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Lynn M. Lombardo

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A Comprehensive Examination of
Student Unrest at
Buffalo State College
1966 – 1970

by

Lynn M. Lombardo

An Abstract of a Thesis
in
History

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

August 2011

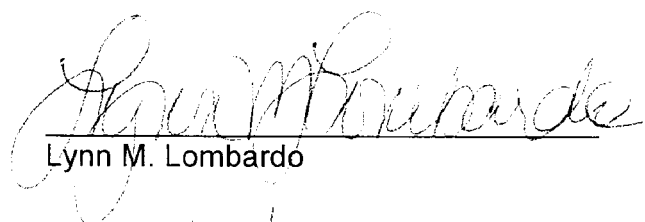
Buffalo State College
State University of New York
Department of History and Social Studies Education

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

A Comprehensive Examination of
Student Unrest at
Buffalo State College
1966 – 1970

The student protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s were the most widespread in American history. Towards the end of the 1960s student protest tactics shifted from relatively peaceful rallies and sit-ins to more radical tactics, often involving disruption, property destruction and violence. Similar to many other campuses across the country, Buffalo State also experienced incidents of student protest in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There were protests that took action against what the protestors viewed as the administration's repressive practices and policies. There were controversies surrounding student rights, representation and code of conduct. The students of Buffalo State College went through the same cultural, political and generational changes that caused rallies and protests on other campuses around the country.

The present study is a historical analysis of campus unrest at Buffalo State College between 1966 and 1970. This historical analysis examines the incidents of student protest at Buffalo State and the institutional role in responding to student unrest. The study is based on primary documents from Dr. Fretwell's administration, the student and local newspapers along with other materials collected in the Buffalo State library archives. A brief review of the history of American student activism places the case of Buffalo State into the larger national context of student protest in the United States during the 60s era.



Lynn M. Lombardo

9/19/11
Date

Buffalo State College
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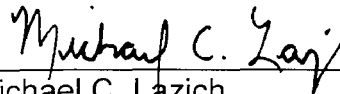
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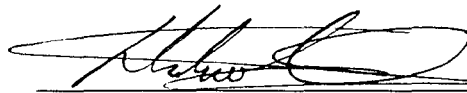
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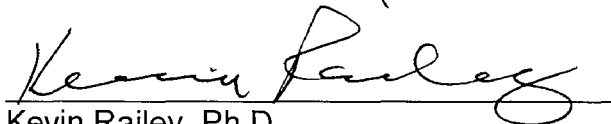
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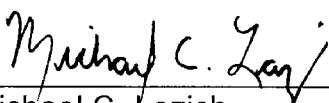


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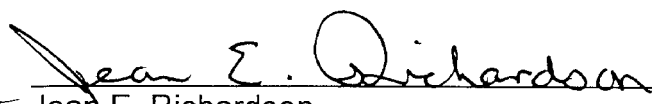
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I would like to acknowledge the many professors with whom I crossed paths with, in giving me a skill to succeed not only in my undergraduate studies but also in my graduate work.

I owe a big debt of gratitude to Dan DiLandro and Peggy Hatfield, of the Butler Library Archives, for their assistance in finding the records that were the essential part of this thesis. Without their dedication to their jobs, this thesis would not have been possible.

To my family...Frank, Abigail and Jacob...it's done!! Without their understanding and support my return to college would not have been. Now things will only be for the better!!

The very concept of history implies the scholar and the reader. Without a generation of civilized people to study history, to preserve its records, to absorb its lessons and relate them to its own problems, history, too, would lose its meaning.

George F. Kennan

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Introduction

College student activism and campus unrest are entrenched in the history of American higher education. Scholars agree that historical records reveal periods during which college students engaged in riots and open rebellion on campuses dating back to the founding of Harvard College in 1636. Many of the visions and values of American students throughout history were shaped by the social changes that confronted their generations. Student movements have helped shape the political and intellectual climate of the campus and transformed the American university from an ivy tower of the elite into a multiversity for the masses. Historian Frederick Rudolph declared that the most creative and imaginative force involved in the shaping of the American college and university have been the students.¹ Yet, it was only in the second half of the twentieth century that student activism and campus unrest received serious scholarly attention.

