

Black Power, Black Students, and the Institutionalizing of Change: Loyola Marymount University, 1968- 1978

by

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Abstract

This paper examines the Black Campus Movement at Loyola Marymount University (LMU), and thus explores Black student activism at LMU from 1968 to 1978 revealing how the climate and influence of Black Power energized and mobilized Black students to navigate and negotiate the university in their quest to demand respect, as well as their request for the social and academic resources they needed to maximize their college experience. The paper argues that the creation of the Black Student Union (BSU), the Office of Black Student Services (OBSS), and the African American Studies Department (AFAM) institutionalized the Black Campus Movement at LMU. Archival research indicates that unfavorable and hostile conditions on campus led to the formation of the BSU, which became a central Black student organizing body. Results also illustrate the rigidity of the university begot increasingly aggressive responses from the BSU. However, when the university responded respectfully to Black students illustrating the institutional sincerity about their concerns, the students responded in kind, although trying to attain and maintain as much as institutional power as possible.

Introduction

This paper examines the experiences of Black students at Loyola Marymount University¹ (LMU). LMU is a small private Catholic university rooted in the Jesuit and Marymount traditions located in West Los Angeles. The Black Campus Movement at LMU lasted from 1968 through 1978, as part of a larger Black Student Movement. These ten years are pivotal in the Black student experience at LMU, because the energy Black Power brought to LMU's campus contributed to the institutionalization of change. This paper is concerned with how the students were able to develop goals, sustain the movement, and adjust their strategy as needed. The students were effective at renegotiating the relationship with the university in such a way as to elicit a response to the critical issues they were facing such as the need for human respect and dignity, increased Black student enrollment, increased financial resources, and a Black presence in the curriculum. Ultimately, the Black Campus Movement at LMU institutionalized the Black Students' Union (BSU) in 1968, Office of Black Student Services² (OBSS), and African American Studies³ in 1970.

Ibram Rogers defines the Black Campus Movement as the “struggle among [B]lack student nationalists at historically white and [B]lack institutions to reconstitute higher education.”⁴ The Black Campus Movement focuses specifically on Black student activism on college and university campuses during the overlapping Black Power Movement and Black Student Movement. LMU's Department of Archives and Special Collections Library provided much of the material for this study. This archival investigation establishes that the BSU, OBSS, and AFAM are the institutional legacies and manifestations of the victories institutionalized do to the success of the Black Camps Movement at LMU.

The BSU, OBSS, and AFAM are movement- organizations. This refers to “the idea that movements can become institutionalized in the form of a movement- organization that acts as a watchdog, lobby, or advocacy group on behalf of the issues of concern to the movement in question”.⁵ This paper will draw upon Wayne Glasker's use of Mayer Zald and Roberta Ash's concept of “movement- organization” in his 2002 study of Black student activism at the University of Pennsylvania from 1967- 1990. Zald and Ash argue social movements manifest themselves through social organizations, and the movement becomes institutionalized through the organization. This has resulted in the term movement- organization.⁶ Like Glasker, this text refers to the establishment of the BSU, OBSS, and AFAM as movement organizations. The Black Campus Movement gave birth to these campus entities to serve Black students interests within the university. Black students' at LMU were empowered through Black Power rhetoric and mobilized through the BSU.

In 1967, Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton published *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. This popular and widely read book stated, “The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: Before a group can enter an open society, it must first close ranks.”⁷ Ture and Hamilton advocated for Black solidarity and an ideology that would empower and improve the quality of life for the masses of Black people, and change the power dynamic of the nation. Black Power “was an affirmation of [B]lack people’s right to self-determination, as well as full citizenship and access to resources by [W]hites.”⁸ Black Power then was a struggle towards having the personhood and peoplehood of Black’s valued and respected. It is worth quoting Ogburn at length here stating,

Black Power was an organic response to the limitations of rigid [B]lack nationalism and the civil rights movement. It embraced the notion that [B]lack people in the United States deserved access to resources, employment, housing, and equal protection under the law, just as [W]hites did. It did not forfeit citizenship rights, as did [B]lack nationalists. In addition, Black Power endorsed an important idea: [B]lack self-love. Influenced by the Nation of Islam and other nationalists, [B]lack people sought to extricate themselves from the psychological entrapments of [W]hite supremacy. They enjoyed a popular celebration of [B]lack historical accomplishment, reclamation of Africa, and the importance of self-determination. In many respects, this emphasis on self-identity was contrary to the thrust of the civil rights movement, yet it became the dominant point of analysis for African Americans.”⁹

Black Power, then, was not a call for Black isolation, nor was it anti-White. Black Power was a response to the shared experience of racial oppression and discrimination, a movement to build a positive Black self- image and consciousness, and a motivating principle informing and energizing the Black struggle for access to resources to improve the quality of life for Black people. It was a quest for recognition and humanity, not only from White’s but also from Black people individually and collectively. Black Power energized a new generation of activists ready to fight injustice, and create cultural, political, economic, and academic space for Black people. With Black youth growing up in such a turbulent and politically charged nation, and witnessing revolutions around the world, they harnessed a power that would reshape the American academic landscape.

