

Remembering the Black Campus Movement: An Oral History Interview with James P. Garrett

by

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Abstract

Oral history has a storied and important legacy and utility in documenting the experience of people of African descent. James P. Garrett, one of the leaders of the Black Campus Movement waged by Black Student Unions to reform higher education in the 1960s and 1970s, was interviewed by Ibram Rogers. In this oral history interview, Garrett, who organized and led the nation's first and most influential Black Student Union (BSU) at San Francisco State, gives a description of his life in the Civil Rights Movement before he came to San Francisco in 1966. He shares an account of the founding of the inaugural BSU at San Francisco State, the building of that organization's power base, its mission, and how it served as the vanguard of the Black Campus Movement inspiring other BSUs. Garrett analyzes the growth of Black Studies at San Francisco State, and shares his views on the legacy of the Black Campus Movement, the call of race-neutrality that are getting louder in higher education, and the present state of BSUs.

In the spring of 1966, a group of Black students at San Francisco State College (now University) organized the nation's first Black Student Union (BSU). In the coming years, hundreds of groups of Black students on campuses across the nation would follow suit, organizing BSUs. These BSUs began demanding that American higher education make itself more hospitable and relevant to Black persons and ideas. I call this movement to reform and diversify higher education waged by Black students at historically Black and White colleges and universities, which lasted until about 1975, the Black Campus Movement.¹

One of the chief student initiators and pioneers of the Black Campus Movement was James "Jimmy" P. Garrett, the principal organizer of the first BSU at San Francisco State. Garrett arrived at San Francisco State in the spring of 1966 with the intention of relocating the Black Student Movement he had participated in the last six years (as a member of SNCC and CORE) from the community to the campus. In the next two years, more than 90 percent of the sit-in demonstrations by Black students occurred on college campuses in 1967 and 1968,² as opposed to the community where they occurred in the first half of the decade.

During that first semester at San Francisco State, the nation's first BSU was founded under Garrett's tutelage.³ This BSU focused on gaining power and university resources to advance the Black campus community, and the nearby Black communities. Soon he would build this organization into one of the most powerful and influential organizations during the Black Campus Movement. That year, Garrett also conjured up the idea for the discipline of Black Studies—an idea that soon circulated throughout the nation, as it became the major demand of newly organized BSUs during the Black Campus Movement. In the spring of 1967, Garrett wrote and submitted to the faculty at San Francisco State the first conceptual proposal for a Black Studies department.⁴ After leaving San Francisco State in 1968, Garrett co-founded and served as the director of the Center for Black Education in Washington D.C. and he was one of the principal organizers of the 6th Pan-African Congress in Tanzania in 1974. Over the last more than three decades Garrett has stayed active in the struggle for human rights, earning a law degree and doctorate in political philosophy and sociology of education along the way. Garrett is now the Dean of Instruction at Vista Community College in Berkeley, California.

In the following interview, held on June 1, 2006, Garrett shares the story of his activist life before he arrived in San Francisco.⁵ He provides a description of the establishment of the Black Student Union at San Francisco State, its emergence as a powerful organization, what it sought to do, and how it indirectly and directly helped organize and inspire other BSUs. He examines the development of Black Studies at San Francisco State, the legacy of the Black Campus Movement and its utility in training the current class of Black leaders. Garrett also analyzes the wave of race-neutrality currently sweeping through higher education, and the present state of Black Student Unions in comparison to their formative era.

Ibram Rogers (IR): Explain to me the events surrounding the founding of the Black Student Union at San Francisco State in 1966?

James P. Garrett (JG): There was already in existence an organization called the Negro Student Association that had been started some years ago through people like Willie Brown and others who were in the group that predated our activities. But let me go back, just in terms of my own work. I had been taught by Bob Moses and others and SNCC. And based on readings I had been doing on Fanon and Mao Zedong and others—you have to do a study of the area. So I did a study, kind of a city study and a college study of the San Francisco Bay area. During that time, there were several people who were my colleagues in SNCC who came out because they knew that I was going to the campus to organize. I didn't go to the campus to be a student. We went to the campus for two reasons. One is to avoid being called in the military, which we weren't going to go. SNCC people had basically taken a position that they weren't going to go.