Today, there are numerous published works that address the student activism and campus unrest that occurred in the United States and abroad. In fact, according to Philip Altbach, the literature on student activism is largely an artifact of the worldwide student movements of the 1960s. However, Altbach also states that while the literature covers incidents of student unrest from around the world,

¹ Frederick Rudolph and John Thelin, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 137.

the vast majority deals with student activism that took place in the United States.² When the American campus crisis ended in the mid-1970s the majority of the writing on the subject also stopped. According to Kenneth Heineman, the bulk of this American literature focuses on incidents of student unrest that occurred at elite campuses.³ It overlooks, however, the innumerable acts of student protest that transpired at non-elite institutions.

Because of the lack of literature addressing campus unrest at the nation's less prestigious colleges and universities, modern society tends to associate its images of student protest only with institutions such as Berkeley, Harvard and Columbia. During the campus turmoil of the 1960s these prestigious institutions tended to attract the most media attention. The national media focused on student activists from elite institutions and projected this particular image of student unrest to the nation. According to Todd Gitlin, a scholar of sixties history and former student activist, "mass media define the public significance of movement events or, by blanking them out, actively deprive them of larger significance."⁴ Scholars and journalists concentrated their work on campus unrest at elite institutions; virtually ignoring the student uprisings that occurred on America's less-prestigious campuses unless an atrocity took place that was deemed worthy of national attention. Had it not been for the unfortunate killings of college students on the Kent State and Jackson State University campuses in

² Philip Altbach, *Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 56.

³ Kenneth Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 3.

⁴ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 3.

May 1970, it is doubtful that the student demonstrators at non-elite institutions would have received any significant media or scholarly attention.

During the 1960s, the key issues of free speech, civil rights, the Vietnam War, the selective service, and nuclear disarmament incited student activism worldwide. Student movement leaders from elite universities became media celebrities as protest scenes from these campuses dominated the national news. Meanwhile, demonstrations staged at non-elite campuses attracted significantly less attention. Gitlin argues that stereotyping all student activists into a single category solved a number of problems for the journalists covering the student movement:

To process news from the campuses in the sixties, journalists had to reify a category of "student activists;" but why *this* stereotyped version and not *that*? The stereotypes usually derive from the editors' and reporters' immediate work and social circles, and from premises that filter through the organizational hierarchy; from sources, peers, and superiors on occasion from friends and spouses, and from the more prestigious media reports, especially those of the *New York Times* and the wire services.⁵

By classifying student activists from vastly different college and universities under one common stereotype, journalists and scholars were able to simplify their views of what was occurring on the American campus. This practice perpetuated the impression that student activism was very similar in nature on all campuses throughout the nation.

In addition to excessive media attention bestowed upon the student activists at elite institutions, many of the scholars and journalists who wrote about the student unrest of the sixties were graduates of elite universities themselves and shared common biases and social ties which influenced their perception of what

⁵ Ibid., 267.

was occurring on the nation's campuses. According to one student, the "media elite" were typically white males in their thirties and forties, highly educated and well-paid. "The typical leading journalist is the very model of the modern eastern urbanite."⁶ They wrote of and about the colleges and universities that they were most familiar with and believed to be the most appealing to their readers. Few comprehensive studies exist that focus solely on student activism and campus unrest at non-elite colleges and universities during the height of the college student movement of the 1960s.

Heineman argues that the elite university model of student activism should not be accepted as the archetype for student activists nationwide during the 1960s because the students at elite institutions were not representative of the majority of the American college student population.⁷ Students who attended the academically selective, prestigious institutions were typically of the middle-to-upper socioeconomic classes and were often the sons and daughters of liberal or radical parents who were doctors, lawyers and business executives. These students were raised with more privileges and opportunities and tended to be more liberal than the average working class students of the non-elite institutions. The affluence of elite university students often shaped their opinions and attitudes of current issues and attracted them to activist organizations.

