to make our community and society more just, and we continue to hope that our dreams of an equal, multicultural society will soon become a reality.

This publication, coming in the midst of Stanford's Centennial celebration, offers the entire community an opportunity for celebration and rededication. We are grateful for the work that Steve Phillips has done, and we are glad to publish this compilation of events and struggles of the past twenty-three years. Please share our pride and satisfaction in the progress we've made, and also work with us as we continue down Freedom's Road.

It has been said that those who don't understand history are doomed to repeat it, and we agree with that statement. The Stanford community has gone through much struggle and tension and turmoil these past few decades as we sought to expand the cultural frontiers of the campus. Although the BSU has been centrally involved in many, if not most, of those changes and developments, relatively few people truly understand the purpose, history, and objectives of our organization. When we asked Steve in the Fall of 1988 to write a history of recent events, we had the goal of removing the mystery and confusion about the BSU. As it has grown in scope over the past year, *Justice and Hope* can make a significant contribution to multicultural understanding on campus. Contained within these pages is the story of our organization, how we came into being, and why we do what we do.

For Black students, it is especially critical that we understand our past. The issues of 1988—and of 1990—are very similar to the issues and challenges of 1968. Black people are worse off in the 1990s than in the 1960s. Just as those from the previous generation opened the doors for us, so too must we leave Stanford a better place for those who will come after us. Our people are counting on us to make a difference, and we have a responsibility to avoid the mistakes of the past and to build on the foundation that we have inherited. The BSU's theme this year is "Know Your History, Know Your Greatness." Read the following pages, learn about your greatness, and carry on that tradition.

It is important to take time to pause and appreciate the progress that we have made together. But, then, we must use that resting time to gather energy to continue on the road ahead. We have accomplished much, but much still remains to be done. After reading this publication, join us in the struggle to bring justice and hope to Stanford University.

Peace,

Calvin J. Martin
Chairman
To the sisters and brothers who formed the Stanford Black Student Union in the 1960s and to the brothers and sisters who will inherit the legacy and continue in that tradition in the 1990s.

Carry it on.
Make it stronger.
Always remember.

Return what you learn to our people.

To the memory of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

Your life inspired us.
Your death enraged us.
Your dream sustains us.
Acknowledgements

Writing Justice and Hope has been a humbling and daunting exercise. Many, many people helped, and this is indeed a collective work.

I am grateful to the many Black faculty and staff members who provided valuable advice, support and direction: James L. Gibbs, St. Clair Drake, Kennell Jackson, Clay Carson, Keith Archuleta, Michael Jackson, Michael Britt, Dandre Desandies, Hank Organ, and Rachel Bagby.

As I sought to forge one document from various strands of folklore, scraps of paper, and scattered publications, I relied heavily on several important resources. The previous editors and staff members left us a valuable legacy, and I urge any students interested in writing to revive and rebuild that vital institution. Similarly, The Stanford Daily and Campus Report provided helpful glimpses into the past that I have incorporated into this work. Joyce King, Robert Bacon and the other BSU members who wrote Black 70 produced a scholarly and beautiful document that both provided a wealth of information and challenged me to make this publication reflect the same high standards of excellence. Louis Jackson, director of the Ujamaa Archives, provided me access to Black 70 and other publications. Lewie Ford's The Black Power Imperative, a media chronology of the history of Black student activism highlighted many key events that I tried to include and develop. Thom Massay's articles on "Being Black at Stanford" in The Stanford Magazine provided a valuable overview plus important details and facts. I also made extensive use of the Stanford Libraries.

At the various stages of production, a whole host of people contributed. I hope I don't leave anybody out, but here goes. My thanks go out to the following people: Lisa Fitts, Audrey Jawando, Bacardi Jackson, and Drew Dixon helped give shape to Justice and Hope when it was still a vague and unformed idea. Toni Long demonstrated for me the true power of PageMaker. David Porter clarified important facts and provided historical information. Frederick Sparks helped with fundraising and monitoring the budget. Lyzette Settle added critical comments and an extremely thorough and detailed revision of the text. Danzy Senna, Joy St. John, Stacey Leyton, Raoul Mowatt, Valerie Mih, Hilary Skilling, Judy Wu, Quynh Tran, and Cheryl Taylor meticulously proofread the final drafts. Elsa Tsutaoka gave advice on design, layout and cutting photos. MEChA loaned us its layout equipment. The staff in the ASSU Business Office always cheerfully facilitated financial transactions and questions. Barbara Smith and the BCSC staff provided institutional support in countless little yet important ways. Damian Marhefska of The Stanford Daily took time out from studying for finals to shoot half-tones. The staff of Getting Together Publications taught me how to size and crop photos and helped shoot half-tones. The people in Graphic Services at University Art were extremely fast, accommodating and cheerful. And George McKinney, a remarkable freshman and the midwife of Justice and Hope, gave himself a crash course in layout and production and stayed up with me listening to Ray Taliafero on the radio while we layed out the pages in our final seventy-two hour no-sleep whirlwind that brought the project to completion.

Three Black staff members played especially pivotal roles during Fall quarter of 1989. Floyd Thompson, with a few well-chosen words, helped me understand my changing role on this campus and set me on the path to the final completion of this document. Faye McNair-Knox, who has a history of keeping me on track and headed in the right direction, provided candid and constructive criticism. Something told me to run a draft by her before we went to press, and, sure enough, she had suggestions that were extremely helpful. I owe special thanks to Keith Archuleta—my critic, counselor, fellow freedom fighter, and friend. Whether I was developing the concept devising the plan, dissecting the drafts, or discussing the points, he saw me through from start to finish and helped me realize a dream.

I am grateful to the entire staff of the CPPC. In particular, Anne Greenblatt displayed considerable understanding and support. Virginia Mak shared her genius for design, and James Patterson was, well, James—one of the friendliest and most encouraging people I know.

My largest debt is to the Black Student Union. I am grateful to Mary Dillard and the 1988-89 officers and Calvin Joel Martin and the 1989-90 officers for their patience, support, and assistance. They demonstrated remarkable understanding as production schedules changed, deadlines moved, and the imperative of making history delayed the efforts to record history. Through it all, we persevered, and now, at last, it's done. My final thank-you goes out to all the members of the Black Student Union—past and present—who made the history recorded in these pages. Keep up the struggle.
Preface

The initial idea was simple enough. I was talking with Mary Dillard, 1988-89 BSU Chair, about the need for students to have a greater understanding of the history and purpose of the BSU. Many white students did not understand, and some were hostile. Black students were not equipped to definitively answer the multitude of questions and challenges. It seemed like a good idea to have a basic summary of the BSU's history. Little did I realize the magnitude and length of the journey on which I was about to embark.

Since people from across the country were asking for information about how the BSU had been able to win the Western Culture struggle, Mary asked me to write a summation of that period. After the Ujamaa incident in October of 1988, I suggested that we compile a basic summary of the BSU's history so that people would understand that such incidents—and a strong BSU response—were not unusual. My initial conception of this project was that we would compile the dates and facts of the big events, add a few photos, copy, collate, staple, and distribute the product to those people on campus who were interested. The more research I did, and the more people I talked to, the larger the project became. As I researched the history and uncovered the details, I began to see that there was an important story to tell.

Like many publications, this work has traveled a circuitous path. I started by talking to Black faculty and staff to get advice, guidance and direction on this, the first such project I had ever attempted. For a long time, I just had bits and pieces of what I wanted to accomplish. Then, in February of 1988, I had a chance to get away from the hectic pace and demands of Stanford and started reading Parting the Waters while staying at a friend's in Oregon. I didn't get far in the book. I was so inspired by the way Taylor Branch placed Dr. King's development in historical and national context that I stayed up until 4 a.m. writing the basic framework and outline for Justice and Hope. I devised an outline based on my own study of Black history (let's hear it for Afro-Am majors!), prior discussions with Black faculty and staff, and the published summations of the BSU's prior history mentioned in the acknowledgements.

I went to The Real News and The Daily to confirm facts, verify information, and flesh out stories. With that information, I wrote the initial draft. Each time that I got feedback from BSU officers and other community members, I re-wrote the text. Ultimately, this account is based on some first-hand accounts, my personal observations and participation in the struggle, newspaper records, the summations provided by Black 70 and Thom Massey's "Being Black at Stanford." This is more of an extended newspaper feature on the BSU than a comprehensive historical opus. It is only a beginning at interpreting reality from the perspective of the disenfranchised, and I hope it will serve as a stimulus for debate and a starting point for other initiatives.

Our history is too important to do hurriedly. The layout, design, appearance, and attention to detail must reflect the same high standards we hold our university and society to. The writing must convey one of the greatest human dramas—the Black quest for freedom, justice, and democracy. Vincent Harding's There Is A River showed me that how a work is written says a great deal about the importance of what is being said. The quality of the medium does indeed prove the message. From the stories of the African griots to the speeches of Martin L. King, Jr. and the novels of Alice Walker, history has proven that Black folks have a way with words. I have tried to be true to that tradition by painstakingly revising each chapter, trying to find the most expressive words and carefully pruning each sentence.

Allow me a word or two about terminology. People have debated for centuries what to call the children of Africa in America. I feel that "African American" is the most precise term, and consequently I often use that phrase. I am not, however, opposed to "Black." Historically, the word "Black" is associated with the development of Black pride and consciousness ("Black is beautiful," "Say it loud, I'm Black and I'm proud."). As a writer, I find that a one syllable word sometimes fits better into the rhythm of a sentence than a seven syllable phrase. So, I have no problem using the two terms interchangeably, and I do so throughout. The debate over what to call ourselves has raged for decades if not centuries. To reflect the development of the debate, I have retained the original usage of the terms ("Black" with a small b or capital B; "Negro"; etc.) as the writers intended.

Any historical our journalistic account is filtered through the lens of the viewer. The resulting product will naturally reflect the perspective of the person that produces the history. There is no such thing as total objectivity. There is, however, honesty, and I believe a writer should be honest with his or her reader. I am a political person, and this work clearly reflects that inclination. When I was Chairman of the BSU in the mid-1980s, I worked hard to revive political activism in the organization. Activism, however, is not the only aspect of the BSU, and I have tried to show the breadth of activities as well as the internal tension and organizational dilemmas that gripped the group.
over the years. A number of people pointed out to me that the strength of the BSU is its capacity to have disagreements without division and unity without uniformity. The final revision of the text was done primarily to highlight this reality.

These pages contain my favorite snapshots of Black history in general, and the BSU's history in particular. It's kind of like flipping through my photo album of the past two decades. The reader should recognize the content as history, but my interpretation of history. I have tried in these pages to follow James Baldwin's advice—"Bear witness to the truth." Not everything that follows is pleasant or comfortable, but it is the truth as I have seen it, and as I have been able to reconstruct it. Take it, as you should any publication, for what it's worth—a view of the world through one person's eyes.

On another level, however, I do think my perspective can be instructive. I adhere to Ralph Waldo Emerson's advice from his essay "Self-Reliance," where he wrote that we should "believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all." My experiences have shown that what moves me also moves other people. When I have been able to communicate an opinion, feeling, or analysis, it does strike a chord among some people. With the publication of Justice and Hope, I am assuming a new role—that of a writer. I have come this way through many twists and turns, but what has most motivated me to raise my voice was the loss of other key Black voices.

In the past two years, we have lost Harold Washington, James Baldwin, Mickey Leland, and Huey P. Newton. The deaths of each of these brothers diminished me, but Huey's funeral transformed me. Standing in line with three thousand other Black folks who took time off from work, I saw the tremendous love the people had for Huey. The Panthers' call for "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace" (Point #10 in their platform) hit home with Black America. His courage, commitment, and boldness inspired millions. He and Bobby Seale provided a national model for Black students looking for direction and inspiration. I cried at Huey's funeral. I cried because thousands of Black people deeply loved that man and what he stood for. Now that he is gone, somebody must carry on that tradition. Somebody must articulate those sentiments. When they wheeled Huey's casket out of the church, I raised my fist to salute him, and vowed to do what I could to carry on in that tradition. Justice and Hope is my attempt to add my voice to the chorus of people that sing—and fight—for freedom.

We are entering a period of important anniversaries: the Greensboro sit-in, the assassination of Malcolm, and the Selma-to-Montgomery march. These events all coincide with Stanford's Centennial. We are faced with a great challenge. If, in some small way, this work can help the members of the Stanford community embrace the tradition and vision of the Black freedom struggle, we will be better off. I am confident that this is possible. I saw signs of hope in the anti-apartheid movement, the two Jackson campaigns and the Western Culture struggle during the 1980s. From where I stand, the 1990s have the potential to be the "Decade of Hope." The Bible says that the rejected stone will be the cornerstone of the new order. African Americans had to fight to get in Stanford and to stay and survive. Now, we want to improve and transform the institution. Consider Justice and Hope a Centennial gift—a seed of hope that will grow into a flower of justice.

Steven C. Phillips
January, 1990
## Contents

### In the Beginning
- Reconstruction - Ten brief years of democracy
- The Ku Klux Klan - The Roots of Racist Terror
- The Struggle Continues - Black Resistance

1

### 1960s: A Time of Hope

5

### 1967: The Founding of the BSU
- America On Fire
- Interact
- Forming the Black Student Union

9

### 1968: We Took the Mike!
- Stanford Reaction
- We Took the Mike
- Educational
- Cultural
- Social
- Black United Front and the Struggle for Change

15

### 1970s: We'll Stay and Fight
- Phase I - Creating Institutions
- The Hospital Sit-in
- Phase II - Winter in America
- Stanford: Willing to Pay the Price for Change?
- 1976-78 - A Turning Point

23

### 1980s: The Reagan Regime
- Searching for Definition
- African American Resistance
- South Africa Will Be Free!

32

### CIV: To Challenge the Nation
- Prelude to the Battle
- Launching the Struggle
- Victory!
- Lessons
- Backlash
- The Otero and Ujamaa Incidents
- From "Bigotry is Out" to "Freedom of Speech"

41

### Takeover '89
- Background
- Internal Tension
- The Impact
- Free Louis Jackson!

51

### A New Day Dawns: The 1990s
- California—The Rainbow State
- A New Day

58

### Conclusion

65
I am the woman
Offering two flowers
Whose roots are twin —

Justice and Hope

Let Us Begin

-Alice Walker
Mr. Leland Stanford
and
Jane Lathrop Stanford

husband and wife, grantors, desiring to promote
the public welfare by founding, endowing, and
having maintained upon our estate known as
the Palo Alto Farm, and situated in the coun-
tries of San Mateo and Santa Clara, State of
California, United States of America, a
University for both sexes, with the Colleges,
Schools, Seminaries of Learning, Mechanical
Institutes, Museums, Galleries of Art and
all other things necessary and appropriate
to a University of high degree. To that end, and
for that purpose, do hereby grant, bargain,
In The Beginning

"The cause in which we are engaged is one of the greatest in which any one can labor. It is the cause of the white man—the cause of free labor, of justice and of equal rights. I am in favor of free white American citizens. I prefer free white citizens to any other class or race. I prefer the white man to the negro as an inhabitant of our country. I believe its greatest good has been derived by having all of the country settled by free white men." 1

LELAND STANFORD
Accepting Republican Party nomination for Governor in 1859

To truly appreciate the unique history of the Black Student Union, one must first come to terms with a very simple and basic fact—Stanford University opened its doors in 1891, but the number of Black students who walked through those doors did not even approach 1% of the student body until the late 1960s. As the pages that follow will show, African American people come out of an entirely different tradition and historical reality than Leland and Jane Stanford and the people who first attended their university. Viewed against a historical backdrop, the need for an organization such as the BSU becomes clear. In this light, one can see that the birth and development of the Stanford Black Student Union is the natural and logical extension of the four hundred year African American struggle for freedom.

Reconstruction—Ten Brief Years of Democracy

When Stanford opened in 1891, Black Americans were struggling to survive. Thirteen years earlier, the hope and promise of Reconstruction (1866-1877) had been betrayed by the United States government. During those ten years following the Civil War, the U.S. made some of its greatest strides toward democracy in the history of the nation. Throughout the Black-belt South, there were Black Senators, Congressmen, Lieutenant Governors, and even, for two months, a Black Governor. 2 At that time, the per capita Congressional representation of Black Americans exceeded contemporary levels.

As repayment for hundreds of years of economic exploitation, U.S. Congressmen promised that every African American family that had endured slavery should receive "40 acres and a Mule" as a step towards economic self-sufficiency. That promise, like many others of the time, was never fulfilled.

Reconstruction formally ended in 1877 with the infamous "Hayes-Tilden compromise." In the 1876 Presidential election, Republican Rutherford B. Hayes was declared the winner of the election by a razor thin electoral margin, but the white Southern Democrats in South Carolina and Louisiana
Spike Lee named his production company "40 Acres and a Mule" to highlight the unfulfilled promise made to each freed slave family during Reconstruction.

refused to accept the results and responded by encouraging the Confederate states to establish rival state governments. Furthermore, the Southern Democratic Congressmen mounted a filibuster to prevent certification of the election. As inauguration day approached with no resolution in sight, the Hayes and Tilden supporters struck a deal—a "Gentleman's agreement." The Southern Democrats agreed to drop the filibuster and allow Hayes to have the presidency if Hayes, in return, would withdraw federal troops from the South. The deal was sealed, and the troops—which had been protecting the newly freed African Americans from violent retaliation—were removed. The lives of Black folks would never be the same.

The Ku Klux Klan—The Roots of Racist Terror

In order to disenfranchise Blacks and deny the drive for political power, the former slaveowners and their allies employed a vast array of techniques. Some of the legal measures included poll taxes and literacy tests which restricted the right to vote to those who could afford the tax or could pass a "literacy" test. Literacy for Blacks was often defined as the ability to recite the Constitution from memory.

Behind the legal measures, lurked the extra-legal terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan. After the Civil War, Southern doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and other pillars of the community formed the KKK. Lerone Bennett wrote that, "the Klan and other terrorist organizations were organized specifically to destroy black power and to create conditions that would make it possible for white men to exploit black men socially, politically, and economically."

Abandoned by the Federal Government and driven from the political process by the KKK, African Americans in the late 19th century had few options and little hope. While Leland Stanford set about the business of creating an "educational institution in the interest of humanity and of the American people" Black folks were being lynched across the country. Stanford commenced its operations during the most active period of lynchings of African Americans in U.S. history. Five years after Stanford opened, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Plessy vs. Ferguson that racial segregation was constitutional so long as the facilities were "separate but equal." Faced with a national campaign to disempower and destroy them, Black people responded by fighting back. By any means necessary. That tradition has endured to the present day.
Black Voices...Reconstruction

"At the end of the Civil War, America embarked on a racial experiment unprecedented in the inner precincts of the Western world. In a remarkable turnabout, the former slaves were enfranchised and lifted to a position of real political power vis-a-vis their former masters. And the new national purpose was expressed in the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and passage of the most stringent civil rights legislation ever enacted in America.