So we did a study, a historical study or modern history—that is a 20th century historical study of San Francisco—and the founding of the state college system and the master plan.⁶ And it was based on that study and the communications that I had with a number of people who were involved in community work, poverty program work with CORE and others that when I came onto the campus I was pretty well armed. So it wasn't any active genius when I called for the change...from Negro Student Association to Black Student Union. I called for it in March [of 1966]. Finally about seven or eight of us met in April of 1966 to formalize what became the Black Student Union. Marianna Waddy, Jo Ann Mitchell, Benny Stewart, Jerry Varnado and a couple of others and myself came together to form this and I became the chair.

IR: Why did you decide to call for a name change?

JG: Because of the national consciousness. What we were coming out, at least what I was coming out of, was a combination of factors: the need to organize as opposed to simply mobilize and protest, which we were learning from our experience in SNCC and I had been involved in SNCC since the early 60s. And the second was the rise of consciousness from the uprisings that were taking place. I had just left LA and had been in the middle of what people call “the Watts riot” and what we call[ed] “the Los Angeles uprising” because it took place all over Los Angeles in 1965.

So there was a national consciousness that was developing and consolidating and the use of that consciousness distilled into the notion of Black or Blackness or the validity of Blackness. And the idea was to politicize this growing consciousness into a formation of a union and the union was because of the connection we thought of the union movement. That it is not simply an alliance or an association, but a union. It is a coming together of a broad base of people. So Black and student and union all had meaning that were connected. Blackness was the new consciousness or the consolidation of a consciousness that came from Malcolm X and from Martin King in his latter days as personifications.

SNCC people had moved from defining themselves as Negroes to Black. All of these things were coming into being at that time. The Los Angeles uprising was the crystallizing force, at least personally for me.

IR: How did you gain your own consciousness? What are were some of your experiences before you came to State?

JG: I grew up in Texas and Louisiana: large family. My father's family was landowners in southeast Texas. They owned a very large produce farm. My father had gotten involved in the Negro Baseball leagues and had hooked up with an organization called the Southern Negro Youth Congress. It was sort of a mass organization coming out of the Communist Party of the time. My mother's family was basically urban migrants. That is they would move from city to city, but they were based in Dallas, Texas. And that's where my mother and father met. All working class—my mother's whole family—the women had been maids and the men were involved in either construction work or whatever kind of work they could get. I had two older brothers. My oldest brother went into the military.

In 1957, I was in high school [in Los Angeles] and became active with street gangs. I ran track and did gymnastics there. I became active in school politics while becoming involved in street gangs. In order to keep me from getting too deeply involved in street gangs in the 1960s, my parents sent me back to Texas for the summer. It was during that summer that I got involved in the sit-in movements. We demonstrated and I was arrested seven times that summer and I was hooked. My life changed. I came back and became involved in the Avalon Community Center, which was a settlement house in South LA. The settlement house movement was a bastion for whoever was going to survive in the Black ghettos. And the settlement house of choice in LA was the Avalon Community Center and that's where I ended up. It was there that I met people from CORE. And in 1961, I went on the Freedom Rides. I ended up being hurt in Houston and we went over to New Orleans where I spent 27 days in the New Orleans prison.

I came back and was involved in CORE and the Communist Party through their youth organization. I was just pulled more and more into radical movement activity. And then finally in 1963, I got hooked up with people in SNCC, went down to the South for a couple of months with SNCC, came back and just stayed active in SNCC and CORE. I didn't really see too much difference between them at the time. I was active in radical activities and demonstrations in the LA area. I got on SNCC's staff in the spring of 1964, remained with SNCC; that's when Bob was training, so I got a lot of training from Bob Moses, and Jim Foreman and we worked with Stokely Carmichael or Kwame Toure. So all those kind of notables were people that I knew in a different kind of way. I knew them as comrades.

By 1965, I had gotten beaten up pretty badly outside of Jackson and couldn't stay in the South because I was almost beaten to death. I went back to California and took over fundraising in Los Angeles for SNCC. We had a South LA office where we involved ourselves in the civil rights activities with the United Civil Rights Coalition. There was one youth that was supposed to be the representative for LA and that was me. I wasn't but 17 years old.