During the post-WWII era, higher education expanded and became more accessible to students from poor and working class backgrounds. The GI Bill greatly impacted our nation as the number of students enrolled in American

⁶ S. Robert Lichter and others, *The Media Elite* (Bethesda: Adler & Adler, 1986), 294.

⁷ Heineman (1993), 3.

colleges and universities skyrocketed upon the conclusion of the war. During the 1950s and the 1960s, the majority of college-bound students came from working and middle class families and tended to enroll in the less prestigious public and private colleges that offered a quality education with affordable tuition. Hence, the college student population grew at a much greater rate in non-elite state institutions than in the elite colleges and universities. Due to this fact, these campuses became far more representative of the American college student population than the elite universities.

For this reason, it is historically important to document the student activism and campus unrest that took place at non-elite institutions of higher education during the 1960s to gain a broader understanding of the college student movement as a whole. Many scholars have simply applied the elite model of student activism to their understanding of non-elite campuses throughout the country, resulting in a void in the literature regarding the student unrest that occurred at America's non-elite institutions during the height of the student movement in the 1960s. Heineman argues that it is unfair to make sweeping generalizations about campus unrest because these statements greatly oversimplify the student movement and ignore the different historical and cultural characteristics of each campus and the ways in which those differences affected the students' actions.⁸ It is therefore important to document the student activism and campus unrest that occurred on our nation's non-elite campuses in order to better understand the underlying issues that motivated a generation of college students to take action against the university and the federal government in the

⁸ Ibid., 124.

1960s. This information may also be useful today to college administrators as they deal with occurrences of modern student activism on their campuses.

Much has been written about the history of college student activism on elite campuses such as Berkeley, Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, etc.; but few comprehensive studies exist that solely address student unrest at non-elite institutions. The volumes of studies that have been published about particularly noteworthy acts of student protest at non-elite universities such as Kent State, San Francisco State and Jackson State, tend to be limited in scope and do not provide a systematic look at the development of the student activism that occurred on campus beyond the span of the incident in question. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to fill the void left by other researchers by examining the development of student activism at a non-elite college, the State University College at Buffalo (Buffalo State College) during the years 1966 – 1970. It will examine the causes, both local and national, that motivated the students' activist behavior at this institution during this time period and interpret and evaluate the lessons learned from the administrative response to these incidents.

This study will examine the academic, social and political environment of a public college that witnessed a great deal of change in the sixties. It will provide insight into the circumstances that roused its students into a state of unrest that ultimately led to the disruption of classes, violence and widespread destruction on campus. It will also examine the aggressive police response to the events that took place.

One of the questions that will be addressed is the extent to which student activism and campus unrest that took place on the Buffalo State College campus during the years 1966 – 1970 differed from that which occurred at our nation's elite institutions. Other questions that will be addressed in this study include: What is the background of the student that attended Buffalo State College during this time period? What were the key issues that prompted students at this college to participate in protest activities? What types of protest activities did the students engage in? And, how did the campus administrators respond to the student protests?

Student activism continues today, in one form or another, at almost all American colleges and universities. In *Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis*, Philip Altbach speaks of the important role history plays in understanding contemporary student activism. He goes on to argue that just as in other areas of American politics, there is a great deal of historical continuity in student activism; in order to understand student activism within modern American higher education and society, one must first examine the historical development of student movements and organizations on campus.⁹ Through awareness of past events and an appreciation of a campus rich history, college administrators may be able to gain valuable insight into appropriate options for dealing with student activism within the established campus culture. A greater understanding of past events may be valuable to current campus administrators, professors and students as they embark upon a new century of student activism in higher education.

⁹ Altbach (1997), 12.

To gain a better understanding of the chaos on college campuses in the 1960s, much of the background research was conducted using secondary sources. The top scholars in this field are Philip Altbach, Julian Foster, Kenneth Keniston and Seymour Lipset. Philip Altbach has centered his research on the changes in higher education and how this affects the student.¹⁰ Julian Foster based his studies on the protesting student and how this student changed the college campus.¹¹ Kenneth Keniston was very interested in the social backgrounds of the college youth and what, if any, this had on the student protester.¹² Finally, Seymour Lipset studied the nature of political extremism and political culture.¹³

For the background research of the Buffalo State campus, its students and the administration during this period, primary sources such as administrative records, the college newspaper (*Record*) and the *Buffalo Evening News* and *The Courier-Express*, will be examined. The papers from the administration contain actual documents used to communicate among staff and students as were copies of the school newspaper. These records are located in the Butler Library Archives, on the campus, and are readily available for research. The *Buffalo Evening News* and the *Courier-Express* are on microfilm, copies of which are stored in the Media Center located in Butler Library.