It was in this climate that Black and white men made the first, and, in many ways, the last real attempt to establish an interracial democracy in America. During the heyday of Reconstruction, in the years between 1867 and 1877, Black men were elected to the legislatures of every Southern state. Lieutenant governors and other cabinet officers were elected in Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Twenty Black men were sent to the U.S. House of Representatives, and two Black politicians were elected to the U.S. Senate from the state of Mississippi.

Reconstruction in all its various facets was a supreme lesson for America, the right reading of which might still mark a turning point in our history."

LERONE BENNETT, JR.
Black Power, U.S.A.

The Struggle Continues—Black Resistance

Despite the beatings, bombings, lynchings, shootings and rapes, Black people continued to hope for a better tomorrow and persisted in the fight for justice. The struggle took many forms and included political resistance in state houses, legal defense in the courts, social exodus out of the South, and even armed resistance to defend the newly purchased land.

Because of their unique history of oppression and resistance, Black people have always fought back by uniting and forming organizations that serve as vehicles of liberation. In all areas of life, Black people form their own organizations in response to their exclusion from mainstream society. From churches to newspapers to colleges to dental and medical associations to labor unions to fraternities and sororities, Black folks have responded to America's oppression by coming together among themselves and fighting back as a people.

The African American freedom struggle has produced a vast number of Black organizations that served their particular era as instruments of progress and change. The list is long; some of the names are familiar, many are not: Society of Negroes, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Colored Farmers' Alliance, Black Committee, Negro Fellowship League, Afro-American League, Afro-American Council, League of Colored Laborers, National Labor Union, National Federation of Afro-American Women, Colored Women's League, National Association of Colored Women, Anti-Lynching League, NAACP, United Negro Improvement Association, African Blood Brotherhood, Nation of Islam, Black Sharecroppers' Union, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Montgomery Improvement Association, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Deacons of Defense, Organization of Afro-American Unity, Black Panther Party, Congress of African People, Revolutionary Communist League,
Ever since African Americans arrived on this continent, they have formed organizations as vehicles of liberation. Ida B. Wells Barnett was one of the founders of the Afro-American League in 1899—the year before Stanford opened its doors.

National Council of Negro Women, People United to Serve Humanity, National Black United Front, and the Congressional Black Caucus are just a few of the organizations that Black people have formed in this country.

Contrary to some historical accounts, Black people in America are far from monolithic in their political views. The various organizations and leaders differed markedly in their opinions about the geographic destination for Black people, the nature and manner of the struggle, and the definition of friends, enemies, and allies. Bishop Henry McNeil Turner advocated returning to Africa. Booker T. Washington counseled focusing on economic self-sufficiency instead of social and political agitation. W.E.B. DuBois eloquently wrote on the value of agitation. Noble Drew Ali suggested rediscovering one’s identity as a prelude to effective political struggle. These diverse, and at times conflicting, streams of thought have always run through the African American river of struggle and continue to shape the thought of Black people, and Black students, today.

Despite the differing views on strategy and tactics, African Americans have always exhibited a remarkable degree of unity on the need for unity and organization in the struggle to produce social change. The reality of organized resistance to national oppression has distinguished the African American experience for centuries. Those who wonder about the necessity of a Black Student Union need only take a cursory glance at African American history to see the critical role such organizations have played for the past four centuries.

Given the urgency of the era, it is not surprising that no African Americans found the time to apply to Stanford in 1891. Or in 1892. Although Stanford was established as an essentially democratic institution and did not charge tuition until 1920, fifty-eight years passed before the first Black student, Belton Hamilton, graduated from Stanford in 1949—shortly before the beginning of the modern Civil Rights movement. During the 1950s, Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP won a landmark lawsuit in the Brown vs. Board of Education case which overturned Plessy vs. Ferguson, and a Black seamstress named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. The growing movement in the South, however, left little impression on California, and the Black presence at Stanford remained small, quiet, and nearly invisible—until the onset of the 1960s.
1960s: A Time of Hope

"It was a heady time. It was a time of hope, a time of great expectations, a moment in history when it seemed as if ordinary men and women led by a band of hard-working and sometimes confused young dreamers might well come in touch with all the extraordinary, transformative power within their own beings and stretch out to remake the realities of their world."

Vincent Harding
There is a River

At the dawn of the decade, hope and confidence invigorated America. In 1960, a young Southern Baptist minister named Martin Luther King, Jr., was emerging as a national leader and John F. Kennedy had just defeated the conservative Richard Nixon in the Presidential election by 112,000 votes. Experts credited Kennedy's margin of victory to an energized Black vote which turned out after Kennedy helped release King from jail shortly before the election. Shaking off the fear and apathy caused by McCarthyism in the 1950s, the Black student movement burst into the national arena in 1960 as a dynamic force for change.

Across America, Black students were building a social and political movement marked by increased size, strength, and sophistication. On February 1, 1960, four Black freshmen at North Carolina A&T challenged the South's segregation policies by sitting down at a Woolworth's lunch counter and asking to be served. They went to jail for their actions, but the idea had caught on, and a generation of young people sprang into action.

Within one month of the first Greensboro sit-in, 50,000 students in 15 states eagerly joined the sit-in movement. At A&T, 90% of the student body voted to participate. In April, 150 students gathered at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina to form the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to give organizational coherence to this burgeoning movement. In 1964, SNCC worked on Freedom Summer '64—a massive voter registration drive in Mississippi, the heart of the Old Confederacy.
The 1960 sit-in movement galvanized 50,000 students in fifteen states who challenged legal segregation in the South. The students often endured hostile attacks in their efforts to desegregate lunch counters.

The drama of the struggle for social justice and democracy in the Black-belt South was projected across the continent and captivated the attention of students at Stanford. In April of 1964, Bob Moses, a leader in SNCC who was organizing a voter registration drive in Mississippi, came to Stanford to solicit support for the struggle. Moses, addressing an overflow crowd of four hundred people in Cubberley Auditorium, challenged the students to come to the South to assist SNCC’s efforts by saying, “It’s a question of whether in this country we can find people who are committed, who care, who will sacrifice, and who are willing to do their share.” He received a five minute standing ovation at the conclusion of his remarks. That summer more than fifty Stanford students travelled to the South to participate in the Mississippi Project.

In June of 1964, three Civil Rights workers—Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Cheney (two Jewish Americans and an African American)—were killed in Philadelphia, Mississippi. The desperate search and subsequent grisly discovery of the bodies shocked the nation and forced serious examination of the questions of racial justice and equality.

Meanwhile, at Stanford, the number of Black students began to slowly increase from the invisible to the barely perceptible. Associate Provost Robert Rosenzweig wrote in 1968 that, “We have no accurate figures for the period before 1960, but we do know that in that year six Negroes applied for the freshman class, three were admitted and two actually enrolled.” In 1966, the number of entering Black students grew to thirty-five. During this time, a number of Black athletes entered Stanford including NFL football star Gene Washington, who later helped found the BSU’s predecessor organization, Interact. As the Sixties progressed, the African American presence began to make an impact on the Farm. In 1965, Ira Hall was elected Senior Class president, and two Black students, Al Osborne and Francis Newman became cheerleaders.

As the struggle for Black liberation escalated and intensified across the country, the curriculum and faculty at Stanford slowly began to change. The Department of Sociology invited Dr. St. Clair Drake to teach a class called “Racial and Ethnic Relations” in 1963. In 1965 and 1966, the first two Black professors joined the faculty—Dr. James L. Gibbs, as Associate Professor in Anthropology, and Noel Gregson Davis, a graduate student in classics at Berkeley, as Acting Assistant Professor of Classics.
David Richmond, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr., and Joseph McNeil (from right to left)—the four students whose February 1st, 1960 sit-in at the Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth's lunch counter ignited the Black student movement across the South.

Black Voices...Sit-In Fever

"Late Monday afternoon, February 1, 1960, at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, four Black college students ignited one of the largest of all Afro-American protest movements.

Without an organizational structure and without a coherent set of ideas to guide their actions, the Greensboro students [Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Franklin McCain, and David Richmond] were determined to break with the past. Only after their isolated protest had provided the stimulus for an intense, sometimes chaotic process of political education within the southern struggle would the four students become fully aware of the significance of what they had done. In the beginning, they only spoke of a modest desire: to drink a cup of coffee, sitting down.

The goal of lunch counter desegregation certainly did not exhaust the range of Black aspirations; nor did the sit-in tactic fully express the dormant emotions of southern Blacks. But, as many other groups had discovered both in the United States and elsewhere, nonviolent direct action was a starting point for the emergence of a new political consciousness among oppressed people. For southern Black students in the spring of 1960, it offered an almost irresistible model for social action.

Never again during the decade would the proportion of students active in protest equal the level reached at southern Black colleges during the period from February to June 1960. On many campuses support for the sit-ins was almost unanimous. Over 90 percent of the students at North Carolina A&T and three nearby colleges took part in demonstrations or aided the movement by boycotting or picketing segregated stores. Student protesters commented that it was "like a fever. Everyone wanted to go. We were so happy."

CLAY CARSON
In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s
Associate Professor of History at Stanford
Senior Editor, Martin L. King, Jr. Papers Project

With each passing year, the Black Liberation Movement shook the formerly firm foundation of the American status quo. The assassination of Malcolm X in 1965 produced a generation of Black activists such as Huey P. Newton, Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown who were referred to as "The Angry Young Children of Malcolm X." The urban rebellions and the creation of the Black Panther Party in Oakland in 1966 demonstrated the seriousness of the challenge Black folks were making in America. By 1967, the number of Black students exceeded one hundred. No one could then predict the role that those students would play in changing Stanford in the following years.

"It's a question of whether in this country we can find people who are committed, who care, who will sacrifice and...do their share."

BOB MOSES
April 24, 1964
The 1965 Watts riot was one of the largest urban rebellions in the 1960s. Watts, and the subsequent rebellions in Cleveland, Detroit, Newark, and other cities, shocked America and contributed to the efforts by institutions of higher education to increase their numbers of students of color.
"This is our central conclusion: America is heading towards two societies. One black and one white. Separate and unequal."

KERNER COMMISSION
President Lyndon Johnson's Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968

America On Fire

By 1967, America was on fire—literally. In August 1965, Americans watched Watts, Los Angeles burn for a week. That urban rebellion—which claimed 35 lives, resulted in 4,000 arrests, and brought out 15,000 National Guardsmen—was a desperate reaction to police brutality, unemployment, and the extermination of hope. Watts was followed by the Hough riot in Cleveland in 1966 and the Newark and Detroit rebellions in the summer of 1967. Detroit's rebellion scared the government so badly that the 82nd airborne paratroopers occupied the city, and tanks rolled through the streets of Motown.

Martin L. King, Jr. commented that a riot is the desperate language of a people that are not being heard. By 1967, America's colleges, along with the rest of the country, were listening. The higher education community was just beginning to hear the cry for justice, equality, and greater educational opportunities. Thom Massey, in his article "Being Black at Stanford: A Personal Reflection," observed that "There was civil rights unrest throughout the nation and a flowering liberalism among whites. The social environment had intruded inside the ivy-covered walls and optimism was high."

After 1965, with the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the Black student movement turned its attention from voter registration in the Deep South to registering in and restructuring America's institutions of higher education. By 1967, Black students across the country petitioned, wrote letters, made speeches, marched, sat in, and took over buildings to overhaul the curriculum and transform higher education. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, founders of the Black Panther Party, led the way by prodding Merritt College to adopt a Black history course in 1963. Merritt's steps became an example for dozens of schools, from Yale to San Francisco State, where Black students fought for courses and programs in Black Studies.
Negro Group To Fill 'Leadership Vacuum'

By STEVE CLEEMER

Twenty Negro students have formed a Negro Student Group, Interact, designed to help Negro students at Stanford, and Palo Alto High and Stanford High School, to achieve their culturally-oriented goals. At present, Interact has two purposes, according to Ron Miller, a senior political science major and one of the originators of the group with George Washington, a co-founder. First, the group will provide Negro leaders with whom the Negro student body can identify in Palo Alto.

Another of Interact's goals is to encourage Negro students to call a Negro who is a college student, but not an athlete, housed in East Palo Alto.

In January Washington and Miller discussed the Negro Student Group with other Negro students at Stanford. The result was the formation of Interact and the end of Janex. Neither of them had previously supposed that this group would be formed. Miller's words, "Both of us are from rural areas where Negro students who you can identify with in the Great Depression and there are too many of them," are indicative of the group's objectives.

Another of Interact's goals is the encouragement of Negro students to call a Negro who is a college student, but not an athlete, housed in East Palo Alto.

Community Improvement

Interact is specifically concerned with community improvement and social activities. It is a Negro group that has decided to be a Black Power organization, and while it is not directly involved in Negro civil rights, it is indirectly involved in Negro affairs.

Interact's program to help Stanford students will include fund raising for a scholarship specifically for the East Palo Alto area. The group's first activities included a Committee to raise money for a scholarship fund and a Malcolm X memorial service in East Palo Alto held on February 12, 1967, the second anniversary of Malcolm's assassination.

Interact Program

Early in 1967, twenty Black students—including athletes Ron Miller and future football star Gene Washington—formed a group called Interact to build unity among Black students on campus and to provide leadership to youth at Ravenswood High School in East Palo Alto. The group's first activities included a Committee to raise money for a scholarship fund and a Malcolm X memorial service in East Palo Alto held on February 12, 1967, the second anniversary of Malcolm's assassination.

Forming the Black Student Union

In an ongoing effort to unite Stanford Black students and to determine their relationship to Black America, Ron Miller, working with five freshmen, compiled a list of all the known Black students on campus and called a meeting for 2:00 p.m., Sunday February 26, 1967. The students invited revolutionary poet and scholar Amiri Baraka, who was teaching at the time at San Francisco State and S.F. State Black Student leader Jimmy Garrett to address the meeting. Interact members had been debating what to call the organization, but Baraka said, "What we call ourselves isn't important. What we do with ourselves is." The students then ended the debate about a name, voted to call themselves the Black Student Union, and developed action plans for what they wanted to do with themselves.

Seeking to institutionalize the organization, the BSU members filed a constitution with the Dean of Students Office in October, 1967. Delores Mack and Charlotte Washington edited the BSU's first publication, Black on Black was published on November 13, 1967; the fifty-two page magazine contained poetry, essays, stories, and illustrations. In January, 1968 the BSU elected Kenny Washington and Charles Countee as Co-Chairs of the organization.

From its earliest days, the BSU made a conscious decision to maintain a connection to the national Black Liberation Movement. In April of 1967, Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. delivered a speech in Memorial Auditorium and told the capacity crowd that, "We may have to repent in this generation not for
The San Francisco State Black Student Union worked with the Third World Liberation Front to organize a student strike which shut down the campus for four months in 1968. Out of this protest, S.F. State won the first and only School of Ethnic Studies in the U.S.

violent actions of the bad people, but for the inaction of the good people." During February, 1968 Bobby Seale, Co-Founder and Chairman of the Black Panther Party, came to speak to the BSU and to raise funds for the legal defense of Huey P. Newton, the other founder of the revolutionary, Oakland-based, organization. Throughout the Spring, a core of BSU members travelled to Oakland for the massive“Free Huey” rallies at the Alameda County Courthouse.

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You Can Kill a Revolutionary, But You Can’t Kill the Revolution

Huey P. Newton (left) and Bobby Seale founded the Soul Students Advisory Committee (SSAC) in 1965 at Oakland’s Merritt Community College. SSAC served as the representative and sole bargaining unit for Merritt’s Black students and became the model for BSUs across the country during the 1960s.

On October 15, 1966, Newton and Seale, still students at Merritt, formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. In two years, the Panthers grew into a national organization with chapters in 35 cities in 20 states. They became a symbol of Black liberation with their clenched-fists salutes and cries of, "All Power to the People!" The Panthers quickly became a target of police repression in the form of FBI’s COINTELPRO program. In 1969, the police arrested 348 Panthers. Twenty-eight Panthers were killed, mostly in confrontations with the police.

Newton was jailed in 1967 for allegedly shooting a police officer. He spent two years in jail, many months in solitary confinement, and became the focus of a national “Free Huey” campaign; eventually, all the charges were dropped.

On August 22, 1969, Newton was shot and killed on an Oakland street. A group of Bay Area Black students, including members of the Stanford BSU, attended Newton’s funeral at Oakland’s Allen Temple Baptist Church.
On April 8, 1968, four days after the assassination of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., Stanford cancelled all classes and held a University-wide convocation, "Colloquium and Plan for Action: Stanford's Response to White Racism"...
...While University Provost Richard Lyman was addressing the capacity Memorial Auditorium crowd, seventy members of the Black Student Union walked on stage...
...and took the microphone from Lyman and issued a set of ten demands for Stanford to meet to prove its sincerity about fighting racism. Those demands marked the beginning of substantial progress toward creating a multicultural campus community.
1968 marked the end of an era—particularly for Black America. What had begun as an age of hope and possibility ended in bloodshed, assassination, and violence. In that year, assassins’ bullets killed Martin L. King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, and Richard Nixon was elected President on a platform of “law and order,” exploiting the fears of white Americans in response to the urban rebellions across the land.

The April 4th assassination of King touched off days of rage and mourning across the country. One hundred cities went up in flames. Twenty-two people were killed, 1,100 injured, and 6,950 arrested. In Washington, D.C. and Chicago alone, the federal government mobilized 32,000 troops to contain the anger of Black America.1

Stanford Reaction

The Stanford community bore witness to the entire spectrum of reactions. At one extreme were those members of a freshman house who, according to The Daily, “cheered when they heard of King’s death and followed up with a food fight at dinner.” On the day of King’s death, many fraternities held previously-scheduled open houses. One student said, “I’ve heard of mourning, but you don’t cancel open houses for it.” Yet another student remarked, “I’m not worried at all. I’m never upset at anything, and why should I worry? I live in Montana.”2

The Black Student Union, on the other hand, vented the rage and frustration felt by all African Americans at that time. At a BSU rally in White Plaza the day after the assassination, 40 students burned an American flag and left it to burn itself out on the ground. BSU Chair Kenny Washington told the crowd, “This burning flag may mean a lot to you, but it doesn’t mean much to us. The fact that we are Americans is only incidental to us. The burning flag is only incidental to us.”3 Hope, it seemed, had died with Dr. King.
The day after issuing its ten demands, the BSU negotiated with the administration over the demands. After the discussions, BSU representatives emerged to announce that the administration had agreed to nine of the demands.