I was 15 in the sit-ins. I graduated from high school in 1962. I've been in the movement since I was really 14, 14 and a half. So by the time I got to San Francisco State I had been in the movement for six years. So I wasn't a novice like 95 percent of the people who were involved in struggles at San Francisco State. I had been around. I was just young. I was pulled into the movement and that became my life. It's still my life.

So then when the uprising took place, I kind of abandoned my place as fundraising and moved directly into street organizing and ran into conflict with the administrators at SNCC and ended up leaving SNCC in September of 1965. I traveled to Asia. I was invited to go to Japan. I spoke at a couple of universities in Japan and then ended up going to China and North Vietnam. All this happened between October and December of 1965. I came back and found out that I had been accepted at two schools: Michigan State and San Francisco State, both of which had writing programs. I had been writing all of that time...I was involved in a lot of stuff, so by the time I got to [San Francisco] State I was ready. I was trained and prepared. I came there as a veteran of the movement. I was what 19 or 20 years old, but I was a veteran of the movement. I think I was 20. I just turned 20 at the end of the year: December 31.

IR: What was going to be the role of the new Black Student Union?

JG: I wrote an essay on education that talked about the importance of transforming the concept of education from matriculation and schooling to it being used as a tool for social development. And that was an attempt to crystallize my own involvement in the Freedom Schools and what became the Liberation Schools. I thought that it was important to use the Black experience or Black life as a central organizing tool. Number one because people didn't know it and it was almost like a new frontier for our generation and number two because I saw a rising consciousness that was beginning to manifest itself. So by the time I got to State the question was how to apply that.

I wrote a preliminary statement for a SDS/SNCC conference that took place at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in January of 1965. And then I updated it just after the [LA] uprising. I guess that was in September of 1965. That's the document that I wrote that was preliminary to what became the Black Studies curriculum. What was important as we were organizing was we had to have a goal.

And the goal was to restructure San Francisco State as a model for acting as a resource base to serve the Black community. So the whole thing was to take the school, to take it over, literally or the pivotal areas of the school such that whatever resources it had could be used to benefit or ameliorate the Black community, which we saw as a revolutionary force in the United States.

So the concept of the Black Student Union was to include everybody who considered themselves to be Black whether they were students, faculty, security people, buildings and grounds, landscapers, gardeners, maids who worked in the dorms; we didn't care where they were and who they were. If they were Black, then they were members of the Black Student Union. So we didn't have a membership fee, you were a member by definition. Africans on the campus were members by definition. People from Puerto Rico or Nicaragua, if they considered themselves to have African blood they were members of the Black Student Union. So that was one thing, to consolidate everybody under that banner. Then we moved to include all the fraternities and sororities, all the people who were excluded from sororities or fraternities because of color or whatever, we would include them. We moved to include the athletes who were in some cases isolated from all of these folks. We moved to pull in the cultural people: poets, writers. There were a number of people that we tried to pull in.

Then we wanted to link the San Francisco community with our organization. We moved to take over the tutorial program. In those days a lot of white students were involved in the tutorial program and they were paid work-study money to do tutoring and they did a lot of them in our community. What we did is take the tutorial program and transform it into a tutoring program where whites were being tutored by whites, Asians by Asians, Black by Blacks, Latinos by Latinos and then we cross fertilized them by sending groups from various constituencies to work with others.

We moved to take over the student government. We didn't move to become president. We moved to take over the finances of the student government. Then we moved to the administration to take over the pool of funds that came through work study. We moved to take over the alumni so we found people who had graduated and sent them to the alumni organization because that alumni association gave parties and raised money. One of my main roles was to build a relationship with the guy who was the president of the school and was very much of a liberal and who wanted to open space for people of color. And it basically got to a point in which [San Francisco State President] John [Summerskill] didn't make policy decisions unless he consulted with me.

We laid out a whole process for dealing with taking over the school. But we fell into a hole. The hole was people did not have a consolidate worldview. I wrote a document called the "Justification for Black Studies" in the late fall of 1966. That became the piece that was used to organize Black Studies. The reason I wrote the document was that we had people that we were placing in all these positions who did not have national consciousness.

They had Negro consciousness, or petty bourgeois consciousness, middle class consciousness, personal independent individual aggrandizement consciousness, but they didn't have collective consciousness. So Black Studies became a means to consolidate that certain type of consciousness, by giving everybody at least a generalized understanding of African, Black History at the global level, and the politics that we needed to follow in order to come to grips with sovereignty and collective ownership. I was very much a socialist, very much probably a Marxist, and I tried to fuse that with what was my own growing national consciousness. So that document became the justification for Black Studies, it became the basis for creating the curriculum.