¹⁰ Philip Altbach, *Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997)

¹¹ Julian Foster and Durward Long, *Protest! Student Activism in America* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1970)

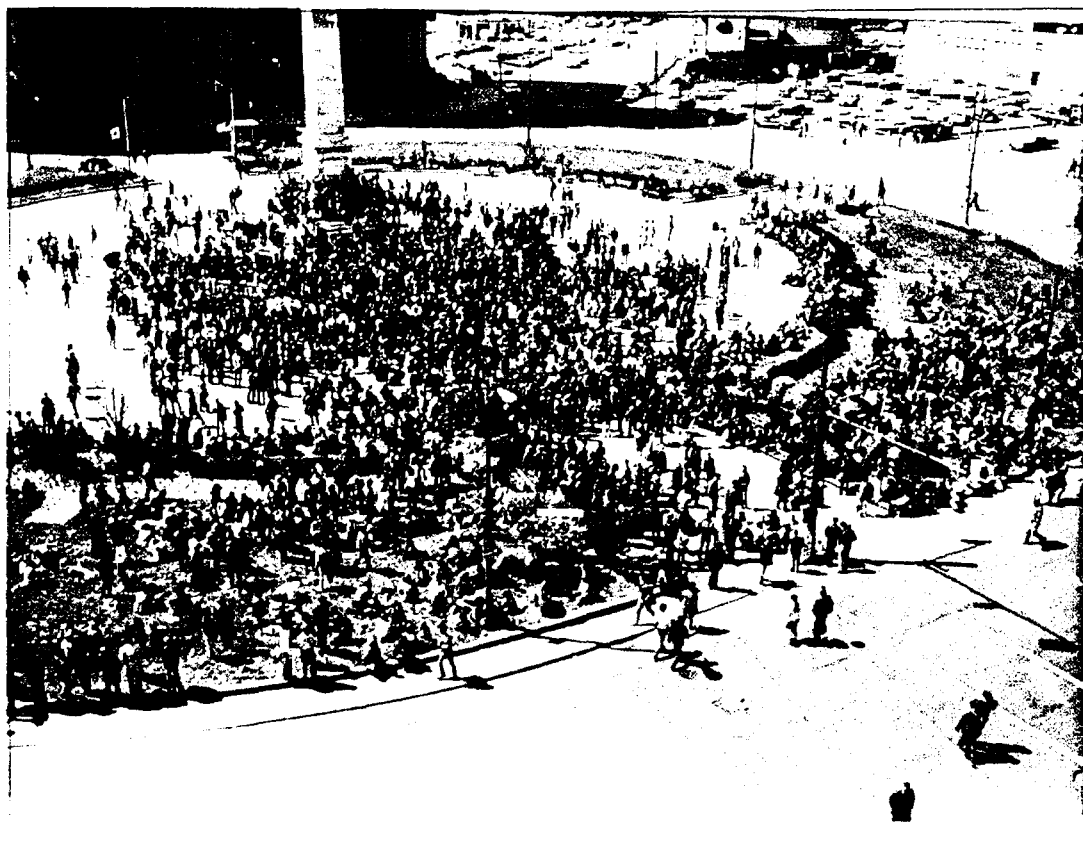
¹² Kenneth Keniston, *Youth and Dissent* (New York, Jovanovich, 1971)

¹³ Seymour Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972)

During the period in question, 1966 – 1970, Dr. Paul G. Bulger was in his last year as president followed by Dr. E.K. Fretwell, Jr who began his tenure in the fall semester of 1967. President Fretwell's papers reveal the reaction of the college administration towards the student protests that besieged the Buffalo State College campus in the late 1960s and what measures were taken by the administration to stop any potential crisis.