The Power of Black Power: A Narrative, Historical Significance, and Legacy

This text has three primary objectives. First, to illustrate the power of Black Power in changing the relationship between students and the institution in their quest for respect resulting in long lasting movement- organizations. Second, establish a narrative for the Black Students Movement at LMU, 1968- 1978. Finally, highlight the historical significance and legacy of Black Power, and its 21st century implications for Black people's humanity in general and Black students at Historically White Colleges and Universities specifically.

The organization of this non-exhaustive account is both chronological and thematic. The work divides into three parts. First, the paper explores the racial climate of LMU in the late 60's and 70's and the struggle for respect and dignity. Next, the paper examines Black student extra-curricular activities, and the struggle for culturally relevant programs and activities. Finally, it illustrates the process of formalizing and institutionalizing the department of African American Studies and the struggle for intellectual and academic sovereignty.

Black Power and the Racial Climate

August 6, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 as part of an effort to enfranchise the Black community. Five days later the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, California became the focus of national attention due to a large scale uprising. In the aftermath, the McCone Commission explored and identified deep level issues pointing to political, economic, racist, and social factors contributing to the unrest. Regarding the Black residents of Watts, the report states

Hence, equality of opportunity, a privilege he sought and expected, proved more of an illusion than a fact. The Negro found that he entered the competitive life of the city with very real handicaps: he lacked education, training, and experience, and his handicaps were aggravated by racial barriers which were more traditional than legal. He found himself, for reasons for which he had no responsibility and over which he had no control, in a situation in which providing a livelihood for himself and his family was most difficult and at times desperate. Thus, with the passage of time, altogether too often the rural Negro who has come to the city sinks into despair. And many of the younger generation, coming on in great numbers, inherit this feeling but seek release, not in apathy, but in ways which, if allowed to run unchecked, offer nothing but tragedy to America.¹⁰

In other words, the McCone commission indicated that the deplorable conditions Black people found themselves in were the result of a lack of recognition of Black peoples humanity and dignity. Recognizing and respecting Black people's humanity would have deemed their condition unacceptable. Because of a lack of acknowledgement, the anger and frustration of Black youth erupted in one loud demonstration of their power.

Students at LMU, only a few miles west of Watts, were very aware of the uprisings. Articles and letters to the editor in the school newspaper the *Los Angeles Loyolan* indicates that students were not only aware, but also diverse in their analysis of the causes and perceptions of the Watts community members involved in the uprising, and the perception of the police department.¹¹ Hence, Loyola men and women from Immaculate Heart, Marymount and Mt. Saint Mary's colleges organized and took action providing volunteer services to youth in Watts, East Los Angeles, and Ocean Park to provide academic assistance to children in impoverished areas.¹² In the wake of the Watts rebellion, the numbers of Black students increased at LMU. However, not until 1972 were enrollment records recorded by race. Before 1972, student major and religion was priority.

The mid-1960s found Loyola University and Marymount College with relatively few Black students. As a result, Black students found themselves like proverbial "fish out of water". Unwelcomed and undesired by White fraternities and sororities, feeling isolated, and receiving little to no institutional support, Black students felt frustrated and vulnerable. Furthermore, neither Loyola nor Marymount offered courses examining the African and/ or Black experience. Since the Black students' humanity was not being acknowledged and accepted, neither the Black students' social or academic experience was being maximized on campus. Black students also were no strangers to physical and/ or verbal assaults. As a result, to respond collectively to such injustices and assert their humanity the Black students formed the BSU in 1968.

Leading up to the formation of the BSU, on September 5, 1968 the President of Loyola University, Charles S. Casassa, S.J. issued a policy on unlawful student protest. This policy indicates that the university recognized freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and the legal and moral rights of those engaged in such activities. However, Casassa states that unlawful protest and/ or demonstrations that would disrupt university functions are unlawful. Furthermore, the institution has the right and responsibility of appropriately remedying the situation. Even to the extent of police involvement.¹³ Although the tone of the statement illustrates that Casassa is responding to undesired student activities and protests, research has not revealed the incident or incidents in which this could have been a response. It is also reasonable to think he was being proactive, given the increase in student protests in general or more specifically Black student protests around the nation in the late 60's.