That same justification for Black Studies was used all over the country. Cal State LA, University of Washington, Oregon State, Reed College, Portland State—everywhere, we took it everywhere. That's how the progression took place. Black Studies came out of the building of a Black Student Movement on the campus and the spreading of the Black Student Unions to other campuses, and trying to come to grips with problems that arose. The development of the Black Studies curriculum was a means to solve problems. And this problem was a major problem and that was a problem of national consciousness; the lack of a progressive national consciousness.

IR: The BSU was founded in the spring of 1966. What occurred when the students came back in the fall of 1966 and thereafter?

JG: The whole fall of 1966 into 1967, that's the development of the Black Panther Party and the Black Student Unions. During the spring of 1967, we asked for that School of Humanities to allow us to teach courses. There were already courses being taught under the experimental college that was run by the student government. We financed a lot of the early courses. I ended up teaching two courses in the spring of 1967. I taught a graduate course in humanities and an undergraduate course in humanities, and I was a junior then. It was kind of a weird thing. We called our courses "unhumanities" because the definition of humanities was the art and culture of the West. And the question was what happened if you are a human being and you didn't come from the West? So we developed whole curriculums around challenging Western concepts and the domination of the West and the hegemony of the West and hegemony of the U.S. Then in the fall of 1966, early 1967 we had met with LeRoi Jones [Amiri Baraka] and we brought LeRoi out in the spring of 1967 and brought Sonia Sanchez out in the later part of 1967. So we were bringing people in to help legitimize the concept of Black Studies. We didn't see it as a struggle then. We were putting together what the administration was calling Area Studies. They didn't want to give it credit. And they certainly didn't want to give it a department or school or anything like that. But we were building towards that. We were going out into the community and talking to Black union leaders. We were trying to build relationship among prominent Blacks, so that when the struggle came and we knew it was going to come at some point, we would have support.

IR: How and why did the San Francisco State BSU become so powerful with so much influence?

JG: We went out and found the Danny Glovers. We went out in the street and found Danny Glover. Danny Glover wasn't in school. He was on the street corner when I found him. We began to recruit large numbers of students and demanding that the state colleges and private institutions increase the number of Black students because we needed a critical mass. You can't build a movement unless you have critical mass of somebody. The second thing was to organize that mass around whatever kind of worldview you have.

In the two years that we did our organizing from the spring of 1966 to the spring of 1968, we had gone from about 150 students to 600 students. By the fall of 1968, there were 900 Black students at San Francisco State. At the same time at other campuses there were quantum leaps in the number of students coming to the campus owing to the generally liberal concept of recruitment. At that time the second or third biggest industry in the country was education. And it was a growing institution. And so that was a place that was an industry and the more potential products in that industry the better. So it was to the benefit of faculty, administrators, etc., to bring people on to the campus. So we brought people onto the campus and we had to organize those people in various ways. We tried to lay the example of organizing. In many cases by the time other campuses started demanding Black Studies after we made our initial demands they had only mobilized people. They hadn't organized. Our beginning was at a different historical stage. We started to organize in the spring of 1966, while they started to organize in the spring of 1968. In that two years we had built an organization that included a Third World Liberation Front. We built a Latinos Student Union, a Pilipino organization and an Asian Student Organization. Our thing was to take the college campus. Other people saw the Black Student Union because it was the vanguard because it was the leader and that's all you have to organize. We thought that you had to organize everybody, including the 18,000 white students that were on campus. And we did, we took over the leadership of SDS [Students for a Democratic Society]. We took it over the leadership of the Progressive Labor Party. We took everything that we could. I don't mean by violence. You take it over by asserting your leadership and your mottos and by winning battles and by winning over people.

Our main tactic was conversion. We also used coercion. We did. We threw a racist professor out of a second story window. That's true. We got into a fight with some of the members of *The Gator*, which was the campus newspaper. That's true. We ended up in pitch battles with some of the people with the athletics department. That's true. We didn't use coercive tactics against our constituents, against students. Many of them were on work study. We controlled the work study money. In order for them to get jobs they had to go through us. So if that's called coercion, then yes, but physical coercion—no. We didn't have to demand that anybody be a member of the Black Student Union. You were member of the Black Student Union just by virtue of being Black on campus.