"White students formed an ad-hoc group to support the BSU demands and circulated petitions. ASSU President Cesare Massarenti called a noon rally today in White Plaza. Medical School faculty urged Lyman to accept the proposals. Otero house in Wilbur said it would ask that $5,000 stated for house improvements be used to help implement the BSU demands."
The Stanford Daily
April 9, 1968

We Took the Mike

Four days after the assassination, on April 8th, the University cancelled all classes and called a campus-wide convocation entitled "Colloquium and Plan for Action: Stanford's Response to White Racism." The BSU, however, held its own rally before heading for Memorial Auditorium en masse.4

During the convocation, Provost Richard Lyman was addressing the capacity crowd when seventy Black students rose from their seats, solemnly walked onto the stage, and took the microphone from Lyman. As the BSU members took the stage, Gertrude Wilkes of East Palo Alto led East Palo Alto Day Students and Mothers for Equal Education into the auditorium. BSU Chair Washington told the 1,700 assembled students to "Put your money and your action where your mouth is." Frank Satterwhite then read the BSU's statement which featured ten demands for Stanford to meet to prove its sincerity about fighting racism. They then walked out of the auditorium to a standing ovation.5

Everyone sensed that for hope to survive and the community to stay intact, Stanford had to take swift action and make substantive changes. As the day progressed, the support for the BSU grew and spread across the campus. White students circulated petitions to support the demands, and Otero House offered $5,000 to help implement them.6 Within two days, the University verbally agreed "in substance" to nine of the ten demands (the one unresolved issue was the call for the resignation of Vice-Provost Robert Rosenzweig).7

In the days, weeks, months, and years following King's assassination, the BSU solidified its basic purpose, goals, direction and agenda; that agenda has endured essentially unaltered for two decades. The Black students who took the mike understood that the BSU has one central purpose—to do its part for the Black freedom struggle by defending, supporting, and fighting for the interests of Black students on a campus that was not designed with their
The Original Ten Demands

"Stanford University is guilty of denying equal education opportunities to minority group members of the local community, the State of California, and the nation... We have been told that one of the major problems (perhaps the major problem) of Stanford is minority group education. Yet we have been led to believe that operating funds — including those typically allocated on the basis of institutional priorities — are NOT available for this purpose.

The Black Student Union rebukes the administration for attempted deception and indicts Stanford University for shirking its responsibility for minority group education. The Black Student Union demands:

1. That proportional representation of minority group members be implemented beginning with the freshman class of the 1969-70 academic year to include recruitment of a substantial number of minority students from East Palo Alto, East Menlo Park, Santa Clara County and San Mateo County; that each subsequent freshman class be comprised of a proportional number of black students, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and other minority group members; and active recruitment of minority students be initiated at junior colleges.

2. That a report be submitted to the Black Student Union which includes information about the admission and rejection of all minority students for the 1968-69 academic year; that reasons for rejection of all minority students be explicitly stated therein.

3. That the admissions procedures outlined in the Black Student Union Proposal submitted to the Provost during Winter Quarter be implemented "with all deliberate speed."

We further demand that representatives of the Black Student Union assist in the recruitment of minority students on a work-study basis; and that a recruitment pamphlet prepared by the Black Student Union be financed by the university.

4. That at least five "marginal" black students and five "marginal" students from other minority groups be admitted to Stanford University for the 1968-69 academic year; that the Black Student Union be given exclusive jurisdiction in the selection and recruitment of the five black students; and that a tutorial program similar to that outlined in the original Black Student Union Proposal be implemented for ALL minority students on the campus.

5. That Dr. Robert Rosenzweig, Vice-Provost in charge of minority group affairs, be dismissed from these duties and replaced with a full-time black administrator to be selected with the approval of the Black Student Union; that all major decisions affecting any minority groups be subject to the approval of the minority group members.

6. That, in the area of financial aids, stress be put on grants as opposed to scholarships; that Stanford University seek Federal funds for minority group programs; that grades be excluded as a factor in determining financial aid for minority/poverty students;

7. That the University establish a permanent committee with responsibility for investigating charges relating to acts of discrimination; that this committee be composed of a majority of minority group members; and that its decisions be consistent with stated University policy and thereby binding.

Because we are an integral part of the East Palo Alto Black Community, we demand with the Mothers for Equal Education:

"That Stanford University advise all of its employees, who deal with the public, of its policy regarding treatment of visitors to the Stanford campus, and especially of its policy regarding visitors belonging to minority groups.

8. That specific decisions about the admission of any minority student be made by a committee which includes at least one representative of each minority group on the campus, the faculty advisor of the Black Student Union, and the aforementioned full-time black administrator responsible for minority group affairs; The Black Student Union refuses to recognize minority group decisions which do not adhere to these procedures.

9. That the University become actively engaged in the hiring of minority group faculty members; that an immediate meeting be called for consideration of faculty recruitment; that necessary and sufficient steps be taken to introduce curriculum relevant for minority group members.

10. That the University "pull itself up by its bootstraps"; that the administration immediately consider the aforementioned demands; that a statement of acceptance and timetable of implementation be presented to the Black Student Union at 7:00 p.m., Tuesday, April 9, 1968, in the forum at Tresidder Union, Room 270; and that Stanford University no longer equivocate in relation to minority group education."

[Excerpted from April 9, 1968 Stanford Daily]
After helping initiate the program in African and Afro-American Studies in 1969, the BSU drafted a 46 page proposal for a Black Studies Institute in 1971. Although the University agreed "in principal" to creating such an institute, no such institution exists to this day.

unique historical experiences in mind. In order to produce young women and men who could contribute to the community that opened the doors for them, the BSU worked to facilitate the healthy and productive development of a generation of Black young people. The actions that flowed from this purpose took two forms: first, prodding the University to create institutions and provide services which address the concerns of Black students; second involving the BSU itself in meeting Black community needs which Stanford did not address. The concerns of Black Stanford students can be divided into three categories: educational, social, and cultural. The ten demands flowed from the imperative of meeting these needs, and the BSU’s political activity over the years has been designed to address Black student needs and concerns.

Educational:

Malcolm X offered a stinging indictment of American education by saying "the worst crime the white man has committed has been to teach us to hate ourselves." In all situations of inequality, the dominant power seeks to keep people on the bottom by denying them an opportunity to learn about their history and to develop pride in their heritage. During slavery, the government made it a crime to teach slaves to read. Associated with this denial of education is a distortion of reality. An oppressor often justifies the status quo by manufacturing myths about superiority and inferiority. The popular culture often reflects and reinforces these myths.

Under such conditions, the need for education about the truth of the African American sojourn becomes critical. In the 1960s, the desire to take courses which validated Black experiences and celebrated Black identity became contagious. At San Francisco State, the BSU’s demand for a Black Studies Department initiated a four-month campus strike which lasted until the administration agreed to create a School of Ethnic Studies. At Stanford, that sentiment led to the creation of the African and Afro-American Studies program in 1969—the first such program at a private university. Anthropology professor James Gibbs helped design the program after the BSU raised the demand, and Dr. St. Clair Drake became the first Chairman. In 1971, the BSU submitted a forty-six page proposal for the creation of a Black Studies Institute which would offer a Masters and PhD program, a Library of Black Studies, and a Black Studies Research program including computer facilities. Although Stanford approved the concept "in principle," the Institute was never created.

Black people have a long and rich history stretching back to Ancient Egypt and the Nile Valley. Upon discovery of the majesty and accomplishments
of people of African descent, many students develop a new sense of pride and self-confidence that enables them to better succeed in school work. Studies have shown the single most critical factor in determining academic success is self-esteem. Black Studies provided the academic ammunition to back up the phrase which Jesse Jackson popularized in 1968—"I am somebody."

Cultural

Americans of African descent possess unique life experiences that have produced a rich culture. The spiritual and emotional dynamism that fueled the development of African societies and sustained the descendants of that continent during slavery manifest themselves in the contemporary manner of interacting with the world. Black English, African Dance, African American poetry and prose, gospel music, jazz, and rap music are some of the elements of African American culture.

Consistent contact with one's culture helps sustain an isolated and oppressed people amid hostile surroundings. Cultural reinforcement strengthens one's identity and purpose. Since art and culture play prominent roles in any liberation struggle, the books, films, and songs of the oppressed are often outlawed. Fear of the power of ideas and art drove slavemasters to ban the African drum during slave days, and led the South African government to censure Stevie Wonder's song, "Apartheid's Wrong."

Black students in 1968 felt an urgent need to maintain a connection to their people and their heritage in order to survive at a predominantly white and wealthy institution. Consequently, the BSU worked to turn the original demands into actual institutions and programs which would consistently promote African American culture. Cultural expression helped to combat alienation and nurture the development of Black students. In addition, those institutions brought greater diversity and multiculturalism to the entire campus. Many of the Black institutions on campus today grew out of the initial 10 demands. The Committee on Black Performing Arts, Ujamaa House, Kuumba Dance Ensemble, and the Gospel Choir were all created for the purpose of celebrating Black culture.

Social:

America has never fully embraced Black people. Historically locked out of the mainstream socially, politically, and economically, African Americans have developed, in the words of Malcolm X, as a "nation within a nation."
"We Took The Mike" Rap

If you’re a reporter, then take this down,
The Black Student Union is back in town.

Education of our people is the call today
if you don't know your history, they'll take it right away.

Unity and brotherhood and sisterhood,
We took the mike, and we'll take the world!

1988 BSU rap song commemorating 20th anniversary of taking the mike.

The contemporary phenomenon of the “permanent underclass” offers additional evidence of the marginal position of African American people in the U.S. Faced with this unique historical relationship to America, African Americans can not just “fit in.” not when the reality of people of African descent differs dramatically from that of people in the “mainstream.” Black people, regardless of socio-economic status, live in constant danger of police harassment.

Because of this reality, Black students seek each other out and affirm one another just by being together. They need to relate to peers that understand where you’ve come from, where you’re at, and where you’re going, draws Black students to one another. This historical yearning for social bonding expressed itself in the form of a demand for some Black spaces where Black students could be with their own people and not have to explain why they are the way they are.

The unity among Black students stood out even in recreational activities. In 1968 and ’69, at the height of the Black Panther Party’s influence, Stanford Black students formed an Intramural Basketball team called the Panthers that dominated the campus. Two years in a row, the Panthers won the championship. They won the 1969 title game by beating the number one ranked Kappa Alpha’s by a score of 76-49.11

In 1970 Residential Education consented to Black student wishes and placed twenty-nine Black freshmen (out of a total of eighty-nine) in Wilbur’s Cedro Hall, as an experiment in a Black concentration house.12 Four years later, this experiment would result in the formation of Ujamaa House.

Black United Front and the Struggle for Change

African Americans have always fought for the right to influence and control the institutions which affect their lives; the ideas of democracy and self-determination fuel the Black Liberation Movement. Just as America was founded on the principle of "no taxation without representation," so too have African Americans sought to determine how their money will be spent, how their society will be governed, and how their children will be educated.

In any institution with limited resources the allocation of those resources is determined primarily by political influence and clout. With few
exceptions, those with the greatest clout receive the most resources. The changes demanded by the BSU required a readjustment of priorities and the redirection of University resources. To exert the maximum influence on that process, the BSU knew that it had to organize its members and its allies into a united front that could affect institutional policy-making.

At Stanford, the BSU has served as the vehicle which unites the disparate voices and concerns of individual Black students into a powerful collective voice that cannot be ignored. As long as change is slow in coming, the BSU is quick to keep demanding progress and reform. From the BSU’s earliest days, Black students have pursued, and often debated, different approaches to change. Professor St. Clair Drake, the first Chairman of African and Afro-American Studies, described “two thrusts among Black students. One group was the moderates or negotiators. The other was the militants who believed in applying pressure to the administration.”

While Drake’s comments described the internal debate in the BSU’s formative years, the members of the organization have learned through much struggle, debate, and conflict that they must co-exist or cease to exist. Over the years, the organization would grow to understand that confrontation and negotiation actually work hand-in-hand. Even when the students confronted the provost and took the mike, their aim was to produce substantive negotiations in the immediate future. This insistence on coexistence has enabled the BSU to remain intact and relatively united despite its internal tensions and dissensions. At other schools across the country, debates over ideology, strategy, and tactics have split and destroyed Black student organizations, but Stanford’s BSU has been unusual in its flexibility and tolerance for a wide range of divergent opinions. Whatever the different views of the members, the organization has always been able to form a united front and close ranks at critical times.

Ever since 1968, the BSU has fought for the same basic demands. The original ten demands were the catalyst for subsequent sets of demands and proposals for change which were basically updated versions of an agenda that was never completely implemented. In a fundamental sense, much unfinished business remains.
When the BSU and its supporters held a peaceful sit-in at the Stanford Hospital in April of 1971 to protest the firing of a Black worker, the University responded by calling in riot police who used a battering ram to break through a glass door and arrest several students, including the BSU Chair. The University's response signalled the beginning of a more conservative era at Stanford and in America where Black people would have to struggle to retain the programs and institutions that were created during the 1960s.
'1970s: We’ll Stay and Fight

"I think it’s a misconception when people talk about the 1960s and say that the fervor has died down. What people fail to understand is that the country, through the FBI and CIA, began to move against the 1960s so-called revolution...I'm talking about systematic destruction of this revolutionary thrust through manipulation and infiltration, through death, through dope, through jailing people...The militants of the sixties were not just a bunch of people jumping up saying that we were BAD. They constituted a Black social force."”

SONIA SANCHEZ
Poet and Temple University professor

There were two distinct phases to the 1970s insofar as African American students at Stanford were concerned. The first phase, which lasted from 1968 to around 1972, was the period of institution-building. During those four years, the BSU worked to create the kind of University envisioned by the students who took the mike in 1968. It was during this period that most of the Black institutions on the campus were established.

The second phase, 1972-1978, involved the BSU resisting a growing conservative trend in the country that sought to reverse many of the gains of the 1960s. During that period, the BSU sought to defend those institutions that the Black community had created.

Phase I — Creating Institutions

In the wake of King’s assassination, Stanford underwent some of its most sweeping changes since its founding. The combination of Black student action and University receptiveness produced revolutionary changes.

In four years, the Black community established a number of important institutions to meet the educational, cultural, and social needs of African American students. The program in African and Afro-American Studies began in 1969. That same year saw the establishment of the Black Student Volunteer Center (which eventually became the Black Activities Center in 1972 and then the Black Community Services Center in 1979). The Committee on Black Performing Arts was formally established in 1971 following a BSU theater
One of the many institutions created after 1968 is *The Real News*, the Black Community Newspaper. As the photo shows, the paper went through some name changes before finally becoming *The Real News* in 1969. It has been published each year for the past 20 years.

Production, *Black Experience*, in 1968. In 1969, the University President created the Office of Assistant to the President for Black Affairs. This position, filled by Jim Simmons, was designed to service the wide-ranging needs of the community and provide a direct line of communication to the head of the University. In 1971-1972, the first issue of *The Grapevine* was published. In 1972, the Black residents of Roble Hall, the dorm of Black student concentration at that time, announced their plans to begin a celebration of Black Liberation Month as an expansion of the previous custom of observing Negro History Week during the second week in February.

During this period, Black students enthusiastically volunteered their time and energy to help East Palo Alto. The local Black community in East Palo Alto has always had a special significance to Black students at Stanford. The demonstrations and rallies by community members who marched onto campus in the late 1960s pressured Stanford to admit more Black students.

Stanford Black students volunteered in East Palo Alto to express their appreciation for the doors that had been opened for them and to spend time in a place where they could be among their people and feel at home. In 1969, the BSU established the Black Student Participation Center in the Nairobi Village Shopping Center in East Palo Alto, which was commonly known at the time as Nairobi. The center operated under the theme “Hudumu Na Ujamaa” (Swahili for “Service to the Community”) and served as the administrative base of Black student volunteer activities in the community. Committed to placing as many of Stanford’s resources as possible at the disposal of the local Black community, the BSU provided a steady pool of volunteers for the community and operated a bus to and from East Palo Alto on a regular basis.

A 1971 study showed that 70% of all Black students were engaged in some sort of community service. The public service tradition at Stanford began with these Black student volunteer efforts in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Joyce King, Ray Davis, and Sylvia Evans formed the Black Student Education Corps (BSEC) in February of 1969. The BSEC provided teacher aides, tutorial and counseling services and twenty-five graduate and undergraduate student volunteers and operated out of the Participation Center.
In the 1970s, many Black Student Voluntary Organizations (BVSOS) were created to address the diverse needs of the Black student community. To support students with a pre-professional bent, Black students organized the Black Pre-Medical Organization (SBPO), the Black Pre-Law Society, the Black Pre-Business Association, the Society of Black Scientists and Engineers (SBSE), and the Black Communications Society (later the Black Media Institute). At the end of the decade, the community would successfully organize to create Black fraternities and sororities. SBPO was formed under the sponsorship of Dr. and Mrs. William Dement, Resident Fellows in Cedro in 1970-71 when it was the first Black concentration house. Students Steve Brooks, Wesley Curry, and Woodrow Meyers (now a Stanford Trustee) were founders of SBPO. Of the seventeen 1970-71 Black frosh who became doctors, dentists, or PhDs in health care, thirteen lived in Cedro. All seventeen lived in Wilbur.4

Although Black students were on the move, much of the University bureaucracy failed to keep pace. Absent a crisis, the wheels of bureaucracy grind slowly; too slowly for those needing change. The tolerance for the pace of reform reached a limit once again in 1971. On February 10th, the BSU issued ten demands to the University to address racism at Stanford. A week later, 30 Black students protested the delay in the University’s response by staging a “book-in” at Meyer Library. The students removed 1,000 books from the shelves, stacked them at the check-out counter and told the Library staff to “check these out to President Lyman.”

The growing conservative backlash in the nation did not leave Stanford untouched. Two days after the book-in, 350 people had to evacuate Memorial Auditorium during a BSU-sponsored concert because of a telephoned bomb threat.

The Hospital Sit-In
In March of 1971, the Stanford Hospital fired one of its Black workers, Sam Bridges. During that same time period, the hospital denied
Black Reparation Demands, 1971

A. We demand that Stanford University (SU) student admissions be 12-1/2 % Black—with necessary financial aid, by Fall Quarter 1972.

1. That a Black Admissions Committee screen all Black applicants.
2. That superior quality rather than quantity of academic work be emphasized such that Black students be required to complete nine units per quarter during their first year of study.

B. We demand that Stanford University establish and fund an "Institute for Black studies at Stanford," containing both graduate research and undergraduate programs.

1) that the AAAS program be restructured to include two components: a) Institute and b) a program
2) that an operating budget of $137,900 be provided for the Institute beginning Fall quarter 1971—to be increased to $360,000 by Fall 1974.
3) that the present $26,000 AAAS Program budget be increased to $50,000 beginning Fall quarter 1971.

C. We demand that all persons arrested during efforts to negotiate Black demands at the Stanford Medical Center (SMC), be freed of all charges.

1) that SU and SMC Administration utilize every means at their disposal to insure that none of these persons are imprisoned.
2) that SU and SMC Administration defray all legal expenses resulting from the Medical Center arrests.
3) that SU and SMC Administration defray all medical expenses of persons who received injuries due to their involvement in the demonstration.