The Loyola University Community Action Program (LUCAP) established fall 1968 to foster community awareness and involvement. Its coalition with the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, the Westchester Human Relations Council, and the BSU and UMAS fought against racism and dehumanizing poverty. LUCAP also advocated for associated courses through the University's departments of sociology, psychology, and history. The organization presented a united front and applied more pressure to the University to implement such courses, and they hosted and sponsored race forums and dialogues amongst different groups.¹⁴

In October of 1968, President Casassa established an Ad Hoc Committee on Race Relations, which had the responsibility of determining which programs were needed and feasible for the university. The committee established task forces to research and recommend solutions to racial problems. Their recommendations included separate funds for books on underrepresented communities in the library, curriculum revisions to include Black American, African, and other underrepresented communities in course offerings, and the hiring of Black faculty and staff. Casassa responded to the recommendations of the task forces of the committee with little to no specific statements regarding university action in an interview with the *Loyolan* on November 18, 1968 stating that the implementation of courses such as "Black" American History would be beneficial, but it is up to the individual departments. Casassa also noted that the curriculum could not cover all areas, calling it undesirable and unfeasible. He further stated he had no problems with hiring non-white faculty and staff. However, he indicated that he had a hard time finding qualified Black and Latino personnel and would not engage in quota hiring. When asked if the library should set aside a portion of their general fund for books on different cultural groups, he responded that even though he supports the acquisition of books he would not set aside special funds. He suggested individual departments purchased desired books.¹⁵

In this racialized climate on campus, the Black students established the BSU in the fall of 1968, and institutionally recognized in the winter of 1968- 69. The BSU sought to provide Black students with an organization that would address their academic, social, cultural, and political well-being. In "A Statement from the BSU", printed November 18, 1968 in the *Loyolan* the BSU state,

While minority groups at other schools, in the immediate area and across the nation, have chosen rather direct methods to awaken the powers that be within their respective institutions to the existence and urgency of the social problems that confront this nation, the Black Student Union at Loyola has elected to work through established channels, to dialogue, and to present our case in an intelligent, cohesive, and non-violent fashion.¹⁶

The statement continues,

Whatever the case, which ever method, the administration of this university is going to have to make a choice. It is either going to continue its present course of irrelevancy, inadequacy, and evasion and be ready to accept the inevitable consequences of such inaction; or it will elect the alternative.¹⁷

The BSU's indicates its preference for adhering to the proper channels, but a willingness to take other measures if necessary. This statement is an indication of Black Power. The Black students illustrate a shift in consciousness away from requesting inclusion. The BSU, on the other hand, turns to a demand for respect and dignity in the nature of their relationship to and interaction with Loyola-Marymount as an institution.

The BSU played a pivotal role in the improvement of race relations and institutional change with respect to race at LMU. Soon after the formation of the BSU, the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) formed because Mexican American students like Black students also faced racial discrimination and harassment at Loyola University. Subsequently, the BSU and UMAS met on January 30, 1968 and formed the Non-White Student Alliance. These organizations sought to promote race pride, self-identity, and use an intellectual and non-violent approach to address their concerns.¹⁸ The Non-White Student Alliance believed that their concerns and grievances could be addressed through diplomatic means. The BSU had meetings with university representatives at various levels throughout the spring and fall of '68. However, after having several meetings with little substantive outcomes, Black student frustrations increased.

The unfruitful meetings combined with the continuing racial discrimination and assaults on campus prompted the *The Loyolan* to run an article entitled, "Attitudes on Race Relations" on November 11, 1968. *The Loyolan* surveyed students on the issue of race and race relations at Loyola-Marymount. The majority of the 51 students surveyed responded that the issue of race was important to the country and to them as an individual. However, only 19 believed that Loyola-Marymount should play a role in the efforts to improve race relations. Furthermore, only 11 of the respondents indicated that they would be willing to spend more than 10 hours a month working in University sponsored programs/workshops dedicated to race relations. 41 students believed that the History department should offer a course on Black American History and in African History, with 20 students indicating that they would take the Black American History course, 14 students would take the African History course, 16 would take both, and 21 would take neither course if offered as electives. The final question "Do you feel that emphasis should be given on minority group history in the basic American history course, Hs 50?" was split 22 to 23. *The Loyolan* reported that this question prompted responses such as the following:

- it should be ignored, because we have so much to cover already that it would be an impossible task
- No, because they are a minority, they don't really count.

One response to the question “What do you think should be done (about race relations)?” resulted in one response stating

- Send them back to Africa.

The question how do you deal with race relations received similar responses such as,

- I treat people the same way regardless of color.¹⁹

This *Loyolan* article illustrates the racial divide and complexity amongst Loyola-Marymount students. It provides some insight into the nature of the climate Black students contended and how their humanity was not respected by some representatives of the institution or by their peers.