IR: In 1968, the San Francisco State BSU recruited Nathan Hare to chair the Black Studies program at the college. Why did you guys decide to bring in Nathan Hare for that position?

JG: Nathan accuses me of ruining his life [Garrett laughs]. He had just gotten fired from Howard, but he had a Ph.D. We didn't want to fight that battle. I was the head of Black Studies as a junior. I was teaching graduate courses. We were going to get caught. I begged Nathan to come out here. He had the heart. He gave up a career to come out here and be with us. He was a race man. He had a Ph.D. We needed somebody who we thought had some consciousness. We couldn't recruit somebody who was going to come out here and sell us out. We needed somebody who we could communicate with, so we didn't need somebody who was stuck up. And Nathan was grounded. He was cool. He was part Native American. He liked the simple life. He had all the stuff that we wanted plus he had the Ph.D. He had been a boxer, which meant that he had some heart. We wanted a soldier. Nathan fit a lot of bills. And he was so cool. And he didn't mind the dirty work of moving tables around and transporting people. He was just good people. What we didn't know was that he was a brilliant scholar, a brilliant thinker. We didn't know that until he came out.

IR: Today, most of the BSUs on college campuses are primarily social organizations as opposed to being activist, which was their nature when many of them were founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s. When did these BSUs across the nation become primarily social organizations?

JG: I think that the radicalized Black Student Movement carried on in various ways in different places into the mid-1970s. The counterrevolution began to take place I believe around the early 1970s with people who were more into careerism. What was happening was that radicals and militants who had been in the Black Student Union began to leave the campuses either because they were expelled, or they graduated or they went crazy or they went to jail or they were killed. And that was replaced by a second generation who knew more about militancy and less about organizing. We did not do what the Irish do—pass on the organizing skills to the next generation. At the same time we had people who were looking for permanent positions who could not ever get a Black permanent position on any college campus as a faculty member or administrator unless they were associated with Black this or that. These are people who consolidated the attire of Black consciousness but they were really careerists.

The counterrevolution ended up over taking and redirecting the energies of the Black Studies programs and the Black Student Unions. Black Student Unions were all formed to benefit, to aid in the transformation and amelioration of the conditions of the Black community, which we saw as revolutionary force. The Black community remained fragmented. The revolutionary force fragmented. Therefore it was logical that Black Studies programs and Black Student Unions would fragment...To me that's a normal pattern of history when you lose your base. It begins to kick off in 1970s. But it took about a decade for that counterrevolution and that counterforce to consolidate itself and it is really consolidated now.

IR: How would you describe the current state of BSUs compared to state of BSUs in the late 1960s and early 1970s?

JG: It is worse now for two reasons. One for where it is. And two that the American nation has made a decision that there will never be Black leadership of the quality that emerged out of the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. That will never happen again is the position. They will not allow that to happen. There's a vigilance now to make sure that a Black leadership class doesn't emerge again. And it hasn't.

IR: What role did the BSUs in the 1960s and 1970s play in the nurturing of this Black leadership class?

JG: I was nurtured. We trained people as leaders. People that I deal with everyday are people who come out of one or another Black Student Union. These are people now in their 50s and 60s. They became pharmacists, doctors, lawyers. [Oakland Mayor] Ron Dellums. [Representative, D-CA] Barbara Lee comes out of the Black Student Union at Mills College who was the only person who voted against the U.S. going to Iraq in 2003. That's the last generation of leadership. And it either came out of the Black Student Union, or it came out of SNCC, CORE or the Black Panther Party. What's left of the progressive leadership sector today comes out of that—the whole group.

IR: What is the legacy of the original BSUs?

JG: I would fully say that probably 80 to 85 percent of Black faculty members on White college campuses are there as a direct result of our struggle. They owe a tremendous amount—they don't pay—but they owe a tremendous amount to the sacrifices of people who lost their hands their fingers, their eyes, people who spent time in prison who were killed—students. That many faculty members who have jobs at places like UC Berkeley when Berkeley would never have hired them. They went from 98 percent to 92 percent in terms of the number of White professors at Berkeley principally by hiring Blacks and Latinos and Asians into the Ethnic Studies programs. Most of these men and women owe their positions to the Black Student Unions. That's one of the positive legacies.