D. We demand the institution of clearly defined, Black monitoring, recommendation, and enforcement powers over all Stanford equal opportunity policies by September 1, 1971.

1) that there be a review and reaffirmation of the Affirmative Action Program by a committee with appropriate minority representation.
2) that the Affirmative Action Program review committee’s task include drafting revisions which make the program more representative of minority employee concerns and problems; and which allows it to not only be used for up-grading; but also to open up more avenues of employment, as well as job classifications.
3) that a "Retrain and Replace and/or Retain" policy be adopted for all minority employees.
4) that there be appropriate Black representation on all administrative bodies which formulate policy which will be binding on Blacks.
5) the immediate termination, pending proper grievance procedures, of all persons at or above the supervisors level, for whom a documented account of three instances of an explicitly racist practice or sentiment is submitted; and that all such positions left vacant after proper grievance procedures, be filled with minority applicants.
6) that Blacks be at least proportionately represented, at all employment position levels.
7) the immediate hiring of a Black Equal Opportunity Officer with stipulated powers to enforce, and to develop, equal opportunity-related employment policies.
8) that all job positions be clearly classified and clearly described; and all job salaries be stated—and stated in writing.
9) that Sam Bridges be rehired with pay for all time lost.
10) that the SMC send a letter of recommendation on Dr. Aguilier, to the executive body of the Medical School faculty; and that Dr. Aguilier retain all duties, responsibilities, rights and privileges in the Medical Center, independently of his relation to the Medical School.

11) that Dr. Aguiler be granted tenure.

E. We demand an end to Stanford complicity with racist corporate policies and practices, foreign and domestic.

1) that an annual documented account of personal opposition to racist corporate policies and practices be added to the criteria for selection and retention to the Stanford Board of Trustees.
2) that 10-1/2 % of Stanford's investment profit from companies or subsidiaries in African countries where a white minority controls a Black majority be placed in a Refugee Scholarship Fund available to South African, Rhodesian, Mozambiquan, Angolan, and Guinean refugees.

F. We demand that SU pay reparations to the Black community-East Bayshore for Willow Expressway displacements and industrial park discriminations.

1) that SU use its influence to assure that all Black residents who must relocate because of the Willow Expressway, are given full stipends and suitable housing within the East Bayshore community.
2) that SU establish a fund, the amount to be determined by community officials, on which Black residents dislocated by Stanford's and the mid-peninsula's expressway, can draw on to finance desired location.
3) that a portion of the profits derived from Stanford's Industrial Park Development, be earmarked for the acquisition of land and development of housing packages presented to it by the East Bayshore community.

G. We demand an end to Stanford's provocation of conflict between Third World groups.

1) that Black Student demands not be placed in competition solely with the expressed needs of other people of color at Stanford.

[Excerpted from April 29, 1971 Real News]
Hospital Sit-in Follows BUF Rally

By Bob Littteman, Ed Kohr
and Jim McCall

About 50 persons were preparing to sit down on the second floor of Stanford Hospital early this morning in a nonviolent sit-in called to protest the firing of a specialist who alleged patient neglect.

The group decided to mass outside in the hospital corridor after an hour-long meeting with Dr. Thomas Borgen, director of the hospital, involving only five of the proportional sit-in demands.

According to persons present at the late-night planning session, Dr. Gonsalves refused to meet with the group. The hospital was reportedly forced to close on a variety of charges.

Gonsalves had scheduled another meeting with the group at 5:30 p.m. today.

The sit-in began with a microphone used to broadcast the Black United Front (BUF), a group representing the black students and staff.

About 35 members of the BUF and supporters of Gonsalves, claiming that they had a 1:30 p.m. appointment with Gonsalves, marched to his office following a noon rally at the steps of the Medical School.

When Gonsalves did not appear the group decided to sit down outside his office and wait for him. Gonsalves' whereabouts were unknown during this time. The staff of the Medical School went on strike.

The group met Gonsalves as he walked to the second floor and agreed to a meeting with the group.

The late night meeting at the police station was set up by John L. Wilcox, executive director of the medical center, who had met for an hour earlier with the BUF leaders.

When the Stanford Hospital fired Sam Bridges, a Black worker, the various Black organizations formed the Black United Front which rallied support for Bridges. During that same quarter, a Chicano doctor was denied tenure, MEChA, AASA, and the BSU all worked together to support Stanfords employees.

tenure to a Chicano doctor. Rallying to the cause of the workers, the BSU helped call together Black faculty, staff, students, and workers, and they formed a group called the Black United Front. This grouping then united with MEChA and the Asian American Student Association to protest the firing.

During negotiations on April 9th, the hospital administrators refused to accommodate the demands and instead called in 175 policemen. The riot police used a six-foot battering ram to tear through a glass door, sprayed people with mace, and arrested several students, including BSU Chair Willie Newberry and two other BSU members. The protesters responded to the attack by turning on a fire hose on the entering police.

After the hospital confrontation, the Black United Front immediately linked the call for justice in that particular incident with the overall quality of life for Black people at Stanford. Led by Newberry, they issued a document on April 28th called “Black Reparation Demands” designed to complete the unfinished business remaining from 1968. They subsequently held rallies, wrote protest letters, established a legal defense committee, and mobilized students to the court hearings of those who were arrested.

The struggle for justice in the hospital united many progressive forces including workers, faculty members, students of all nationalities, and members of the East Palo Alto community. The workers formed a Black workers’ caucus, and the unity that developed among the workers laid the basis for the formation of a union at Stanford. Two years after the incident, on June 7, 1973, the Stanford workers voted to form a union, United Stanford Employees. While some of the Black Reparations Demands received University attention and action, most failed to receive a satisfactory response.

Phase II - Winter in America

As the Sixties came to a close, the pace of social change began to slow and the reservoir of good will enjoyed by the Civil Rights movement started to dry up. Singer Gil Scott Heron characterized the era as “Winter in America.” The Vietnam war, the onset of persistent inflation, and the Arab Oil Embargo were all signs that the world was changing. In an era of scarce resources, somebody had to do without. The kinds of changes demanded by Black folks required money, resources, and major shifts in the balance of power. Few who held that power were willing to pay such a price.

"We condemn the police raid of April 9, 1971, on the non-violent sit-in at the Medical Center Administration office. We recommend the censure of those administration officials responsible for the calling of the police.

We call for amnesty for all demonstrators involved in the sit-in and that the University drop all charges now holds against them.

We support the Black United Front, the Black Advisory Committee, the Black Liberation Front, MEChA, Alianza Latina, AASA, and the BSU in their struggle to establish a more equitable working arrangement between Stanford Management and employees, in particular those employees who are members of minority groups.

Serra House is loaning $200 to Legal Defense towards the bail of those who were arrested Friday, April 9. We ask all other living groups to do the same.”

Serra House
The Stanford Daily
April 21, 1971
Black Voices...End of Innocence

"Well, for a long time I thought it was perfectly fine to be alone as far as political cause was concerned...I am no longer as silly, as vaingloriously innocent as I was.

It is plainly the truth that, whatever its vast and various dimensions, human misery is the predicted, aforesighted consequence of deliberate, deliberated arrangements of power that would distort the whole planet into misery, personal rights of property belonging to extremely few men and their egotistical and/or avaricious interests.

Ad hoc, lonesome protests will not make the difference, will not impose the revolutionary changes such undying suffering demands. I think it is necessary to form or join a well-defined organization that can and will work to destroy the status quo as ruthlessly, as zealously, as non-stop in its momentum, as are the enemy forces surely arrayed against our goals."  

JUNE JORDAN

"Declaration of An Independence I Would Just as Soon Not Have"

Across the country, the support for the Civil Rights agenda began to crumble and erode. In Boston and dozens of other cities, efforts to alleviate educational inequality through busing met with fierce and violent resistance from suburban parents who feared having their children in close proximity with African Americans. U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan advocated a policy of "benign neglect" toward Black America, and federal social programs which benefited Black people came under attack. At the same time, the Federal Bureau of Investigation continued its massive efforts to disrupt and destroy the Black Liberation Movement. U.S. Senator Frank Church held Senate hearings in 1976 that revealed that the FBI had been conducting an orchestrated campaign to infiltrate, neutralize, and generally bring to a halt Black activities designed to change the status quo. The hearings and other research implicated the FBI and its informants in the killing of Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton and the harassment (and possibly the assassination) of Martin L. King, Jr. The discovery of internal FBI documents detailed the Bureau's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) which coordinated efforts to crush the Panthers and to foment division and friction between numerous Black organizations.

Black Student Unions also became FBI targets. In a November 1970 memo, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned that "Black Student Unions (BSU) and similar groups...are targets for influence by violence-prone Black Panther Party (BPP) and other extremists." He instructed his agents to increase surveillance of student groups "organized to project the demands of black students" and to identify "leadership, key activists" on whom they should develop dossiers.

No records have been obtained either confirming or disproving FBI activity at Stanford, but the University was clearly influenced by the national conservative trend. Events of the early 1970s, particularly the hospital sit-in, demonstrated the ascendance of conservative sectors of the administration.

Stanford: Willing to Pay the Price for Change?

The lack of progress on BSU demands raised the question of just how much of a price Stanford was willing to pay to change. To the members of the Black Student Union, it seemed as if the initiative disappeared during that era.
The Bakke Conspiracy

The administration consistently cut the budget for the Black Activities Center each year after 1972. In 1973, President Lyman eliminated the Office of Black Affairs saying that the University had come a long way since 1968 and no longer needed such an office. The Black Studies Institute which had been agreed to as part of the Black Reparations Demands never materialized. The percentage of tenured Black faculty declined from 2% in 1973 to 1.82% in 1983.9

By 1973, the University had consciously begun changing its admissions policies. In 1967, Professor William Clebsch had said in a Faculty Senate meeting that if Stanford wanted to attract students of color, then the financial aid awards would have to be generous and appropriate to their life situations. In 1974, however, the BSU obtained a University memo articulating the plan to change the financial aid policies making it more likely that middle class Blacks would attend while making it more difficult for working-class students. Prior to 1975, financial aid packages for students of color consisted entirely of grants. In that year, the University added loans and work-study to the packages. The logic was that middle class students would fit in better at an elite institution than working-class students who were more likely to protest and demand changes.

By the mid-1970s, a new mood had clearly set in. Hostility from some sectors of the student body and reluctance from the administration guaranteed that the initiative for change would no longer be the same.

The growing conservative climate in the U.S. severely damaged the BSU and the Stanford Black student community. The level of activity dropped dramatically and many of the earlier gains came under question. Room 31—a Black community office in what is now the Nityer—was lost. For more than six months, the once-monthly Real News languished. The Black Student Union was having difficulty finding anyone to run for office, and some people even suggested abolishing the organization. The Black community was in disarray, students searched for direction and an analysis, and many people shied away from activism fearing reprisals from the administration.

1976-1978 - A Turning Point

Faced with the possible demise of the BSU, a few young students stepped in and held the organization together. The years 1976-78 marked a major turning point and signalled of a resurgence in Black student activity.

People of African descent around the world reacted with outrage to
After the killing of unarmed Black South African students in Soweto in 1976, American students rallied in solidarity by protesting their universities's investments in companies operating in South Africa. Stanford's sit-in in Old Union was one of the largest in the country.

The news of the Soweto massacre in South Africa in June 1976. Refusing to be taught in the language of their oppressors, Black South African students staged a massive protest in Soweto. The government responded by shooting dozens of unarmed youth. As protests swept the nation, Stanford students joined in the struggle by holding one of the largest student sit-ins in the country at Old Union. Protesting Stanford's investments in companies operating in South Africa, the sit-in, organized in large part by the BSU and involving scores of Black students, resulted in 294 arrests and helped to reinvigorate the BSU on campus.

Another national trend developing in the mid-1970s also helped to invigorate the BSU. The California Supreme Court ruled that Allen Bakke, a white man, had been unfairly denied admission to the University of California at Davis Medical School and limited the consideration of race as a factor in admissions decisions. The Court ruled that the policy of reserving slots for people of color solely on the basis of race was unconstitutional and discriminatory. This ruling was later upheld by the United States Supreme Court and posed a fundamental threat to the future of affirmative action in this country.

In response to this attack on affirmative action, people of color across the country went into motion to defend this hard-fought program. In California and at Stanford, Black, Chicano, Asian American, Native American and progressive white students united to form the Anti-Bakke Coalition (ABC). The coalition held demonstrations across the state, and participation in the BSU swelled significantly. Georgia State Senator Julian Bond came to campus in the Spring of 1976 and urged Stanford students to become more politically active. As a result, several Stanford students, mainly Black women, formed a chapter of the NAACP.

The resurgence in activity led to a reassessment and subsequent strengthening of the major Black institutions on campus. While half of the Black Studies programs in the country were being eliminated, African and Afro-American Studies at Stanford endured despite inadequate funding and anemic University support. In 1978, Professor Sylvia Wynter took over as Chair of Afro-Am and infused the program with new energy and creative ideas. In 1976, the Lagunita dorm, Olive-Magnolia, was renamed Ujamaa House. Sophomore Dave Smith, an initiator of the change, said that, "The main purpose [of the change] is to cause people to think, if even for half a second." A group of undergraduates led by Keith Archuleta and Rodney Johnson, BSU Co-Presi-
Black Voices...I Think I’ll Stay and Fight

"Sometimes it’s hard to understand exactly what’s going on in the world these days. They talk about U.S. intervention for Freedom’s sake. I call it a puppet show. But there’s no intervention in South Africa, where the minority whites control the government. Plenty of freedom in this country, as much as money can buy.

In many respects, Stanford is a mirror of the U.S. — Corporate interests, profit making, elitism, Stanford, the supporter of scientific racism, the breeder of Shockley’s.

Black people on campus seem to be unhappy for social, political, and cultural reasons. Some white students coldly say love it or leave it. Maybe they’re right. But I’m not going to let anyone run me out.

I think I’ll stay and fight.

Right now, Blacks at Stanford lack organization and unity of purpose. There is no meeting of the hearts or the minds on any great level. The BSU cannot elect officers. And I’m not really sure there is a BSU. After all, you have to have members and leaders to have an organization.

Yet, this year, the Black community at Stanford has seen many good things. Black pre-professional organizations are still strong. The Black Media at Stanford is growing. The Real News is publishing; "Black Perspective" continues on the air; and the BSU Bulletin and the Grapevine have merged. We’ve got beautiful Black S.I.S. We’ve seen Black freshmen meetings, and we’ve had Black poetry sessions.

Blacks have even joined other members of the Stanford Third World Community to fight the University’s backward policies. Students for Equity has worked hard and will continue to struggle for the rights of non-whites and the poor at Stanford.

As we look ahead, there is much hope. However, at Stanford, Blacks must be organized and willing to continue to make sacrifices. Third World groups must unite. At the same time, we must remember our home communities, our Chocolate Cities, our east-sides, south-side, Watts, and Harlem. Likewise, in the U.S., the lower and middle classes must get on the backs of the upper class and stay on its back until the wealth is reapportioned and equally distributed.

"A people united cannot be defeated." For though we make up a minority here at Stanford, in the world the poor, the non-white, the powerless are a majority. And though, sometimes it’s hard to understand exactly what’s going on in the world these days, we do know one thing:

Too many have been repressed by a few for too long.

So we head toward new directions—together, united, strong, and very Black.

I think we’ll stay and fight."

KEITH ARCHULETA
1975, Sophomore in African/Afro-American Studies and Communication

dents in 1977-78, established the Black Community Services Center and prodded the University to keep its commitment to Harmony House and the programs of the Committee on Black Performing Arts.

In 1977, Archuleta, Bill Stroud, Ann Pogue, Tonya Penny, Markita Cooper, Wahid Taha, Karen Ransom, and other students formed the Black Media Institute to serve as the central organ for the production of Black community publications. At its height, BMI had a $16,000 budget, 80 student volunteers, and published sixteen page issues of The Real News each month in addition to The Grapevine and the first issue of Imani, the Black community yearbook.

By 1978, the BSU had built a firm foundation and had bolstered and strengthened the central Black institutions. Heading into the new decade, the capacity of Stanford’s BSU—indeed of all of Black America—to survive attacks would be sorely tested after the election of the 40th President of the United States.
Ronald Reagan was no friend of Black America. Reagan’s election in 1980 marked the culmination of a sixteen year movement by the Right Wing to gain ascendency and power in the country. The Reagan team, including Reagan himself, consisted of people who had opposed virtually all of the progressive reforms created by the Civil Rights movement. Reagan, who had opposed the Fair Housing Act, the Voting Rights Act, and the Civil Rights Act, now occupied the nation’s highest office. That 94% of Black Americans voted against Reagan should have come as no surprise—they knew what lay ahead.

The Reagan revolution sent profound reverberations through all sectors of society. Central to the Reagan philosophy was the notion that the changes of the Sixties had seriously damaged the country and now needed to be rolled back. Affirmative action, the Voting Rights Act, and federal funding for education all came under attack from the Reagan administration. The early 1980s witnessed a cutback in federal work-study programs, greater restrictions placed on Pell Grants and Guaranteed Student Loans, and deep cuts in anti-poverty programs. By the end of the Reagan regime, more Black people were living in poverty than at the time of King’s death in 1968.¹

The new conservative national climate influenced life at Stanford in the 1980s. Reagan’s philosophy included the idea that education needed to return “to the basics.” The same year that Reagan won the White House, Stanford reinstated its Western Culture requirement—a program that came to define the Eighties.

The impact of Reaganesomics hit home quickly in Stanford’s Black community. During Reagan’s tenure, the total amount of federal financial aid increased by just 6.5% while the costs of attending a private university increased...
by 51.8%. These economic facts of life greatly affected the quality and nature of campus life. More and more students had to work longer hours while attending school full-time. With the cuts in Federal work-study, the number of jobs available in the Black community declined dramatically. The financial insecurity and instability in Black America elevated the importance of economic survival for Black Stanford students to new heights. Getting through school and finding a good job became top priorities. For many Black students, educational reforms and political struggle at times seemed like luxuries that could not be afforded.

Searching for Definition

In this new conservative climate, the BSU struggled for definition and survival. The historic tension between the different political approaches nearly threatened the unity and cohesiveness of the Black community. With the demise of the revolutionary Black leaders and organizations and the concurrent ascendency of the Right Wing at the national level, activist politics fell out of favor. Andy Young, who championed moderation and negotiation, was the principle national Black leader in 1980. In 1979, Young was selected as Stanford’s commencement speaker. In the new climate, the activist tendency in the BSU came under attack. Some Black students began to question the utility of political struggle in the 1980s, saying that protest was now irrelevant, a relic of a bygone era. Politics, some people felt, were divisive, and the community should focus on social events to build unity.