On February 3, 1969, the Task Force sent an official letter and “Report of the Task Force on Minority Affairs” to President Cassassa. The report included report summary, suggestions, and estimated costs. The task force suggested five principles for the university to adopt as guidelines for the special programs developed out of the task force. The principles were:

1. Loyola has a social responsibility to initiate programs for disadvantaged students.
2. Loyola's programs for disadvantaged students should encompass both the internal needs of its own community and the external needs of the Los Angeles Community.
3. Loyola's programs should center around the institution's objectives in the area of undergraduate education.
4. Programs adopted by Loyola should use Loyola talent and personnel.
5. While serious efforts must be made to obtain outside financial support, Loyola also must make sacrifices to support these programs.²⁰

Members of the BSU and other groups on campus monitored Loyola-Marymount's commitment and movement towards the implementation of the agreed upon institutional changes. As tensions and frustrations mounted, the hope and desire for recognition, full student inclusion, and access to resources did not diminish.

February of 1969, the BSU issued a statement to the University at large voicing their disapproval of the lack of responses and action by the University and the Board of Trustees. They reiterated their involvement with faculty members, UMAS members, members of LUCAP, and other student body officials to work towards meeting the established goals. The BSU as part of the Task Force negotiated, developed, and submitted proposals.

Yet, in a meeting with the Board of Trustees February 19, 1969, the representatives of the BSU felt the response of the University and the Board of Trustees was one of tokenism, and therefore insulting and unacceptable.²¹ As a result, the representatives walked out of the meeting in protest.²² This resulted in stiffer demands and harsh consequences as warned in the November 18 BSU statements.

May 12, 1970 Black, Chicano, and sympathetic Whites occupied and took over the Development Building and Regents Center. Ordered to leave, all but six staff remained in the building at their desks. It was reported that the occupation was peaceful, indicating that no one was harmed and no property damaged. The goal of the students was to attract outside publicity to further the process of implementing the student's demands.²³ To the students, this was a necessary strategy to illustrate that their concerns and demands are serious. Furthermore, this action demanded respect, human dignity, and the pursuit of a quality education and way of life it for Black students and their allies.

The 1969-70 school year brought a new president, Donald P. Merrifield, S.J., he issued a statement to the Loyola-Marymount community on May 14, 1970 communicating what had been transpiring on campus, and what the institution had been doing to address the concerns. He also admitted that the institution needed to do a better job of informing all stakeholders of the status of student demands and resolutions. Merrifield also admitted that Black and Mexican American students have had a difficult time adjusting to campus, and the institution has not been fully prepared or accepting of their presence. This admission becomes an important and pivotal shift in the nature of the relationship between the Black students and the institution. Under the leadership of President Cassassa, Black students were increasingly frustrated with the responses (or lack thereof) and the unproductive action of the institution. It is believed here that had Cassassa remained President with the same approach in dealing with the Black students, Black students at LMU would have increased their militancy like schools such as Cornell, Yale, and Columbia.

With the new President, the atmosphere at LMU shifted. In his first year, 1969- 70, President Merrifield initiated steps towards making resources available to Black students. Amongst many steps, the institution was taking, he communicated that two new programs, the Mexican American program and the Afro-American program would be created with two new directors, Edward Hernandez and Robert Taylor. Merrifield indicated that with these programs and directors in place, the students would have a University representative and a defined method of communication with the administration.²⁴ This move is the first step of many that the institution would make in its attempt to meet the needs of Black students. However, it cannot be understated that this was an effective move to pacify Black students. It brought a halt to large-scale demonstrations by bringing Black students into the institution, done to preserve the integrity and image of the institution. Nevertheless, Merrifield brought Black students into the institution where they to be controlled, instead of being a growing nuisance at the margins.

The racial climate and the subsequent experiences Black students had at Loyola-Marymount necessitated Black Power. As Black students closed ranks, organized, and demanded their respect, I contend Black Power energized them to be a formidable opponent to the institution. Hence, Black Power changed the nature of the power relationship. Black Power demanded the acknowledgement and respect of Black student presence and humanity. Changing university leadership from Cassassa to Merrifield, the more sympathetic and progressive Merrifield changed the nature of the relationship, and subsequently Black student strategies.

Black Power and Student Life at LMU

As indicated earlier, there are no enrollment records by race before the 1970's. However, it is clear that the few dozen Black students in the late 60s increased to 252 Black students out of 3082 students by 1974. The enrollment reached its peak in 1977 with 289 out of 3611. 1978 and 1979 had 266 Black students enrolled each year with a total number of 3614 in 1979, which is down from 3628 in 1978.²⁵ Thus, the growing number of Black students at Loyola-Marymount is a direct response to an increased and targeted recruitment effort, which was part of the Black student demands and responsibility of the Afro-American Studies Program. Furthermore, with the support of the Afro-American Studies program, many programs and activities were able to grow and develop.