The thing that would be useful though; a way to recognize that legacy is to say a tip of the hat to Benny Stewart and Jerry Varnardo [his fellow comrades in the SF State BSU]. But, I would rather have real struggle on the campus. I would rather have people develop a worldview about what education should be in the 21st century for young blacks and then move to organize around that. And that may serve to eclipse Black Student Unions and Black Studies programs just like Negro Student Associations were eclipsed. Black Student Unions may be eclipsed. Black Studies may be eclipsed. That's OK. But it ought to be eclipsed in a progressive sense around a progressive program of action.

Conclusion

Black students' offensive protests for more faculty and departmental status for Black Studies, among other demands, were pervasive during the Black Campus Movement. Since the demise of the movement in the mid-1970s, most BSUs and Black academics have been waging defensive protests to keep their gains. As the second decade of this new century comes into being, Black Student Unions and Black Studies as a discipline stand at a fork in the road. Will they continue down the same road of careerism and social apathy? Or will they listen to Jimmy Garrett and make a left down the road of political activism, cultural agency, and disciplinary development and renew the campaign of the Black Campus Movement to change the academy?

A concerted effort among academics needs to be waged to document the story of the Black Campus Movement and the history of Black Studies to provide the present generation with knowledge of the movement. Some studies have been produced about particular movements at campuses, but generally the historiography on the Black Campus Movement is severely lacking. Garrett and many other innovators and activists should be household names amongst current BSU leaders, students and faculty in Black Studies, and higher education diversity practitioners. And like Garrett explained, they should be building on the knowledge of the program of the Black Campus Movement to demand and institute a more relevant academy.

Endnotes

¹ For more information on the Black Campus Movement, see Dikran Karagueuzian, *Blow It Up!: The Black Student Revolt at San Francisco State and the Emergence of Dr. Hayakawa* (Boston: Gambit, 1971); Ione D. Vargus, *Revival of Ideology: The Afro-American Society Movement* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1977); Richard P. McCormick, *The Black Student Protest Movement at Rutgers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Joy Ann Williamson, *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois, 1965-75* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Donald Alexander Downs, *CORNELL '69: Liberalism and the Crisis of the American University* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); William H. Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest: Black Student Activism in a White University* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985); Wayne Glasker, *Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967-1990* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); George Napper, *Blacker Than Thou: The Struggle for Campus Unity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmann, 1973) and James McEvoy & Abraham Miller, eds., *Black Power and Student Rebellion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969).

² William L. Van Deburg, *New Day In Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 68.

³ For more information on the San Francisco State BSU movement, see William Barlow & Peter Shapiro, *An End to Silence: The San Francisco State College Student Movement in the 60s* (New York: Pegasus Press, 1971); Karagueuzian, *Blow It Up!*; William H. Orrick, Jr., *Shut It Down! A College in Crisis: San Francisco State College October, 1968 - April, 1969* (Stockton, CA: University Press of the Pacific, 2006); DeVere Pentony, Robert Smith, and Richard Axen, *By Any Means Necessary: The Revolutionary Struggle at San Francisco State* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970); DeVere Pentony, Robert Smith, and Richard Axen, *Unfinished Rebellions* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971); Howard Finberg, ed., *Crisis at SF State* (San Francisco: Insight, 1969); Joseph Axelrod and Mervin B. Freedman, eds., *Academics On the Line: The Faculty Strike at San Francisco State* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970); Kay Boyle, *The Long Walk at San Francisco State* (New York: Grove Press, 1970); John Summerskill, *President Seven* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1971); and Leo Litwak and Herbert Wilner, *College Days in Earthquake Country* (New York: Random House, 1971).

⁴ For more information on this proposal, see Barlow & Shapiro, *An End to Silence*, 124-131.

⁵ This interview was originally conducted for an article on the 40-year history of BSUs (see Ibram Rogers, "[Celebrating 40 Years of Activism.](#)" *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, June 29, 2006.

⁶ For more information on the history of the California State College system and the Master Plan, see Barlow & Shapiro, *An End to Silence*, 19-32 & 174-194.