The BSU’s relationships with other Black organizations were strained during that time, and the entire the Black community at Stanford went through major changes. Black greek letter organizations were first organized on campus in 1979. The Black pre-professional organizations enjoyed growing popularity,
"At its inception, the BSU was ideally conceived of as an umbrella organization for all of the Black student groups on campus. As time wore on, however, it became apparent that the wants and needs of the Black community had changed and that the BSU had to change also. Our main focus now is to serve as the political voice of the Black community. We are, and always have been, a representative body, and the concerns we voice are those deemed by our constituency as being immediate."

1983-84 BSU BROCHURE

and many Black students looked to the fraternities and sororities to meet their needs. By 1983, a significant shift had taken place in the Black community, and the BSU was no longer a prominent organization within the Black community. Historic concerns such as inadequate publicity and outreach to Black students “on the other side of campus” were compounded by the overall shift away from political activism.

An intense internal struggle over the BSU’s role and purpose raged during those years. Faye McNair-Knox was appointed Assistant Dean of Student Affairs Director of the BCSC in 1981 and stepped into the middle of the swirling debate over definition and direction. Her leadership and mediation helped hold the organization together. The stability of the Black Community Services Center was, and is, vital to the survival and continuity of the BSU.

The BSU officers engaged in much soul-searching to determine how best to remain relevant to the community. From 1979 to 1983, the BSU had been defined as the “umbrella organization of the Black community,” but in 1983, the organization revised its Constitution and redefined itself as "the political voice of the Black community." While other Black student groups wanted autonomy to pursue social, academic, and pre-professional activities, no Black organization was consciously discerning and tackling the political challenges of the time. Despite low attendance at BSU meetings and minimal participation in BSU committees, the BSU officers determined that it was their duty to wage the political struggle. In following years, the size of the meetings would grow, and the BSU’s impact would be felt across campus.

African American Resistance

By the mid-1980s, Black America was fighting back against the growing national conservative trend. Harold Washington’s historic victory in the 1983 Chicago Mayor’s race, the massive campaign to make Martin L. King, Jr.’s birthday a federal holiday, and Jesse Jackson’s ground-breaking 1984 Presidential campaign provided a strong current of resistance to the Right wing. These events brought forward new activists who would play a pivotal role in revitalizing Black Student Unions at Stanford and across the nation.
In March, 1983, after the ASSU denied the BSU a spot on the ballot for its fee assessment request, the BSU called an emergency meeting that had the largest turnout of the year and marked the beginnings of an increased level of activism among Black students.

A delegation of Stanford Black students journeyed to UCLA in November of 1982 to participate in the founding conference of the Black Student Statewide Alliance (currently known as the African/Black Student Statewide Alliance—A/BSSA). David Porter wrote that the conference was "the first step to uniting all Black students throughout California...The BSU's attendance at this conference will aid in increasing the effectiveness of the BSU by giving the organization more access to information, providing contacts throughout the state, and providing more ideas for educational projects." Following that initial meeting, the officers of the Stanford BSU volunteered to hold a follow-up statewide conference at Stanford in April 1983. The conference attracted sixty students from twenty-two schools across California.

Although the tensions over political approach continued in the 1980s, the 1982-83 BSU provided a model for accommodating seemingly divergent political views within one organization. Some Black students wanted to work through the existing channels to change and modify the recently reinstated Western Culture program. Other students disdained "working within the system" and chose to organize an alternative class to Western Culture. Rather than force the backers of either opinion to yield to the view of the other, the BSU officers recognized that the organization is a united front of different views that can embrace and support activity from a wide variety of perspectives so long as that activity is in the interest of Black people. The solution that they worked out was to establish and empower two committees that could each pursue its own path towards change. The Western Culture Committee worked with University administrators and committees to advocate for change. The African History Committee—Kusema Ukweli (a Swahili phrase meaning "To Speak the Truth")—organized an alternative class that focused on African history. In this fashion, the different approaches complemented each other and contributed to the ultimate transformation of the Western Culture program five years later. In 1983 and 1984, both committees suggested curriculum changes to the University, but the proposals were never considered.

"We, Kusema Ukweli (the African History Committee of the Black Student Union), strongly object to the manner in which the current Western Culture program is taught...most tracks start their study with the Greeks and imply that western civilization developed independently and free from outside influences. This is simply not true. Humanity, civilization, religion, and science first developed in Africa and then spread to Greece and the rest of the world. As it now stands, the Western Culture program does more distorting of the truth than educating students."

KUSEMA UKWELI
April 20, 1983
Campus Report
"Dear Rhonda Trotter—
good sister,

This comes as an informal, but heartfelt note of gratitude and solidarity to you and all the sisters and brothers in the Stanford BSU and Stanford BALSA for your principled action in the Greenberg-Chambers-Linfield controversy. There is a new resurgence of Afro-American political and cultural consciousness asin this land, perhaps best symbolized by the Washington mayoralty campaign in Chicago. We, students at Stanford and Harvard and elsewhere, have a role—now and later in our professional and civic lives—to play in this re-awakening.

Your action is but another successful battle in a broad and ultimately victorious struggle. Keep on keeping on.

In struggle,
MUHAMMAD KENYATTA
President, Harvard BALSA
March 20, 1983

In the Winter and Spring of 1983, the BSU faced two major crises which mobilized the Black community into action and politicized a number of freshmen who would build the BSU over the next four years. Kusema Ukweli had been working since Fall quarter to get support from the ASSU’s Guest Professorship Bureau for its class on African History, but had been unable to obtain an audience with the GPB. In the Spring, however, GPB Director Seth Linfield wanted to pay Jack Greenberg, a white civil rights lawyer and Julius Chambers of the NAACP $9,800 to teach a three-week seminar on Civil Rights. Linfield approached the Black Law Students Association (BALSA), asked them if they wanted to co-sponsor the class, and was told that the membership would have to discuss the issue. He then approached the BSU and told them that BALSA was supporting the class and asked if the BSU would be a co-sponsor. Although he was again told that the membership would have to discuss the issue, he approached the Black Pre-Law Students and told them that both the BSU and BALSA were supporting the class. Then, he went ahead and finalized the agreement with the professors to come and teach.

Needless to say, the BSU and BALSA were not happy. Not only had Linfield acted deviously, but the Harvard BALSA had responded to its school’s invitation to Greenberg and Chambers by calling for a national boycott of the class to protest the lack of commitment to hiring full-time faculty of color in law schools. Stanford BALSA issued a statement saying they were concerned with “the need for minority input into decisions regarding the allocation of the limited resources of educational institutions.” That crisis coincided with another unfortunate encounter with the ASSU.

In the Spring of 1983, BSU Treasurer David Porter launched a campaign for the BSU to obtain a fee assessment in the Spring student government elections. Although the BSU had secured the signatures of 10% of the student body, the ASSU Senate denied the request to place the group on the ballot. Falling one vote short of the necessary eleven votes, Jim McGrath, leader of the opposing Senators explained that he thought that the BSU should demonstrate significant student support before being placed on the ballot.

Outraged, but undaunted, the BSU officers called an emergency BSU meeting for March 6th, 1983 which packed Ujamaa Lounge. It was by far the
largest meeting of the year. At that meeting, the BSU confronted McGrath and Linfield about their actions and rallied the campus Black community to respond to the issues. After a subsequent press conference and numerous news articles about the Greenberg & Chambers controversy, the professors decided to refuse the offer to teach.

Confronting the opposition to the fee assessment, the community responded to the challenge by obtaining the signatures of 20% of the student body and made it onto the ballot. In the election, 56% of the student electorate approved the fee assessment request. With the successful fee assessment campaign, the BSU turned an important corner. 1982-84 BSU Chair Rhonda Trotter recalled the significance of the vote, "it meant we could spend less time on fundraising and developing proposals and concentrate more on programmatic issues and answering the political challenges." Trotter went on to note that "it indicated to us that there were possibilities that students outside the Black community were supportive, and that we could do outreach to mainstream students." Freed from the responsibilities of raising money, the BSU was in a position to move forward and work on changing those parts of the University that negatively affected Black students.

The 1984 officer elections to succeed Trotter were heated, contentious, and bitter. So bitter that the loser sought to invalidate the election, and the newly elected Chair and Vice-Chair decided to resign because of the intensity of the conflict. Although seemingly adrift and in crisis, a group of sophomores and juniors who had become active during the initial fee assessment campaign stepped in and assumed leadership of the organization. While that officers' core would continue to debate the political character of the BSU, it also precipitated the explosion of student activism at Stanford in the 1980s.

South Africa Will Be Free!

In November of 1984, TransAfrica Director Randall Robinson and a number of other African American leaders sparked the Free South Africa Movement by sitting in and getting arrested at the South African Consulate in Washington, D.C. Spontaneously, demonstrations, pickets, and boycotts spread across the country in a fashion reminiscent of the Civil Rights movement. It did not take long for the BSU to catch the fever.

On February 12, 1985, the Stanford BSU catalyzed the largest protest in years—a press conference and sit-in at the Hoover Institution (the site of the
"In 1985 a generation of college students discovered they had a social conscience... At Stanford and other Bay Area universities, students staged sit-ins urging total U.S. divestment in (South Africa), protesting its race-oriented policy of apartheid."

"END OF THE 1980s"

*Peninsula Times Tribune*

December 27, 1989

Board of Trustees meeting). The sit-in dramatized student opposition to Stanford’s holdings in South Africa and highlighted the demand for complete divestment of all stocks of all corporations operating in South Africa. Twenty people participated in that February sit-in, and Channel 4 KRON news featured the event on its 6:00 p.m. broadcast. That was considered a “radical” action for the time (the following year, however, the House of Representatives passed a bill authored by Oakland Congressman Ron Dellums requiring all U.S. companies to leave South Africa).

The February sit-in brought together a core of activists who formed the nucleus of the Spring’s South Africa protests. In April of 1985, Young America came alive. In one week, students at Columbia University and UC Berkeley shut down their administration buildings to demand total divestment. As similar demonstrations spread across the country, anticipation mounted and everyone on campus began to wonder what would happen at Stanford.

On April 21, 1985, 6 days after the BSU called for a boycott of products sold by companies in South Africa, the myth of the apathetic student was laid to rest. On that day, one thousand students participated in a rally in White Plaza and then marched to President Kennedy’s office. Upon learning that he was out of town, more than two hundred students waited for his return by sleeping out in the Quad in front of Building 10. When Kennedy returned the next day, he faced a crowd of two thousand people who filled the inner quad. The events in South Africa, the national protests, and the BSU’s stand had sparked a movement that fundamentally transformed politics at Stanford. Members of the Stanford African Students Association, the BSU and other progressive students had formed a multi-racial coalition that would continue to challenge the status quo for the remainder of the decade.
In the Spring of 1985, the BSU, the Stanford African Students Association, and a broad cross-section of Stanford students formed a campus-wide coalition group, Stanford Out of South Africa (SOSA). SOSA coordinated the anti-apartheid activity at Stanford during the Spring of 1985 and organized what were the largest rallies of the decade to that point.

Despite the progress of the period, the BSU still wrestled with internal differences over political approach. Those differences came to a head in October, 1985. On October, 11th, Black student Robby Perkins was arrested and beaten after a non-violent sit-in in Old Union. Of the nine students arrested, only one was Black and he was the only one that emerged from the jail with bruises. The police called him “potentially violent” and “an obvious agitator.” The entire Black community rallied to defend one of its besieged members. At a rally outside Kennedy’s office, three hundred students came to show their solidarity and the list of speakers included representatives of all the Black Greek Letter Organizations, the Black pre-professional organizations, the United Stanford Workers, and Black faculty and staff. In response to the demonstration of support, Kennedy appointed John Kaplan, a law professor, to investigate the Perkins case and Kennedy sent a letter to the Santa Clara County Sheriff voicing his concern about the case. Perkins filed a $600,000 claim against the University, but Stanford denied the claim. Kaplan’s investigation found that some police procedures should be changed, but failed to recommend any punishment as a form of justice for Perkins. While presenting a united front in defense of Perkins, the organization’s unity internal was fragile at best.

While trying to defend one of its members from the “justice” system, the BSU went through a painful internal crisis. Once again, the tension over political pace and direction threatened to divide the BSU. The week of the Perkins rally, some members charged that the leadership was “too political” and out of touch with the membership, and one member took the unprecedented step of circulating a recall petition. Faye McNair-Knox convened the parties in dispute to clear the air and keep the disagreements “in-house.” Through her efforts and the intervention of other staff members and former BSU officers, a potentially splitting crisis was defused. At the next general meeting, a large number of members attended and voted overwhelmingly to clarify the responsibilities in the Constitution and to affirm the leadership’s priority issues of South Africa, Western Culture, and police brutality. Although shaken, the organization had emerged intact. As 1985 came to a close, the stage was set for a struggle that would thrust the BSU into the national spotlight.

"What was revealed was that our community has varied and conflicting ideas regarding our political direction, some of which go to the depth of class differences...(This is) a strong Black community, one in which overwhelming internal struggles are overridden by the forces of reconciliation within."

REAL NEWS EDITORIAL
Autumn 1985
American Voices...Education Reform

“Stanford is one of the well-endowed pillars of Western Civilization, an island in the sea of world culture with the challenge to become an oasis in the desert of moral, intellectual, and cultural drought.”

REV. JESSE L. JACKSON
January 15, 1987
Stanford University

“This kind of debate has gone on before, and since it’s going on at Stanford, it may have a ripple effect. They are moving swiftly and confidently into the late 1960s, and why anybody would want to do that intentionally, I don’t know. It looks to me as though policy by intimidation is at work. Unfortunately, a lot of academic leadership is readily intimidated by the nosiest of its students.”

WILLIAM BENNETT
U.S. Secretary of Education
January 1988

“Once again the Secretary of Education, William Bennett, glibly attacks Stanford University’s decision to broaden its program on Western civilization...on this issue it is he who is unenlightened, not Stanford....[faculty members] grew concerned that the core list did not reflect the contributions of women and minority members. Stanford chose to face the issue head on—and honorably.... Stanford’s faculty has kept the curriculum from becoming rigid or static. It has also upheld the highest tradition of enlightened academic debate.”

THE NEW YORK TIMES
Editorial
April 20, 1988

“That such an issue would become the talk of Palo Alto is understandable; that it should also mobilize The New York Times and the Secretary of Education seemed surprising.”

NEWSWEEK
February 1, 1988

“Stanford’s proposed new curriculum was forged at the end of a two-year discussion, involving numerous public meetings, written exchanges in various campus publications, and a special student-faculty task force. The debate was spurred by the major black student organization which was joined in its demand for change by... groups representing other minority students.”

THE NEW YORK TIMES
Page One article
January 19, 1988

“For two years a debate has raged at Stanford University and reverberated through scores of other schools over a question that could set new directions for American higher education. The issue: Should students be required to read a fixed core of works on Western Civilization, and, if so, what should be in it?”

TIME
April 11, 1988
CIV: To Challenge the Nation

"G. Feldman then expressed his belief that it is counterproductive to mandate 'the study of works by women, minorities, and persons of color' in section 31 of Send#3307...Based on this reasoning he moved the deletion of the clause...This motion to amend failed for lack of a second...The Senate Chair then called for the vote on the C-US Proposed Legislation (Send#3307 as amended). The motion carried on a divided vote, taken by a show of hands, on which 39 ayes, 4 nays and 5 abstentions were recorded."

Minutes of March 31, 1988 Faculty Senate Meeting where the Cultures, Ideas, and Values (CIV) proposal was adopted.

After 1986, the BSU’s energies shifted from primarily supporting the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, to fighting racism in America which not only propped up apartheid, but also oppressed African Americans in the United States. The primary target for institutional racism at Stanford was the Western Culture program.

Prelude to the Battle

After the changes of the late 1960s, Stanford eliminated its Western Civilization requirement, but in 1980, the year Reagan won the presidential election, the program was revived as Western Culture. Spanning three quarters and forty-five books, the program consisted almost exclusively of white, male, elite, western authors. For Black students and other students of color, this was unacceptable. Having to spend the major portion of one’s academic efforts studying “Great Works” which neither included nor made reference to one’s own experience was both alienating and offensive.

Independently and spontaneously, Black students tried to bring about modifications in their courses. A number of freshmen approached their professors and asked if a book by an African American could be included in the curriculum—Black Boy, The Color Purple, Song of Solomon—anything to balance out the endless procession of white, European writers.

In the Winter and Spring of 1986, a number of critical factors combined to catalyze a process that resulted in the redefinition of the fundamental assumptions of the Western Culture program. As the University began its
"It is good to be at Stanford University on this occasion. Universities achieve greatness, not through the richness of financial endowment, but through the richness that emanates from the wellspring of cultural diversity and intellectual integrity in its search to expose and perpetuate hidden and revealed truths about our universe, its people, their struggles, their life options. No one can be truly educated in this world limited to one language and obsessed with one race. We must live in the real world."
JESSE JACKSON
January 15, 1987

Official, periodic review of the program, the BSU saw a window of opportunity opening and reacted by seizing the moment. The Committee on Undergraduate Studies (C-US) was beginning a comprehensive review of the program, assessing its strengths and weaknesses, and developing appropriate recommendations for change. The BSU entered the process and, two years later, sent shock waves throughout the national education community.

Launching the struggle
In the Spring of 1986, the Black Student Union began a sustained effort to participate in the review process with the goal of fundamentally transforming the program. These efforts included meetings with the Dean of Undergraduate Studies, strategy-making lunches with sympathetic faculty, consultation with educators at other schools, and the preliminary efforts to sketch the outlines of a different, more multicultural program.

Recognizing the enormity of the challenge, the BSU sought from the beginning to build a broad progressive coalition by reaching out to MEChA, AASA, SAJO, and progressive white students. Expressing their dissatisfaction with an irrelevant and anachronistic education, these students joined the BSU in lobbying for the necessary changes. The coalition of students appeared before several C-US meetings to articulate their vision of change and to demonstrate the broad support for change. In June of 1986, C-US scheduled a special meeting to consider a student-inspired proposal to create an alternative Western Culture class and establish a task force to devise an improved program. In twenty-four hours, the students obtained two hundred signatures on a petition which they presented to the committee. At that meeting, C-US voted to create the task force and authorized the alternative class.

History Professor Clayborne Carson, senior editor of the Martin L. King Papers Project, offered to teach the alternative class and, over the summer, developed a class—"Western Culture: An Alternative View"—that focused on people of color in the U.S. On January 15, 1987, Martin L. King, Jr.’s 58th birthday and the BSU’s 20th anniversary, the Faculty Senate was scheduled to vote on the alternative class. The vote coincided with the BSU’s annual King Day celebration which featured Reverend Jesse L. Jackson. After the program, Jackson led a five hundred person march to the site of the Faculty Senate
A new era: CIV sweeps in Fac Sen

By Frank Orsiniello
Staff writer

The Faculty Senate yesterday approved an amended version of the Area One Task Force's culture, created by a year of heated debate that began from internal opposition.