In May 1969, the BSU hosted the First Annual Black Cultural Week. From Sunday May 18 to Saturday May 24, the program was full of speakers such as Assemblyman Leon Ralph of the 55th District, State Senator of the 29th District Merv Dymally, and Hakim Jamal cousin to Malcolm X. They also showed informative and provocative videos, had panel discussions on several topics, and with a host of music, dance, and other performances. The BSU developed the program to have all the proceeds raised go towards the Black scholarship fund.²⁶ Veronica Hayes, chair of the planning committee states the goals and purpose of the week:

It is our hope that this presentation of Black ideas, Black Talent, and Black people will provide the University community and the community at large with a greater understanding of what BLACK is all about. We sincerely believe that it is only through a variety of exposures that a true appreciation of the Black Man's political, sociological, and economic achievements can be attained.²⁷

This quote illustrates that the students were not simply trying to segregate and organize separate activities. They saw themselves as agents of change to bring awareness and information to a turbulent situation in an effort to develop understanding with the institution and the Loyola-Marymount community. Moreover, they were bringing awareness of their presence and humanity.

The 1970's also initiated in the spring of 1973 was the first annual Afro-American Center Achievement Awards Program²⁸. This program awarded students, faculty, staff, and administration for their service and academic achievement. It is critical for such a program to acknowledge and present awards to those for their outstanding contributions. When mounting an uphill battle, it is important to stop and celebrate accomplishments.

The victories of the BSU in the late 60's did not end the student organizations; hence, there was a commitment to continued organization and struggle. The "Black Student Freedom Alliance" emerged as the voice of the Black community at LMU in the mid 70's. Thus, their constitution states,

Whereas, it is our compelling belief that in order to clearly define ourselves as Black students, within the University and the community, we must organize ourselves constructively to provide for responsible and effective participation in the educational, cultural, and regulatory operations of the University and maintain strong bonds of communication between Black Students and the University administration.

To achieve these aims, such an organization will seek to develop a sense of inherent cohesiveness among all Black students. The organization shall also take discreetly designed measures to sustain the necessary coordinated political and social vitality.²⁹

The constitution provides an example of the recognition that Black students had for the significance of a strong working relationship (and monitoring) with the University. Furthermore, it illustrates that the students were not willing to rest on the few victories and concessions. They understood that constant communication, organization, and vigilance were necessary to maintain and build upon the fruits of the Black Campus Movement.

Along with the continued organization and activism, the Black Students Freedom Alliance in conjunction with the Associated Students of Loyola Marymount, hosted an annual sickle cell basketball classic with the proceeds donated to the Sickle Cell Disease Research Foundation.³⁰ It is important to note here that these organizations did not form to take part in social activities, but to engage in meaningful activities and programs that would benefit the Black community and therefore, reaffirm their humanity.

In 1974, the Black Students' Freedom Alliance hosted the Black Cultural Week with the theme "Seven Ways for Seven Days of Cultural Expression."³¹ After the opening and welcoming remarks, according to the pamphlet, the purpose of Black Culture Week was to raise consciousness of the Black experience as they presented the Nguza Saba, the seven principles, which should guide the lives of Black people.³² The introduction concluded with a quote from Malcolm X stating,

A race of people is like an individual man, until it uses its own talents; takes pride in its own culture; affirms its own self-hood; it can never fulfill itself

Malcolm X ³³

The inclusion of this quote illustrates that Black students believe that they must take part in these types of programs to celebrate themselves, and that they must reaffirm themselves in their culture and history to assert their humanity. By the early 70's, Black students were establishing themselves as part of the fabric of LMU through student life and extra-curricular activities.

Throughout the 1970's Black Cultural Week increased in size and notoriety on and off campus. This opportunity presented non-Blacks with the contributions that Blacks have made to the United States and the world over. In addition, it was also an opportunity for Black students to take pride in the accomplishments of Black people, past and present, while blazing a path for the future. It also provided an opportunity to reach out to other Black students on campus and politicize them as well. This celebration of Black culture indicates that Black students understood the significance of learning, sharing, and celebrating Black people and their culture.