The year-long Area One requirement will be officially titled CIV, or Western Culture, radically altering the nature of a course that was first taught in 1967.

The senate, which traditionally adjourns at 5:00 p.m., voted to pass the compromise only minutes before the deadline. Motions were greeted by cheers and jeers from students as diverse as the atmosphere at the Law School. Students participating in the change in the Area One requirement held a rally before the 2:15 p.m. senate meeting and waited repeatedly for the meeting's outcome.

The adopted resolution was:

"This resolution requests that the Department of History and Philosophy begin the revision of the required course Area One requirement: Western Culture in order to change the title of the course from Area One to Cultural Interaction with the Western World."

The resolution was passed by a vote of 13 in favor to 4 against and 9 abstentions.

Area 1 ready for next step

By Eric Martin
Editorial staff

After two years of outcry, debate and protest, the various factions of the Area One debate have been united in a "good and noble" change of the Legislation's plan for the philosophy department.

The area was called "Area 1" by a number of students and professors, who made it clear that although the legislation represents a major change, this issue will not be brought to the floor of the Senate for a vote until the coming academic year.

Diversity:

- (social) to further understanding of self, others, and society and therefore to confront issues relating to class, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, and sexual orientation, and to include the study of women, minorities, and persons of color;
- (geographical) to further understanding of the diverse ideas and values that have shaped American society and culture by studying works from at least one of the European cultures and one or more of the non-European cultures that have become components of our diverse American society. The ideas and values expressed in each work shall be treated in their own terms and, to the extent possible, within their own cultural and historical context;
- (historical) to have substantial historical dimension. Tracks should analyze the temporal relationships of works to each other and examine some of the political, social, economic, and material contexts of the works.

At key points during the Western Culture struggle, the BSU and its allies were forced to resort to rallies and protests to influence a decision-making process dominated by older, often more conservative faculty members.

Lessons

The battle to transform the curriculum provided many lessons about how to organize and carry out a campaign. For one, it demonstrated that change in a large and sometimes intransigent bureaucracy can take years. Students accustomed to thinking in terms of three month periods had to adjust their orientation and gear themselves for a protracted struggle. Given the length of such a battle, the BSU learned the necessity of maintaining a consistent core of people to track day-to-day developments and of training new and young leadership to carry on the struggle into the following years. The BSU’s Western Culture committee, consisting of six to ten students, fulfilled this function.

The importance of building a broad united front consisting of as many allies as possible proved critical to the success of the campaign. Knowing that multicultural education benefits everybody and wanting all students to know the truth about the world, the BSU worked closely with MEChA, AASA, SAIO, and progressive white students throughout the struggle.

The united front also included faculty and administrators. Whether holding strategy meetings in 1986 with Dean of Undergraduate Studies Carolyn Lougee, meeting individually with each member of C-US or appealing to President Kennedy for leadership, the BSU united with all people and organizations who were willing to support them on the issue. Adhering to the principle of “no permanent friends and no permanent enemies,” the BSU never held grudges and welcomed the assistance of former adversaries as the battle progressed. Philosophy professor John Perry harshly attacked the initial proposals for change in front of an all-freshmen gathering during Orientation in 1986. Subsequently, however, he became one of the most articulate advocates of multicultural change. President Kennedy moved from expressing sympathy for the changes in the privacy of his office to going on national television (MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour) to publicly defend the proposal from attacks by Secretary of Education Bennett.
Election tallies final

By Tim Marklein
Staff writer

The People's Platform, a political coalition of student ethnic and progressive groups, scored considerable gains in last week's ASSU election by placing nine of 10 Platform candidates in the ASSU Senate and by filling the office of Council of Presidents with its own slate, A New Slate of Mind.

Although the opponent COP

By Bobby Schrader
Editorial staff

In a dramatic cliffhanger after preliminary results were counted, the Black Student Union failed to get its ASSU fee assessment by a mere 10 votes in the Spring Election as the final results were ing to be counted by hand. The results marked the first time that the BSU was denied fee assessment in the six years it has requested one. Exact results of past elections are not available, but most estimates place the proposal rate at 80 to 85 percent.

A critical factor in the success of the movement was a detailed and thorough understanding of the process for change and who had the power to make the relevant decisions. Traditionally, the BSU has sought to hold the President accountable, but, in the Western Culture issue, the Faculty Senate and its Committee on Undergraduate Studies were the principle players. Once that information had been determined, the organizers investigated the composition of those bodies to try to identify any allies. Discussions with sympathetic faculty and administrators helped provide an assessment of whom to work closely with, whom to lobby and win over, and whom to avoid.

After understanding the steps in the process, it was then important to identify which steps were most critical, and at which points students could exert influence. The nature of that influence differed at different times, and the BSU came to see the importance of combining public pressure with participation in the "normal channels" of the institution. Students concerned with the proposed changes were encouraged to apply for membership on C-US. The students successfully fought to have their representatives included on the Area One Task Force, and BSU Chair Bill King made a moving appeal at a Faculty Senate meeting. These efforts were complimented by rallies, marches, vigils outside the Faculty Senate, and other expressions of mass concern and support.

Lastly, the BSU learned the truth of Thomas Jefferson's observation, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." At several points along the road to change, the proposal was almost defeated, decisions were overturned, and last-minute substitutes were brought forward. Often, these attempts to change course occurred at the end of the quarter around finals time. In June of 1986, C-US approved the concept of an alternative class, but the following Fall, the committee considered rejecting the alternative. Although, the students had had to submit proposals a year in advance, conservative faculty were able to produce their own proposals just by raising their hands in a Faculty Senate meeting. The ability to quickly respond to developments and to keep the process public and fair was vital to the success of the efforts.

Backlash

As the BSU challenged and changed the status quo, it encountered great resistance from campus conservatives. Many faculty members who had built their careers on the foundation of Western Culture fiercely resisted the proposed changes and continually sought to water down, delay, and deny

An Anti-BSU backlash nearly caused the group to lose its fee assessment in the April 1988 elections. After losing by ten votes on election day, the overseas ballots provided a sixty vote margin of victory.

Stanford is best when it is expected that we will disagree. The BSU opens up the way for debate...It tells us we can disagree without falling apart.

KENNELL JACKSON
Chairman of African & Afro-American Studies
1981-1989
Rainbow Agenda demands:
(May 1987)

I. Establishment of a Vice-Provost to oversee all aspects of ethnic minority life at Stanford.

II. The creation of an operating budget for minority recruitment and the establishment of a summer bridge program.

III. Move the Asian American Activities Center from the Old Firehouse and place it in the Women's Clubhouse in Old Union and create an Asian American Assistant Dean position.

IV. Have the President, in his Centennial address, actively support theme dorms and clearly state that Stanford will never reinstate the American Indian as its mascot.

V. Issue a statement which supports the current proposal to change the Area One requirement, and create an operating budget which will support these changes, such as the appointment of additional faculty.

VI. Appoint an outside commission to study racism and the quality of minority life at Stanford.

VII. Divest from all corporations which do business in South Africa and support the UFW grape boycott.

meaningful reform of the program. While these individuals submitted a number of “alternative proposals” and succeeded in limiting the scope of the changes, the essence of the reforms remained.

The ugliest backlash, however, came from students. Uncomfortable with change and insecure about the implications of a new status quo, a sizable minority of students reacted with hostility and anger to the new developments on campus. They focused their anger on the BSU.

The comments began to surface most visibly in 1987, when the BSU and the other student of color organizations—under the banner of The Rainbow Agenda—led a Centennial demonstration against racism at Stanford. At a Quad ceremony involving thousands of alumni, three hundred members of the Rainbow Agenda—dressed in black—walked in together humming “Amazing Grace” and sat silently waiting for the beginning of the ceremony. When President Kennedy approached the podium, all three hundred students stood up, released hundreds of black balloons into the air, and stood with their fists raised in the air while Kennedy delivered his remarks. When Secretary of State George Shultz rose to speak, the students chanted, “Just say no to the Contras, Just say no to apartheid” and silently filed out humming “We Shall Overcome.” After that demonstration and a sit-in in President Kennedy’s office, the University agreed to create the University Committee on Minority Issues (UCMI) to investigate the quality of life for people of color on campus.

As the demands for change filled the pages of The Daily, a number of Black students were told that if they didn’t like it here, then they should go back to Africa. Letters to The Daily complained that “Africa had no Dante, Latin America no Homer.” At a press conference unveiling the issues of the Rainbow Agenda, Tonya Rhodes, a member of the BSU Western Culture committee, responded that “England had no Malcolm X, Italy had no Gandhi.”

The following school year, the attacks spread and escalated into an all-out assault on the BSU’s right to exist. A Stanford Daily column claimed that
the BSU was an "exclusionary" organization. Subsequent articles, featured on the front page, raised doubts about the BSU's so-called "exclusive" membership policies, and the attacks gained momentum and galvanized anti-BSU sentiment. Letters poured in, and the tide of attacks mounted.

The attacks culminated during the April 1988 elections when the BSU budget was voted on by the student body in the ASSU elections. Anti-BSU sentiment had grown so strong by then that the fee assessment, which had garnered 67% of the vote the previous year, was defeated on election day by ten votes. Only the discovery that students at overseas campuses had not voted saved the organization's budget. Those students, who were out of the country and had missed the growing backlash, provided a sixty vote margin of victory.

The Otero and Ujamaa Incidents

While the fee assessment narrowly passed, the backlash was far from over. In fact, two of the worst incidents were yet to occur. In late May, one of the residents of Otero house was kicked out of University housing because of his history of racist, sexist, and homophobic actions and statements. The day his punishment was announced, eight members of the Phi Delta fraternity protested the punishment by holding a "vigil" that invoked images of the Ku Klux Klan night rides. Carrying lighted candles and wearing masks, they arrived at Otero at 11:00 p.m. and ominously sat down outside of the front door. With the dorm thrown into turmoil, many of the residents feared for their safety.

Shortly after the arrival of the Phi Deltas, someone at Otero phoned former BSU Vice-Chair Amanda Kemp who led a delegation of BSU members to investigate the situation. Shortly thereafter, more than fifty BSU members showed up and surrounded the students sitting on the ground. Reached at his home by incoming-Vice Chair Cheryl Taylor, President Kennedy told the BSU officers and other concerned students to "studiously and carefully ignore them." The BSU, however, refused to ignore the action and demanded that the students remove their masks and identify themselves. At that point, the fraternity brothers got up and hurriedly tried to leave, only to be followed by the BSU.

At the end of the 1987-88 school year, eight Phi Deltis evoked images of the Ku Klux Klan by wearing masks, carrying candles, and arriving late at night to protest the punishment of an Otero resident who had a history of racist, sexist, and homophobic behavior.

In October 1988, three weeks after President Kennedy's "Bigotry is out" speech, two Lagunita residents defaced a poster of Beethoven and placed it outside the door of a Black student with whom they had been arguing about the composer's racial ancestry.
After an October 1988 racist incident in Ujamaa, the Black theme dorm, the campus community participated in a Rally Against Racism and marched to President Kennedy’s office to present him with “A Mandate for Change”—a list of demands to combat racism.

Eventually, they stopped, removed their masks, said that they had Black friends and asked to be left alone. After the identities were established, the BSU demanded a meeting with President Kennedy to see what he was going to do about the incident. He promised a thorough investigation and decisive action.

The following Fall (’88-89), in his welcoming address to the freshmen class, Kennedy declared that “Bigotry is out!” Three weeks later, two white students got into a debate with a Black student in Ujamaa House over the racial ancestry of Beethoven. After the argument, the white students defaced a poster of Beethoven to make him look like a racist caricature of a Black person with wild hair, red eyes, and big lips and placed the poster outside of the door of the Black student with whom they had had the disagreement. When the Beethoven flyer was discovered and the perpetrators identified, the dorm nearly erupted. At a dorm meeting where the students were supposed to apologize, they facetiously said “One...Two...Three...We’re Sorry.” Outraged Black students lunged at the white students, and a fight almost broke out.2

Again, the University was swift to respond with strong words and assurances of action. Several high level administrators attended an overflow meeting in Ujamaa lounge. The BSU called for a "Rally Against Racism" and drafted a set of demands, “The Mandate for Change,” to deal with racism at Stanford. The coalition that had come together during the Rainbow Agenda came to life again and marched in unity to Kennedy’s office where BSU Chair Mary Dillard nailed the Mandate for Change to the President’s door.

From “Bigotry is Out” to “Freedom of Speech”

The eventual University response to both the Otero and Ujamaa incidents greatly disappointed the Black community. None of the demands in the Mandate for Change were granted, and the University decided not to bring charges against the students involved in either incident. Then, in January of 1989, the University shifted the debate away from the issue of fighting racism to that of protecting “free speech.” Stanford proclaimed that the students who had defaced the Beethoven poster were exercising their right to free speech. The Legal Office bought two full pages in The Daily to explain this position.

The rhetorical reversal and the absence of multicultural reforms sent a message to the campus community—fighting racism was not a high priority for Stanford University. Consequently, frustration mounted, and anger grew. In May, that frustration precipitated the most wrenching protest in years.
A Mandate for Change

(October 26, 1988)


2. Institute an Ethnic Studies graduation requirement.

3. Full institutional support for the Ethnic Centers: full-time deans, increased staffing and funding.

4. Increase in appointment of minority faculty: immediate hiring of a professor from each community of color.

5. Strengthen Fundamental Standard to state clearly that racist acts are a violation of the campus code of conduct.

6. Create eight student trustee positions: four at large and one from each student of color community.

7. Give Ujamaa autonomy and end the 50% quota.

8. Commit to enforcing the UCMI report.


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Stanford Voices...Fighting Racism

"It appears from the (Ujamaa) Report that the two students involved in the Ujamaa episode did intend to produce a ludicrous, racial caricature of blacks... But there was nothing on the caricature, nor does the Report suggest that the poster was intended, to threaten or defame any particular student or students. What remains, then, even if the two students knew how the caricature would be perceived, is racially offensive speech directed, perhaps, to members of a race generally... Under these circumstances, as in the Otero case, the standards mentioned at the outset counsel against seeking disciplinary action;...the conduct was expression, which the University seeks to permit to the greatest extent possible."

JOHN J. SCHWARTZ & IRIS BREST
Office of Vice-President and General Counsel
February 8, 1989 Daily

"The decision sent a final, frightening message to the community: Racism does not threaten personal honor nor is it fundamentally opposed to this university’s principles.... Until a standard that can and will be upheld is established, doubts and fears about the University's commitment to an education free from the horror of racism are justified."

THE STANFORD DAILY
Editorial
February, 13, 1989
What led to action by Stanford students

The following racially related incidents occurred at Stanford University during the past year:

■ May 11 — Minority students, frustrated at slow progress in addressing such issues as ethnic studies courses and financial aid, tack a list of demands on university President Donald Kennedy's door Thursday as part of a noontime rally.

■ May 8 — University spokesman says Kennedy is encouraging the university to pursue disciplinary proceedings against students who in separate incidents used a racial epithet to describe another student and a professor.

■ May 4 — Faculty Senate hits stalemate in debate over proposal to strengthen campus code of conduct by further defining the line between free speech and harassment. Issue may not be dealt with until next school year.

■ April 4 — University report shows minority students believe subtle prejudice and devaluation are common on campus, and some white students resent minorities. Report also urges university to step up efforts to attract minority faculty members and students.

■ Feb. 9 — University officials announce that two first-year students won't be punished for hanging a racially offensive poster in a dormitory. Punishment would violate right to free speech, officials say.

■ Jan. 30 — Computer users on campus complain of censorship after university kills a computer bulletin board filled with racist and sexist jokes.

■ December 1988 — Minority graduate students ask that the university recruit more graduate students and faculty from among minority groups, and add more cultural programs.

■ May 1988 — Campus blacks liken to Ku Klux Klan activity an incident in which fraternity members donned hockey masks and lighted candles in support of a freshman evicted from a dorm troubled by racial tensions.

■ May 1988 — About 50 sorority girls wear cowboy and Indian outfits, including Indian headbands containing such slogans as “Screaming squaw” and “Hungry hunter...” to a celebration next to the Native American Center.

■ May 1988 — For the first time, students vote to deny funding to the school's most prominent black organization, the Black Student Union.

On May 15, 1989, months and years of frustration at the slow pace of progress on multicultural issues erupted into a major demonstration—Takeover '89. Hundreds of students demonstrated their solidarity for the sixty students who occupied President Kennedy's office.
Takeover '89

"Let me express my sincere congratulations to you on your bold and dramatic action to make multicultural education a reality. Over the past few years, I have been continually impressed with the courage, vision, and tenacity of the students at Stanford University."

REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON
Support statement for the students who occupied President Donald Kennedy's office.
May 16, 1989

Takeover '89 was the result of months and years of frustration and anger at the slow pace of change and the low priority given to the concerns of students of color. On May 15, 1989, that anger exploded.

At 7:40 a.m., more than sixty Black, Chicano, Asian American, Native American, and white students took over President Kennedy's office to demand action on a long-standing list of demands relating to multicultural life at Stanford. After holding the office all day, fifty-four students, including several members of the BSU, were arrested. Local journalists and campus administrators commented that the protest was unlike anything they had seen at Stanford since the 1971 Hospital sit-in.

The takeover created an extremely volatile and tense situation that presented both great dangers and tremendous opportunities for change. Its impact will be felt for years to come.

Background

The roots of the takeover stretch far back into the history of students of color at Stanford. For all of the participants, the decision to take the building stemmed from extreme frustration at University intransigence and inaction on very key and important issues. Asian American students had been working to create an Asian American Studies Program at Stanford since 1972. They spent the entire 1988-89 school year circulating petitions, writing letters, meeting with administrators and committees, and trying to affect the University bureaucracy. One month shy of the end of the school year, all they had received for their efforts were detailed explanations of budget restrictions and comments such as "Asian Americans haven't been in America long enough to merit an academic discipline."

Chicano students had been struggling since 1987 to have democratic decision-making and control over their center, El Centro Chicano. What was supposed to be a center for the Chicano community where students could come and hang out with their brothers and sisters in a comfortable and reinforcing environment had become just another University building where white sorority meetings sometimes displaced Chicano students. The University had promised
"This letter is sent to support your efforts to achieve action for multicultural education at Stanford University. The demands of the Stanford minority students are reasonable and reflect the need for education to encompass our diverse cultural backgrounds."

MAXINE WATERS
California Assemblywoman
May 15, 1989

"I wholeheartedly support the efforts undertaken by the students of Stanford University who are voicing their concerns on matters of extreme importance. Their demands for equity and multicultural education are consistent with the principles of a free democratic society. Efforts that ensure full participation by all minority groups must become the cornerstone of our educational system."

TERESA HUGHES
Chairwoman of California Assembly's Education Committee
May 15, 1989

Takeover Demands

- Establish a Discrimination Grievance Board.
- Conduct a search for new Chair of Afro-American Studies.
- Include BSU in search for new admissions officer.
- Hire a tenured Asian American History Professor.
- Create a full-time Dean for Chicano community; democratic functioning of El Centro Chicano.
- Hire a Native American Studies Professor.
- Rescind the 8% tuition hike.
- Increase financial aid grants.
- Increase funding for TA's.

to provide a full-time assistant dean for the community, but had made no progress on the issue after an entire year. MEChA determined that another year could not end without a breakthrough in their efforts to give control of the center back to the community.

Native American students had struggled for years as an "invisible minority." Only with the demonstrations during the Rainbow Agenda did they achieve significant progress on staffing issues, but they still lacked Native American Studies or even a Native American history professor. The alienation of those students was compounded by the annual indignation caused by the attempts of alumni to resurrect the degrading American Indian mascot. For American Indians, the issue was basic respect.

The Black students who participated in the protest had simply had enough. As Fannie Lou Hamer used to say, they were "sick and tired of being sick and tired." Many were freshmen who had watched racist incidents occur and go unpunished while the University proclaimed its commitment to protecting racist speech under the banner of the First Amendment. The administration had taken no action on the Mandate for Change. No Black faculty had been hired, valued Black faculty and staff members were leaving, and Kennell Jackson, Chairman of Afro-American Studies, announced that he was stepping down because he could not get adequate University support. The right of Black students to obtain an education free from racist harassment seemed to have become a secondary concern, and the Black protesters were determined to put the struggle against racism at the top of Stanford's agenda.

Dozens of white students also risked their academic careers to support the goals of democracy and multiculturalism. Supporting the issues of the students of color, they also fought for more financial aid, increased funding for teaching assistants, greater democracy in decision-making, and more relevant classes.

By mid-May, the patience of Stanford's students of color had run out. A coalition, the Agenda for Action Coalition, was created, and shortly thereafter, business as usual came to a halt at Stanford. The takeover was tumultuous, chaotic, and very, very powerful. Like any risky venture, it was full of both danger and opportunity.
Black Voices...A Dream Deferred

"As I sit at this desk inside the President's Office, it is all I can do to fight back the tears. The feeling is one which cannot be sufficiently or adequately put into words. My God, this is what all the members of SNCC, CORE, the SCLC and the like felt when they were protesting the injustices suffered by people of color in this country.

It is their struggle that enables me to live the life I live today. It is now my turn to leave a legacy for those who will come after me, those who will come to Stanford with high hopes and dreams. Our struggle is for them, as well as for ourselves. What happens to a dream deferred?

...We tried it their way and no action was taken. Black students are still making the same requests they made some 20 years ago. We tried it their way; now it's time for them to do it our way. What happens to a dream deferred?

When we all ran to the President's Office and took our seats (or staked) it was the most tremendous feeling I think I have ever felt. The best way to describe it would be the word "YES." What happens to a dream deferred?

As of right now, the phones are being systematically cut off. Will this stop us? NO! We have been here for more than 90 minutes. We are prepared to be here for a while. We have food, blankets, pillows, books (Stanford students to the end). What happens to a dream deferred?

It explodes!"

LYZETTE SETTLE
Stanford Daily
5/16/89

The action was dangerous because the potential consequences — arrests and expulsion—were great. The University response to Takeover '89 was swift and severe. From the early hours of the occupation, the administration asked no questions about the demands and refused to negotiate. Instead, they threatened the protesters with felony charges and expulsion from the University, and called out the Santa Clara County riot police who proceeded to arrest dozens of Stanford students later that day.

After the protest, the hard line response continued into the early stages of the disciplinary process. Administrators from the Office of Vice-President and General Counsel openly talked about how they expected penalties to result from the process, and protesters were warned at a dorm program that any comments made could be used against them. After murky and questionable disciplinary proceedings, eight students were singled out for "especially egregious" charges even though the "egregious" offenses were never specified. In the ultimate irony, all four of the students from Ujamaa who were arrested in the protest were charged with the "especially egregious" violations in their action to protest racism while the perpetrators of racist acts in Ujamaa in October had not been charged under the same University code of conduct (the "especially egregious" charges were eventually dropped and all the students were treated equally in Stanford's internal disciplinary process receiving seventy-five hours of community service).

Stanford history has shown that the greatest strides toward change have come about as a result of protests led by students of color. From the BSU taking the mike in 1968 to the Rainbow Agenda sit-in to the CIV victory,

"There was no damage to property done by the students; indeed, their plan called for taking great care to avoid damages no matter how small...Many of the students present solid records of service, and they care deeply about making their university a better place."

Report of Stanford's Internal Investigation into the takeover.
June 1989
A week after the takeover, Jesse Jackson met with student participants and their supporters at San Francisco airport. Jackson called Kennedy on the phone from the airport and appealed for healing, mercy, and sincere negotiations. He offered students advice on strategy and praised the level of sophistication and multicultural unity displayed by the Stanford student movement.

Stanford has moved forward only at the insistent urging of students of color. The takeover provided another such opportunity. Since the nature of the action was on a scale not witnessed in almost two decades, there was excellent potential for making breakthroughs.

"We cannot let imperfect strategy stand in the way of perfect causes."
JESSE L. JACKSON advising Stanford students after the takeover.

"While the African American community truly understands the frustration and the feeling of urgency of the other communities (our history here at Stanford has been filled with this sentiment as well), at this moment, the BSU as a body does not officially endorse the occupation of President Kennedy's office. However, there are Black students who have decided that these issues are worthy of such a drastic action. These students have the BSU's full support."
CALVIN J. MARTIN
BSU Chair
May 15, 1989

Traditionally, momentum for change dissipates in the bureaucracy of endless committees and the process that even President Kennedy admitted works at glacial speed. The attempts to go through "normal channels" had only delayed change and inhibited the most progressive sectors of the campus from participating in the decision-making process. By taking a bold and dramatic action and creating a new climate through the use of what Martin L. King, Jr. called "creative tension," the inadequacy of the old rules became apparent, and the doors were opened to a new process and a new way of doing business.

Internal Tension

The tension produced by the event affected more than just the administration. It created a temporary crisis among the ranks of the BSU itself. The BSU's historic tension over political approaches strained the Black community's united front nearly to the breaking point in the chaos and hectic activity of the takeover. A number of students felt very strongly that action had to be taken. Others disagreed with the necessity of such a move at that time. During the week prior to the action, events moved rapidly, and a number of meetings were held and decisions made that left BSU members with different understandings of the organization's commitment to the action. Ultimately, the BSU did not formally endorse the takeover, but, in the tradition of accommodating different approaches, the organization supported the right of individual Black students to take what action they deemed necessary.

The administration's hard line stance, the presence of dozens of helmeted riot police, knowledge of how the police often treat Black people, and the generally tense climate during the takeover inflamed the disagreements causing tempers to flare, and hostilities to rise within the community. Adding to the confusion of the day, many of the non-Black participants were unaware of the distinction between the BSU's formal position and the participation of its individual members.

After a week of debate and disagreement and anger, the BSU closed ranks in the face of external attacks and declared that the organization fully
Three weeks after the takeover, a full page ad ran in the Daily, listing fifty faculty members who signed a statement saying, "A spirit of generosity and conciliation will do a lot to restore trust, and rebuild channels of communication that will allow us to get on with the tasks of addressing the student's concerns and implementing the vision of the UCMI report in the fullest possible manner."

Hundreds of students signed a statement saying, "those involved in the May 15th action were acting out of a desire to improve Stanford education and should not be prosecuted under the Fundamental Standard."

supported the Black student protesters and would not stand for hypocrisy and unfairness in the disciplinary process. During a meeting with the Agenda for Action coalition at the San Francisco airport one week after the protest, Reverend Jesse Jackson called President Kennedy who told Jackson that the BSU did not support the takeover. After asking about the nature of the BSU's concerns ("timing and tactics"), Jackson advised the students that "we cannot let imperfect strategy stand in the way of perfect causes."

The following day, BSU Chair Calvin Martin personally displayed the unity in the organization by attending the meeting with Kennedy to negotiate the demands. The BSU was united in the view that the issues were right, and that the organization was not going to stand for Stanford charging Black students with violating the campus code of conduct while racist actions had gone unpunished.

The Impact

Without question, the takeover produced results. One week after the protest, the University agreed to the demands of hiring an Asian American history professor, instituting democratic decision-making for El Centro, and putting the BSU on the search committee for a new Black admissions officer. Kennedy accepted the recommendation of the UCMI committee [created out of 1987's Rainbow Agenda demonstrations] to hire three new faculty of color each year for the next ten years and approved exploration of the prospects for creating a racial grievances board. Black faculty members commented that the post-takeover dialogue was the first time in nine years that they had been able to get and hold Kennedy's attention.

The ripples of change are just beginning to spread across the campus. It is clear that the door has been opened on a new chapter in Stanford history. The associations for the various staff of color held their first-ever meeting with President Kennedy in the wake of the takeover. A number of major personnel and staff changes were announced after the protest. Most significantly, the Dean of Student Affairs, Jim Lyons, announced his resignation, effective at the end of the 1989-90 school year. Kennedy appointed Associate Dean of Graduate Studies Cecilia Burciaga, a leader in the Chicano community and a supporter of student efforts to make change, to oversee implementation of the UCMI report and to fill the position of Affirmative Action officer which had remained vacant for an entire year. The Affirmative Action Office was moved from the basement of the building behind Building 10 into the President's office. The Black com-

"I can be a witness to the fact that the normal channels have proved utterly incapable of insuring effective results. ...Therefore given the lack, in the past, of any administrative channel to ensure affective input on the part of new interdisciplinary programs like [African and Afro-American Studies] into the processes of decision-making with respect to the intellectual issues that directly effect us, it was clear that a vacuum existed in which the protest mechanism of student action inserted itself."

SYLVIA WYNTER
Chairperson of African and Afro-American Studies
October 20, 1989
On October 11, the day before a pre-trial hearing for BSU Vice-Chair Louis Jackson, four hundred members of the Stanford community and Bay Area colleges participated in a candlelight march and vigil in support of Jackson who was singled out for his role in the takeover and faced two years in jail.

400 at vigil offer Jackson prayers, hope

By John Wagner
Editorial staff

About 400 students gathered in White Plaza last night bearing candles to voice their prayers and support for junior Louis Jackson, who appears in court this morning for a hearing on charges stemming from the May 15 takeover of Building 10.

Speakers during the vigil expressed support for Jackson and outrage with the administration’s refusal to speak on his behalf. Jackson, who has been charged with six misdemeanors — including incitement to riot and battery — for his role in the takeover of University President Donald Kennedy’s office.

“We are here tonight out of love for a brother,” said Black Student Union member Lisa Fizz. Fizz said the black community was extremely angered by Kennedy’s refusal to see Jackson as the origin of selective prosecution.

“That’s been the problem all along — that Kennedy does not see,” Fizz said. BSU Chair Calvin Albert said that while the

“Selective prosecution is a historic tactic designed to create a chilling effect...of fear and intimidation and prevent other people from taking a stand and demanding that the status quo change. Often the victims of such prosecution are Black because law enforcement officials think there is so much racism in society that the majority of people will not support a Black person.”

CHARLES R. LAWRENCE III
Law Professor
speaking at an October 1989 press conference in support of Louis Jackson.

May 1989 marked a watershed moment in Stanford history. The old status quo had clearly failed to bring about adequate progress, and the campus community desperately needed new solutions. The balance of power is now shifting, and the fabric of the institution is being reexamined. New openings have been created, and many new people are stepping forward to contribute to the task of remodeling the University. With the Centennial celebration just two years away, Stanford is thinking long and hard about how to meet the challenge of creating a multicultural institution.

Free Louis Jackson!

Three weeks after the May 15th protest, a warrant, with a $2,000 bond, was issued for the arrest of BSU Vice-Chair Louis Jackson. Jackson, who was neither occupying nor blocking the President’s office on May 15th, was charged by the Santa Clara County District Attorney (on the recommendation of the Stanford police) with six criminal violations — obstructing police justice, trespassing, battery, unlawful assembly, refusal to disperse, and inciting to riot. The charges carried a maximum penalty of two years in jail and a $2,000 fine.

While more than seven hundred people participated in the events of May 15th, Jackson — the only African American to address the crowd during the protest — was the only person to face six charges. Stanford Police Captain Raul Niemeyer is on record saying, “We’ll get him [Jackson] later.” The police report on the incident says that other students “continued to incite the crowd,” after Jackson spoke, but he was the only person arrested for inciting to riot.

In response to the singling out of Jackson, the BSU put aside all disagreements and differences over tactics and rallied to the defense of a brother
Battery, inciting charges against Jackson dropped
Junior pleads 'no contest' to reduced charges

By John Wagner
Editorial staff

Louis Jackson got an early birthday present yesterday.
As part of a plea bargain, four misdemeanor charges against him stemming from the May 16 takeover of Building 10 were dismissed, including the most serious charges Jackson faced, inciting to riot and battery.
Jackson, who turns 21 today, pleaded "no contest" to the two remaining charges, which has endured several delays and accusations of racially biased prosecution.

By John Wagner

At Jackson's last court appearance, on Nov. 1, Billingsley said after a closed-chambers conference that the case was nearing resolution, but the only in-court announcement was that the recent earthquake had thrown the court calendar off, further delaying Jackson's case.

Until yesterday, the dis-

under attack. Calvin Martin announced at the beginning of the 1989-90 year that, "Freeing Louis Jackson is the top priority of the BSU," and hundreds of students on campus took a stand with Jackson. More than eight hundred students signed a petition voicing concern about the "ugly racial overtones" of the case. Four hundred students attended a candlelight vigil in White Plaza on the night before Jackson was to return to court in October. Dozens of students attended the hearings, and a delegation traveled to solicit support from the Santa Clara County Human Relations Commission (HRC).

The HRC found evidence of "selective prosecution" in Jackson's case and voted to contact President Kennedy and the District Attorney in an effort to resolve the case. Members of the surrounding community (from East Palo Alto and other places on the Peninsula) organized community support and letter writing. After the pressure escalated, Jackson's attorney Joseph A. Billingsley, District Attorney Tom Fahrenholz, and Palo Alto Municipal Court Judge Stephen Manley held two extended discussions which produced a compromise settlement. On November 21st, the D.A. agreed to drop four of the six charges, and Jackson pleaded "no contest" to trespassing and obstructing police justice. His sentence of seventy hours of community service was not qualitatively different than the forty hours given to the other fifty-seven protesters.

Although the prosecution of Louis Jackson fit neatly into a long line of cases where the "justice system" worked to distract and disempower a strong and growing Black Liberation Movement, Jackson and the progressive movement emerged with their hopes high and their eyes firmly fixed on the prize of justice, equality, and a truly multicultural education. When asked whether he had been intimidated by his six month ordeal, Jackson responded, "I'm not going to be out on the front line, obviously, because I'm the first person they would arrest... But if there is just cause to make any kind of statement or action, then hell yeah, I'm going to be involved in it." The takeover and its aftermath proved that there is great potential for change, and further changes will certainly be forthcoming as Stanford heads into a new decade and its second century.

After six months and several hearings, the Louis Jackson case was finally resolved on November 21st, 1989 when the District Attorney agreed to drop four of the six charges, including the two most serious ones—battery and inciting to riot. Jackson pled "no contest" to trespassing and obstructing police justice and was sentenced to seventy hours of community service.

"It is the police that tracked us as we fled the plantation. It is the police that took Rosa Parks off the bus in Montgomery, Ala. It was police chief 'Bull' Connor who set dogs and fire hoses on Black men, women, and children protesting for their civil rights in Birmingham, Ala. ... Operating free of constitutional limitations, the police have long been the greatest nemesis of Blacks, irrespective of whether we are complying with the law or not. We have learned that there are cars we are not supposed to drive and streets we are not supposed to walk."

DON JACKSON
Police Sgt., Hawthorne, CA.
The New York Times
Jan. 23, 1989
The 1990s: A New Day Dawns

"Education is the foundation of a humane and enlightened society. Enduring peace and tranquility between diverse citizens can only be assured through an understanding and respect of all the cultures and histories of all the peoples that comprise that society. Through its education system, a society can provide for the fullest possible development of the talents, skills and potential of every human being. It is this perspective that leads us to emphatically state that education is a basic and fundamental right of every human being and not a privilege for the wealthy and elite. We are determined to make our vision of education a reality."

EDUCATION BILL OF RIGHTS
Drafted by MEChA, A/BSSA, APSU, UCSA, CSSA, CalSACC representing the 1.4 million college students in California
Ratified at Stanford University, May 14, 1988

In the dawn of the 1990s, the movement to transform Stanford University is a critical battleground in the national struggle to reshape higher education so that it meets the needs of an increasingly multicultural society. By the year 2000, children of color will comprise one-third of the school age children in America. In California, students of color already constitute the majority in the state’s elementary and secondary schools. The challenge of constructing an educational system which educates and elevates all of the residents of this country remains one of the most pressing issues facing the nation. Over the past two decades of struggle, the Stanford BSU has developed a vision of the kind of education appropriate for the 21st century.

Ever since the BSU took the mike and issued its initial demands in 1968, it has put forward several subsequent sets of demands over the years. While the names and the faces have changed, the fundamental issues have remained the same. A close reading of the various sets of demands over the years reveals a broad outline of the kind of university that Black Students want Stanford to become. The main issues are as follows:

Black Faculty, Curriculum, and Afro-Am
Black students have always wanted to study and discover the world from their own perspective. The search for truth for Black students involves understanding not only how the world works in general, but also how it affects
Black people in particular. Stanford and most other institutions of higher education have historically not shared that goal, and the almost exclusively older white male faculty lacks the necessary knowledge and expertise to meet the needs of African American students. Black history is so central to U.S. history, moreover, that all students gain a deeper understanding of the world by studying the African American experience.

Financial Aid:

Black folks, as a people, are poor. The average Black family has $3,398 in assets, compared to $39,397 for the average white family. For those students who attend one of the most expensive institutions of higher education in the country, financial worries continually intrude on the educational experience. Initially, the University provided Black students with significant support that consisted entirely of grants. Since that time, tuition has skyrocketed, but Black income hasn't. Consequently, many Black students work long hours and accrue large loan debts. This situation affects both the quality of the educational experience and students' career choices after college.

Admissions:

Still a relatively new presence on the Stanford campus, the BSU has always worked to increase the numbers of Black students on campus. A larger critical mass of Black people lowers the sense of alienation and isolation that any individual student feels. Twenty-three years after the Mike, Black students are still not represented in proportion to their numbers in the U.S. African Americans comprise 12-15% of the total United States population, but just 5% of the Stanford student community. While the percentage of Black undergraduates has grown to 8.6%, the graduate representation continues to hover at 2.9%, a 28% decline since 1973.
Black Voices...Who Are We?

"Who are we? These Black faces you see shining with the light of hope and the fire of justice. We are an oppressed people; have been oppressed as a group, as a people, since our arrival on this land. We were the sub-human laborers who created the wealth on which this formerly unimportant colony became a great superpower.