Consequently, the interest and success of the programs had grown so large that LMU presented the first annual Black History Festival, Saturday, February 18, 1978. KNBS televised the festival on the "Saturday Show" and "The Kat" radio station broadcasted the festival. The Festival included a celebrity Basketball game, Jamaican Steel Drum Band, African Dances, Normanaires Singing groups, Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Nate Holden, Diane Watson, Judy Mason, Bern Nadette Stanis of "Good Times", Black Stuntmen's Association, Disneyland raffle, and free sickle cell testing.³⁴ The diversity of guests, performances, and events illustrates the diversity of Black people and their culture. From the political, athletic, and arts, African and African American representation, and medical/ health concerns, hence, the Black History Festival is as a major accomplishment in the nature of the relationship between the Black students and the institution. Their ability to stay organized and committed to their goals and objectives and continued relationship building with the institution and its officials paid dividends in them attaining resources and space on campus. At the same time however, the Black cultural celebrations went from a week to a day. Here Black students must analyze each situation carefully and notice that with each victory brings Black students closer to the bosom of the institution with Black students possibly losing some of their power and control. Black students can ill afford to struggle for recognition and humanity, and then trade in their power and control for validation from the institution that at first did not even want to recognize them.

Black Power and Developing the African American Studies Department

In 1965-66, according to the University bulletin, Loyola University did not offer any classes on the African and/ or Black experience. By 1968-69, the Loyola and Marymount Bulletins indicated that the respective institutions offered a few classes on race, class, and history of various groups.

The Marymount Bulletin from 1968-69 offers Area studies as an option where students can choose from American Studies, Latin American Studies, Far Eastern Studies, and African Studies.³⁵ Yet, because of student demands, the 1969-70 academic years brought an experimental program in Afro-American Studies. In a letter sent to Loyola faculty, President Merrifield states,

I believe it is very important that our university community—in company with other educational institutions—address itself to a study of minority culture and race in the United States today. The program we are initiating experimentally represents an attempt to respond to this need and to provide opportunity for many of our students to take courses in these general interest and concern.³⁶

Merrifield is not only addressing the relevance of such an enterprise, but also the necessity of the faculty to concern themselves with the socio-political climate of the nation and the institution. He aligns the university in such a way as to be at the forefront of institutions taking a proactive approach and meeting the students demands where needed.

In the spring of 1970, the students, with assistance from support staff, developed a proposal for an African American Studies Center. The center sought to develop an interdisciplinary program, linking the existing academic related departments with the Center. The proposal stated that the Center needed a director, assistant director, policy-making committee, instructors, and secretaries. Its policy-making function included developing a curriculum, selecting faculty, control retention and promotion of faculty, control the budget, implement special programs, and only the director can accept and approve a course to be cross listed with the Afro-American Studies Center. The proposal also asserted that the policy-making committee must consist of five BSU members, two from Loyola, and two from Marymount. The Director of the center would choose the fifth. The committee would also consist of one faculty member, the assistant director, and director each with one vote. The Center would handle the recruitment of Black students to the University, as well as, handle academic, career, and personal counseling. The Center would also make available financial aid resources for Black students. Furthermore, it would develop, make available, and promote campus resources.³⁷ The desired control in the proposal is a direct result of the lack of recognition and value the institution had for Black students as demonstrated in the interactions in the late 60's. The goal of the BSU members was to be self-sufficient. They wanted to control and/ or have a voice in every step of the process and the center.

Once submitted, the proposal underwent a major overhaul. Richard Rolfs, the Dean of Students, commented on the term “center”. He mentioned that “center” refers to the need for physical space, and if not requested, needed, or in the universities capabilities than substitute center for program.³⁸ Other comments included, such as staffing would be developed on an as needed bases, questioned the large number of students on the policy-making committee, and questioned the necessity of duplicating services that already exist on campus.

Rolfs argued that complete autonomy from those entities would not be feasible.³⁹ The University was insuring it had a continued role and voice in the establishment and development of the center/ program, by maintaining the inclusion and communication with the institution. Moreover, the Academic Vice President, John W. Clark, voiced his concerns of the role of the BSU choosing the advisory committee.⁴⁰ The overall concern of Rolfs and Clark was the maintenance and control of the institution. For them, Black students were demanding too much control at the expense of the institution.

Once approved after more revising and negotiating, the Afro-American Studies Program operated in both Student Affairs and Academic Affairs. It had two components. First, the Afro-American Supportive Services was a “program geared towards meeting the needs of Black students through a variety of services and programs, including: personal, educational, career, and financial counseling; development of Black oriented programs and activities; campus and community involvements; tutorial services; advisement to Black student organizations; communications and informational services; referral services, and Black student guidance and welfare. The program was also active in minority student recruitment and financial aid coordination.”⁴¹

Secondly, Afro-American Studies offered an interdisciplinary academic program with courses offered in nine academic areas. The courses would meet general education requirements as well as satisfied lower and upper division elective requirements. There was also a degree program in conjunction with the Sociology Department.⁴² Throughout the 1970’s the concentration area in Afro-American Studies continued to grow in course offerings as well as in student enrollment. Throughout the 1970’s the BSU and Black Students Freedom Alliance marketed the program and expected Black students to enroll in the program or at minimum enroll in some courses. After a decade of struggle, the Afro-American Studies concentration in Sociology became a degree-granting department in the 1980s illustrating that, the struggle was not just for some classes, but also for academic and intellectual sovereignty.