Governor Deukmejian has called us complainers. Secretary of Education William Bennet has called us forces of intimidation and irrationality, but who are we? Look at me, look at the tears in my brown eyes, the coal in my skin, the fullness of my lips, and the kink in my hair and you will see much more!

You are seeing the children of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, and Sojourner Truth. Can you sense the anger of Malcolm X and the vision of Martin L. King. For Black people and other people of color, our struggle for educational rights is inextricably tied to our struggle for democracy and equality in this society overall. My presence on this campus is a direct result of the assassination of Martin L. King and the urban rebellions of the late 1960s.

That’s where the African/Black Student Statewide Alliance comes in. A/BSSA is the culmination of efforts of BSUs throughout the state of California who are saying, ‘Okay, we’ve got to look not only on our campus. We need to look broader than that; we are acting in a broader context. We need to figure out how can we unite and bring our forces and our pressure to bear to hit something and make some gains and hit something else and make some gains.

A/BSSA also unites with other nationalities like we did in the March on Sacramento in which we worked with MECHA and APSU because we know that their struggles are similar to our struggle, and we know too that we have an objective basis upon which to work with these people. And then the other thing is we have a good relationship because we respect each other and we have a sense of each other’s cultures. What do you think about that Bill of Rights that we just read to you? Do you understand what that is? That’s our vision. That’s what we’re fighting for. Are you ready to fight? Are you ready to fight? I hope so, I’ll be looking for all of you."

AMANDA KEMP
May 14, 1988
Speech at “Taking Action for Our Future” Conference

"I have learned that if you are not in the room where the decisions are made, you cannot protect your interests. I hope one day to see in the rooms of power ample numbers of Blacks, ample numbers of Hispanics and women and hyphenated Americans, so that we can at last have sensitive and representative decision making on the issues that directly affect our lives."

RANDALL ROBINSON
You Can Make A Difference Conference Keynote Speaker
Nov. 14, 1987

Combatting Racism:

Over the centuries of oppression and exploitation of African Americans, an entire system of ideas, opinions, and so-called scholarship has developed to justify America’s treatment of Black folks. These ideas of Black inferiority have become ingrained in the culture and institutions of the nation. Such institutional racism infects all sectors of society, and Stanford has not been immune from the malady. Despite well-meaning efforts, the University has not successful eradicated racism in its midst. The institutional nature of the problem also shapes individual views and opinions about people of color. Repeatedly, unenlightened individuals have acted in ways that exacerbate racial tensions on campus. The BSU has worked to both change the institution and challenge the individuals who perpetuate racism. Most of the institutions and programs designed to foster multiculturalism and racial enlightenment can be either directly or indirectly attributed to the influence of the BSU.

Democracy:

Through struggle, perseverance, and determination, the BSU has exerted a profound impact on the structure, policies, and priorities of Stanford University. This impact, however, has almost always resulted from significant pressure. Year after year, the BSU has urged Stanford to include student voices in the decision-making process from the initial stages of policy conception. The BSU maintains that inclusion before the fact will reduce the need for protests and demonstrations after the fact. Black faculty and staff have often worked closely
with the BSU to increase democratic participation in University decisions regarding affirmative action, educational priorities, allocation of resources, and constructing a multicultural institution.

California—The Rainbow State

California will soon become the first mainland Rainbow state with a majority of the residents being people of color. Many of the same issues affecting Stanford—tuition and financial aid, curriculum, faculty and staff affirmative action, admissions of students of color, and creating a multicultural campus life—also pose a challenge to the entire state. Stanford students have not labored alone in their efforts to transform the educational system. The Stanford BSU and its campus allies exist as part of a larger movement to affect the educational policies of the entire state.

Because of California’s special diversity and its unique social and political history, the California student movement has achieved remarkably high levels of organization, sophistication, and impact. Each nationality of color has a statewide network that unites students at dozens of colleges across the state. These organizations—A/BSSA (African/Black Student Statewide Alliance), MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chico de Aztlán/Chicano Student Movement of the Southwest), and APSU (Asian/Pacific Islander Student Union)—have built a major statewide coalition for educational rights that has influenced state and national politics (In 1989, a new organization Organization of North American Indian College Students (ONAICS) was founded). In recent years, the student of color networks have welcomed the support and solidarity of the California Alliance of Progressive Student Activists (CAPSA). Members of the Stanford BSU helped found A/BSSA and have played integral roles in developing the statewide educational rights movement.

In June of 1986, more than one hundred California students of color gathered at East Los Angeles City College to develop a joint educational rights strategy. At a follow-up meeting held on February 1st, 1987 at Stanford, the three networks decided to hold a march and rally at the State capitol to demand that the state make education a higher priority. The March on Sacramento 1987 attracted seven thousand people making it the largest demonstration in the

On April 6, 1987, seven thousand students from across the state converged on the State Capitol for the "March on Sacramento for Education" and demanded that the state government take a stand against recent education budget cuts and place education issues at the top of the state’s agenda.

"Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States. When we call for education, we mean real education... Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposals to educate Black boys and girls simply as servants or underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have the right to know, to think, to aspire" W.E.B. DUBOIS, 1906 Reprinted as Preface to Education Bill of Rights.
Ten thousand people packed White Plaza in May, 1988 to hear Jesse Jackson address a statewide education conference, "Taking Action for Our Future."

capitol in fifteen years. Although Gov. George Deukmejian commented that, "The whiners and complainers have found it easier to organize a march than to do something constructive for education," the state legislature voted to restore much of the education funding cuts that Deukmejian had proposed in his budget.

The 1987-88 school year unfolded in the context of the 1988 Presidential election and the national debate over the direction of the country in the post-Reagan era. To affect that debate and force the candidates to speak to the issues of students of color, the student networks organized a statewide education conference at Stanford in May of 1988 to draft an Education Bill of Rights to present to the candidates.

Working in conjunction with the student associations of the three California public higher education systems, the student of color networks united all the representatives of the 1.4 million California students—the California Student Association of Community Colleges (CalSACC), the California State University Student Association (CSSA), and the University of California Student Association (UCSA). At the conference, "Taking Action for Our Future," Michael Dukakis's son addressed the morning session, Stanford President Donald Kennedy saluted the efforts of the students, and ten thousand people packed White Plaza to witness Jesse Jackson accept the Education Bill of Rights and share his vision of America. At the July Democratic convention, six BSU members travelled to Atlanta to work for Jackson and to lobby delegates to support the Bill of Rights. In October, 1988, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Oakland) introduced the Bill of Rights into the Congressional Record as a national model for education reform.

Entering 1988-89, the student of color networks had reached a new level of organization and strength. Accordingly, they called for another march and rally in April of 1989 to turn their vision of education into state law, and students worked with state legislators to draft education legislation. The April 10th demonstration, "Spring Action '89," drew eight thousand people in support of lower tuition fees, ethnic studies, and a Student of Color Advisory Board that would be an arm of state government. After the rally, hundreds of students poured into the halls of the capitol and marched, clapping and shouting through the corridors to the doors of legislators who had opposed multicultural
education reform and issued them "notices of intent to evict." The day ended with five hundred loud and enthusiastic students packed into the rotunda of the Capitol chanting, "Whose house? Our house!!"

In the months following Spring Action, the state leadership lowered the fee increase at the state universities from 10% to 3%, and the full Assembly and Senate Education Committee both passed the Student of Color Advisory Board bill that students had co-written with Assembly Education Chair Teresa Hughes. Most significantly, California's political leadership has taken notice of the student movement as an emerging, dynamic force with the potential to shake up the balance of power in the state. The student movement has won many important allies—from leading state legislators to community groups and parents organizations to labor unions—who share their vision of educational reform. This young coalition has already begun to influence the agenda and alter the terms of debate in California. Building a multicultural community is now official state policy. In the next few years, the progressive movement will seek to exert its influence on the development of policy in America's largest state.

A New Day

In the late 1980s, America witnessed the revitalization of the student movement. Starting with the Harold Washington and Jesse Jackson campaigns and cresting with the divestment protests of 1985, a new generation of student activists emerged on college campuses across the country. At Cal Berkeley, the University of Michigan, UMass Amherst, Hampshire College, Morris Brown College, Penn State University, Long Beach State, Tuskegee University, Wayne State University, Univ. of New Mexico, Howard University, and the City University of New York, and many other colleges across the country, students of color and other progressive students took dramatic and decisive action to demand an end to racism and to secure their basic right to a quality education. All indications are that those protests were just the tip of the iceberg.

On April 10, 1989, eight thousand students, parents, teachers, and concerned citizens descended on the state capitol for Spring Action '89—a major march and rally to demand major changes in California education. After the rally, hundreds of students gathered in the Rotunda where their voices echoed throughout the building as they chanted, "Whose house? Our House!"

"We have a mandate from history, a mandate from the living, the dead, and the unborn to make this moment count by using the time and resources history has given. It behooves all of us to reexamine our strategies and commitments and to ask ourselves where we are in time and where we want to go and how we intend to get there and how much we are willing to pay for our passage."  
LERONE BENNETT, JR.  
"Of Time, Space, & Revolution"  
Ebony Magazine  
1969

The explosion of student activism comes at a pivotal time. California
Black Voices...Let A New Earth Rise

*For my people lending their strength to the years, to the gone years and the now years and the maybe years, washing ironing cooking scrubbing sewing mending hoeing plowing digging planting pruning patching dragging along never gaining never reaping never knowing and and never understanding...

For my people standing staring trying to fashion a better way from confusion, from hypocrisy and misunderstanding, trying to fashion a world that will hold all the people, all the faces, all the Adams and eves and their countless generations...

Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing and strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood.*

MARGARET WALKER
"For My People"
1942

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"I stand before you today as the elected leader of the greatest city of a great nation to which my ancestors were brought chained and whipped in the hold of a slave ship. We have not finished the journey toward liberty and justice, but surely we have come a long way."

DAVID DINKINS
Mayor of New York City
Inaugural Address
January 1, 1990

is currently rewriting its Master Plan for Higher Education which outlines the overall structure and policies for higher education in the state. The U.S. Congress will soon begin hearings on rewriting the Higher Education Reauthorization Act. The original Act of 1965 established federal financial aid and other provisions to achieve equity in education. And, in 1991, the nation will watch Stanford celebrate its Centennial and enter its next one hundred years.

The current period resembles the beginning of the Western Culture struggle with a resurgence of activism coinciding with strategic openings in the process of developing education policy. The efforts of students across the country can help shape the reconstruction of American education.

The forces of progress are asserting themselves nationally. On November 7, 1989, David Dinkins was elected the first African American mayor of New York City, and Douglas Wilder of Virginia became the first elected Black Governor in U.S. history. The 1988 Jackson campaign garnered seven million votes and brought together a coalition of people of color, workers and students that represents a new, growing majority in America. It is no coincidence that Jackson consistently supports the efforts of the California student movement to develop an education system that embraces the new majority.

California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters captured the spirit of the new era during a July 1988 appearance on ABC’s Nightline on the eve of the Democratic National Convention. A former Democratic Party Chairman was warning her that she and the rest of the Jackson campaign should quietly concede the nomination because the Chairman’s 40 years in politics had taught him that it was pointless to fight until the end. Waters electrified and inspired millions of people across the country, by cutting him off in mid-sentence and declaring, “Well, maybe you’ve been in politics too long because it’s a new day, and we have a new way!”
Conclusion

"When the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people—a Black people—who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.' This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility."

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

On the threshold of the 1990s, two decades after its formation, the Stanford Black Student Union is still going strong. The projects and initiatives launched by the BSU have influenced the entire nation. The Los Angeles Times wrote an editorial in 1989 saluting the plans for multicultural change at Stanford. William Bennett, The Wall Street Journal, and other forces of conservatism continue to decry the direction of the University. At the same time, Reverend Jesse Jackson, and other progressive leaders across the country persist in their praise of the efforts of the BSU and the student movement at Stanford University.

And so, the names and the faces continue to change, but the struggle remains the same. Many aspects of the University have changed, but the fundamental power relations remain the same. The close of the Eighties bore witness to the fact that the Stanford BSU is part of a historical continuum. The Black Student Union stands on tall shoulders and looks to a bright new day in the near future. Whether sitting in at lunch counters, conducting Freedom Rides or marching for the Right to Vote, African American young people have consistently fought on the frontlines of the struggle to change this country. Many members of the Stanford BSU have served, and continue to serve, proud roles in that struggle.

February 1st, 1990 marks the 30th anniversary of the birth of the modern Black student movement when the four Black freshmen at North Carolina A&T sat in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina and sparked a massive sit-in movement across the South. From that sit-in at A&T to the Western Culture struggle to UCMC to Spring Action '89, the Black Student Movement has come a long way. Justice has not yet been attained, but there are unprecedented levels of power for African American people. Hope is alive and the struggle for justice continues as each successive generation takes the baton and runs its critical lap in the race toward freedom. The challenge for every African American is to run with the speed of Jesse Owens, the courage of Huey Newton, the determination of Rosa Parks, and the endurance of Thurgood Marshall. The race is not to the swift, but to those who hold on. The Stanford Black Student Union has held on for twenty-three years and is running hard into the 1990s.
The Making of *Justice and Hope*

It is my sincere hope that this publication will inspire other students to build upon the foundation I have tried to lay in these eighty pages. Towards that end, I pass on the following notes about the wide array of tasks involved in such a production.

**Research**
- Primary sources: *Daily, Real News, Campus Report,* Peninsula Times Tribune, San Jose Mercury News (the last two available on microfilm in Green library).
- Interviews: participants (BSUers, faculty/staff, "We Took the Mike" video—reunion of BSU Chairs on BSU's twentieth anniversary): What was most significant? What did they accomplish?
- Secondary sources: books about the period—provide context and overview (see Taylor Branch's *Parting The Waters* and Vincent Harding's *There Is A River*); read other summations (see my references).

**Finances**
- do a projected budget (copying, photos, researchers [takes a lot of time])
- fundraising: write proposal with compelling rationale for the project, distribute it to people with money, make follow-up calls
- accountant/treasurer: monitor and log-in money as it comes in (from whom); track and record expenses (reimbursements, etc.—photos, interview equipment, phone calls, copying, marketing materials); cut checks; send thank-you notes.

**Editing**
- sketch/outline the overall publication: roughly how long, what format, how will it look?
- Editorial board?: read writer(s)'s drafts; dis/agree on points to be made; point out unclarieties, diction, grammar.
- determine supporting materials for each chapter (quotes, photos, etc.)

**Proofreading**
- read for typos, duplicate words, sentence fragments, spaces between commas and periods

**Writing**
- write; incorporate appropriate points; give it life, make the words sing!
- rewrite, rewrite, rewrite, rewrite...

**Marketing**
- develop PR and distribution plan; mechanics of who gets copies and how;
- figure out how to pub: press releases, articles in local press; displays in bookstores.

**Design**
- determine overall look of book (columns, headers, # photos, etc.)
- design each chapter: placement of photos and quotes & text
- cover art: design; get someone good

**Layout**
- physically arrange text, photos, and other graphic elements; properly place on page with correct spacing, etc.
- learn desktop publishing (PageMaker); it's really not that hard

**Photos**
- find those things you want photos of; get/make 1/2 tones (take to photo lab; size, crop photos); learn this skill; takes attention to detail; is important
- cut to size; paste onto page

**Printer liaison**
- arrange publication date; when get to printer; what are printer's expectations (camera-ready?); keep printer informed of production schedule changes; determine payment situation (in-advance, on-delivery)

**Project manager**
- oversee and coordinate all of the above; work out a timeline (counting backwards from to-the-printer date); monitor and track the various sections and keep on track; determine which links are dependent on one another (who can't work until someone else is done).

Patience, perseverance and a basic love for what you're doing!
Recommended Reading


_The Black Revolution._ August, 1969 special issue of Ebony magazine.


_Revolutionary Suicide._ Huey P. Newton. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1973
Notes

1. Clark, p. 83.
2. Bennett, p. 11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Clark, p. 383
6. Margo Davis and Roxanne Nilan say in The Stanford Album that "apparently only one student enrolled" in 1891 (p. 42), but no official records can confirm this.
7. Ibid., p. 218
8. Massey, Pt. 1, p. 36

1960s
1. Carson, p. 11
2. Harris, p. 51
3. The Stanford Daily, September 25, 1964
4. Massey, Pt. 1, p. 36
5. Drake interview, November 1988

1967
1. Life, p. 22
2. Brisbane, p. 225, 228
3. Black 70, p. 16 & 18
5. Brisbane, p. 219 & 225

1968
1. The Stanford Daily, April 8, 1968
2. The Stanford Daily, April 5, 1968
3. Ibid.
4. Black 70, p. 25
5. The Stanford Daily, April 9, 1968
6. Ibid.
8. Silberman, p. 68
9. Gibbs interview, October 12, 1988
10. The Real News, October 26, 1971
11. Black 70, p. 46
12. Massey, Pt. 1, p. 40
13. Drake

1970s
1. Tate, p. 133
2. Drake
3. Black 70, p. 76, 78
4. Massey, Pt. 1, p. 40

CIV : To Challenge the Nation
1. The Stanford Daily, November 17, 1987
2. The Stanford Daily, October 17, 1988

Takeover '89
1. Tran interview, January 1990
2. The Stanford Daily, May 18, 1988
3. King, "Letter From A Birmingham Jail"
4. San Jose Mercury News, June 10, 1989
5. The Stanford Daily, November 30, 1989

The 1990s: A New Day Dawns
1. Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (Chicano Students of the Southwest), African/Black Student Statewide Alliance, Asian/Pacific Student Union, University of California Student Association, California State Student Association, and California Student Association of Community Colleges
4. Julie Taylor, Assistant Director Admissions.

Conclusion
1. Black 70

Credits

Cover art by Leon Sun
References

*Black 70.* Joyce King, Editor.
Black Student Union files. Black Community Services Center.
*Sacramento Bee*
Stanford University News Service.
*The Real News*
The *San Jose Mercury News*
The *Stanford Daily*
Gratitude

We are grateful to the following organizations and institutions for their funding and support. Their demonstrations of solidarity give us reason to hope that justice is not far off.

Affirmative Action Office
African and Afro-American Studies Program
Anthropology Department
Asian American Students Association
ASSU Program Board
Black Community Services Center
Black Liberation Month Committee
Committee on Black Performing Arts
Council of Presidents, 1989-90
Dean of Humanities and Sciences
Dean of Undergraduate Studies
Haas Center for Public Service
History Department
Ho Fund
Martin L. King, Jr. Commemoration Committee
Martin L. King, Jr. Papers Project
Memorial Church
Mirrielees House
Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA)
Residential Education
Stanford American Indian Organization
Ujamaa Archives
Ujamaa House
Undergraduate Admissions
Undergraduate Scholars Program