The Black students understood that mere inclusion of the Black experience and culture into existing courses and/ or departments does not ensure the presentation of relevant, meaningful, and accurate information to students. Furthermore, I contend that an institution that allows for these scattered courses does not respect the humanity of Black people enough to recognize the necessity of their own scholarly endeavors. Black students and faculty sought and won the autonomy of a department. This therefore allows the department to develop its own curriculum and courses, hire its own faculty, and control its own budget. Furthermore, the discipline as a whole emerges from the mere ranks of a program to a level of intellectual and academic sovereignty. This autonomy allows the discipline, department, faculty, and students the ability to develop their own perspectives and research guided by Black history and culture. Moreover, it recognizes the humanity of and respect for Black people is worthy of scholarship and therefore a place in academia.

Conclusion

Black Power gave the Black Campus Movement life. Unlike a dead battery that lacks power, Black Power injected energy into the Black student. Apparent in their words and actions, these students closed ranks and asserted their agency. The Black Campus Movement at LMU illustrates that before negotiations with the institution will be effective, the institution must respect the power of the opposing force. Furthermore, the institutionalization of the victories and successes of these struggles are the long lasting fruits of the movement. The purpose of the institutionalizing is not to become part of the institution per se, but it is a recognition that movements end. However, an organized, powerful, and energized people can ensure not only the survival of the victories from the movement, but it can build upon them. Movement organizations like the BSU, OBSS, and AFAM monitor and address the institution's recognition of Black people's humanity and the nature of the relationship between Black students and the institution.

Fabio Rojas illustrates that while students, supportive faculty, and community allies may have been successful in their activism, it is the administration and other University officials who decide what and how that change will occur. Student activism may be the catalyst, but the final decision comes from the administration. In other words, "movement inspired organizational forms are often hybrids combining new politics with old values."⁴³ As a result, it should not be assumed that the institution has fully accepted Black students and their humanity when many of the issues from the 60's, such as Black student enrollment, necessary financial aid, and the presence of Black faculty and staff, remain. The movement organizations must continue to "take the pulse" of the institution to observe and stay abreast of issues pertaining to and/ or affecting Black students. Future studies of the Black Campus Movement at LMU require interviews to provide voice to the students, fill fissures in archival data, and contest the institutional memory within the archives where appropriate.

In the 21st century, this history and its legacies cannot be taken for granted. The Black Students' Union, the African American Studies Department, and the Afro-American Studies Program presently called the Office of Black Student Services are the long lasting yields of the Black Campus Movement at LMU. The BSU for over forty years has been at the helm of Black student activities at LMU. It gave birth to and institutionalized a movement demanding respect and an asserting of their humanity. It is through these institutions that the legacy of the Black Campus Movement at LMU lives on. It is necessary to appropriately recognize and analyze the history and context of Black Power and the Black Campus Movement not only to understand their genesis, but also to understand our contemporary responsibilities to Black students, their history and culture, and their humanity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Department of Archives and Special Collections Library at Loyola Marymount University. The staff was incredibly helpful, knowledgeable, and resourceful. This project would not be complete without their assistance.

Notes

¹ Loyola University for men was established in 1930. Marymount College for women was established in 1948. From 1968 to 1973, Loyola University and Marymount College were autonomous institutions sharing faculty and facilities at the Westchester campus. In 1973, Loyola University and Marymount College merged and formed Loyola Marymount University (LMU). For the purpose of this paper, LMU is used because both Black men and women were present and active on the Westchester campus. Furthermore, the merger takes place during the ten-year span of this paper. For the purpose of this paper, Loyola- Marymount will be used to recognize the autonomy of each school until the merger. At that point, Loyola Marymount University (LMU) will be used.

² Formerly, part of the Afro- American Studies Program

³ Formerly, part of the Afro- American Studies Program

⁴ Ibram H. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstruction of Higher Education, 1965- 1972*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012., pgs 3.

⁵ 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., pgs. 187.

⁶ Mayer N. Zald and Roberta Ash, "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change," *Social Forces*, Vol. 44, No. 3.,Mar. 1966, pgs. 327- 341. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0037-7732%28196603%2944%3A3%3C327%3ASMOGDA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V> (accessed 2- 11- 13)

⁷ Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton, "Black Power: The Politics of Liberation." Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc. New York, 1992, pgs 44.

⁸ Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, "Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity." The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD,2005. pgs 140.

⁹ Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, *Ibid*, 140.

¹⁰ McCone Commission Report, "Violence in the City: An End or a Beginning," <http://www.usc.edu/libraries/archives/cityinstress/mccone/part11.html>, (accessed December, 12, 2010.)

¹¹ S.L., "Recognition or Disobedience," *Los Angeles Loyolan*, September 20, 1965, 4. John Pepping, "Letters to the Editor," *Los Angeles Loyolan*, October 4, 1965, 4. Jim Collins, *Los Angeles Loyolan*, October 11, 1965, 4. George Johnson, *Los Angeles Loyolan*, October 11, 1965, 4. Peter Szondy, *Los Angeles Loyolan*, October 11, 1965, 4. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹² "Watts: Loyola Students Take a First Step," *Los Angeles Loyolan*, October 4, 1965, 2. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹³ Charles S. Casassa, "Policy on Unlawful Student Protest," *Office of the President, Loyola University of Los Angeles*, September 5, 1968. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹⁴ "LUCAP Gets New Look for Community Action." *Los Angeles Loyolan*. n.d. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹⁵ "Response Interview I: Fr. Charles S. Casassa, S.J.", *Los Angeles Loyolan*, November 18, 1968. (Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹⁶ "A Statement from the BSU", *Los Angeles Loyolan*, November 18, 1968. (Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹⁷ "A Statement from the BSU", *Los Angeles Loyolan*, November 18, 1968. (Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹⁸ "Non- White Students Alliance in Lair Tuesday", *Los Angeles Loyolan*, January 29, 1968. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

¹⁹ "Attitudes on Race Relations," *Los Angeles Loyolan*, November 11, 1968. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁰ "Report of The Task Force on Minority Affairs," February 3, 1969. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²¹ "BSU Policy Statement." *Los Angeles Loyolan*. n.d. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²² Mike Steed, "BSU Walk Out: Trustees Dismember the Task Force Report," February 16, 1969. 1. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²³ Richard N. Mason, Letter to All Regents and Board of Trustees. *Loyola- Marymount, Los Angeles Incorporated*. May 13, 1970. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁴ Donald P. Merrifield, S.J., "A Statement to the Loyola-Marymount Community: Students, Faculty, Staff, Administrators, Trustees and Regents, Alumni, Parents, and Friends," *Office of the President, Loyola University of Los Angeles*. May 14, 1970. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁵ "Undergraduate Enrollment by Race, 1974- 79," *Loyola Marymount University*. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁶ "First Annual Black Culture Week," *Brochure*. Loyola- Marymount, May 1969. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁷ Veronica Hayes, "First Annual Black Culture Week," *Brochure*. Loyola- Marymount, May 1969. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁸ "The First Annual Afro-American Center Achievement Awards Program," *Brochure*, 1973. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

²⁹ "Black Students Freedom Alliance", *Pamphlet*, 1976. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁰ "The Black Students Freedom Alliance in conjunction with Assoc. Students of Loyola Marymount , 2nd Annual Sickle Cell Basketball Classic," *Brochure*, 1975. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³¹ The Black Students Freedom Alliance, "Black Culture Week, May 19th – 26th, 1974," *Brochure*, 1974. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³² Nguzu Saba is Ki- Swahili for Seven Principles. Maulana Karenga and the Us Organization established and popularized the Nguzu Saba (Umoja- Unity, Kujichagulia- Self- determination, Ujima- Collective Work and Responsibility, Ujamaa- Cooperative Economics, Nia- Purpose, Kuumba- Creativity, and Imani- Faith) as guiding principles for Black people to use and instruct their lives. It is also the guiding principles of Kwanzaa, the African American holiday also created by Karenga and the Us Organization.

³³ The Black Students Freedom Alliance, "Black Culture Week, May 19th – 26th, 1974," *Brochure*, 1974. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁴ "The First Annual Black History Festival," *Pamphlet*, February 18, 1978. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁵ Marymount College, *Bulletin*, 1968. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁶ Donald P. Merrifield, S.J., "letter to the faculty- Jesuit and Lay," 1969. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁷ "Proposal for an Afro- American Studies Center." 1970. Merrifield files, (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁸ Letter 28 April 1970. Dean of students to Rev. Donald P. Merrifield. Critique of the Proposal for an Afro- American Studies center. Merrifield files, (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

³⁹ [Letter] n.d. Some Comments on the Proposal for an Afro- American Study Center. Merrifield files, (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

⁴⁰ Letter, 6 May 1970. John W. Clark to President Donald Merrifield. Merrifield files, (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

⁴¹ The Black Students Freedom's Alliance, *Pamphlet*, 1977. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

⁴² The Black Students Freedom's Alliance, *Pamphlet*, 1977. (Accessed Department of Archives and Special Collections Library, Loyola Marymount University.)

⁴³Fabio Rojas . *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. Pgs., 214.