The student newspaper, *Record*, will be used as the main source of information for student reaction to the campus upheaval. The *Buffalo Evening News* and *The Courier-Express*, the local newspapers at the time, will be used for any additional information lacking and for comparison between sources. The papers will also be studied for any background information as to possible outside causes of the student protests on the Buffalo State College campus.

One of the goals of this thesis is to seek a better understanding of what transpired on the Buffalo State campus during the late sixties in the context of the larger student protest movement nationwide. An additional goal is the belief that future university administrators will be able to draw useful lessons from the administrative actions and/or inactions that occurred during this period. It is hoped that the student and campus problems exposed in this thesis can be used in the future so that scenes of campus turmoil can be dealt with more effectively and positively should these problems arise again in the future.



Niagara Square, May 6, 1970

Courtesy of Butler Library Archives – Buffalo State College

Chapter One

Historical Overview of American Student Activism and Campus Unrest

While it is impossible to predict campus unrest or to anticipate the kinds of issues that will stimulate future outbreaks of student activism, a careful look at the history of student uprisings in American higher education enhances our understanding of what has occurred in the past, as well as prepares us for what we may expect to encounter in the future on our nation's campuses. Such reflection may enable administrators and others to respond more constructively to challenges to academic order than seemed to be the case during the 1960s.

As Paul Loeb explains:

Ignorance of previous social movements limits students' horizons. It denies them past models of sound political strategies, ways to engage communities, and effective styles of leadership. In contrast, students find themselves empowered when they get a sense of how others have acted in the past.¹⁴

For these reasons, it is important to have a comprehensive understanding of the issues that incited student activism at American institutions of higher education throughout history, as well as the outcomes of the students' actions.

American Student Activism and Campus Unrest, 1960 – 1975

In contrast to the earlier incidents of student unrest in American history, during the 1960s through the 1970s student protest followed a different path. According

¹⁴ Paul Loeb, *Generation at the Crossroads: Apathy and Action on the American Campus*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 75.

to Seymour Lipset, this phenomenon had a profound effect on higher education and marked the beginning of an era of mass college student activism. Students became less interested in the problems of campus life, which had been the primary cause of unrest in the past, and turned their attention to a much larger cause – fighting segregation in American society.¹⁵ The Civil Rights Movement and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision forced students to focus their attention on a key American problem.

Student unrest in the 1960s and early 1970s had everything to do with the pressing moral issue of civil rights, nuclear testing and disarmament, opposition to campus policies and procedures, and the Vietnam War. Donald Phillips indicates that student protest was often a moral response for or against a specific social issue or issues, particularly those involving university or government policies.¹⁶ Cyril Levitt agrees and adds, “to consider the student movement as an undifferentiated whole is to consider it speculatively and falsely.”¹⁷ As these controversies evolved, students began to relate national political and social issues on their own college campuses causing unrest to spread rapidly throughout the nation. This phenomenon became largely referred to as the student movement; a movement that engaged college students throughout the country and that was often viewed as militant and sometimes hostile to established university authorities. Yet, one must understand that there were

¹⁵ Seymour Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1993), 3.

¹⁶ Donald Phillips, *Student Protest, 1960-1970: An Analysis of the Issues and Speeches* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), 15.

¹⁷ Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties, a Study of Student Movements in Canada, the United States and West Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 6.

students protesting both for and against the issues, just as the people within the larger society. Not all college students participated in or supported the protest movement, and the student movement as a whole comprised only a small fraction of the nation's college student population.

When examining the issues that motivated college students to become politically active, it is important to have a firm understanding of their family backgrounds, political ideology and education. Collectively, these students were white and more educated, politically liberal, individualistic and independent than non-activists. They tended to be from affluent families, had liberal or radical parents and were skeptical of conventional religion. Additionally, Edward Sampson and Harold Korn found that many of the student activists acted out values in which their parents believed, but for which the parents themselves did not have the courage to fight.¹⁸

Higher education played a significant role in the student activists' lives and many attended the larger, more selective colleges and universities. James Fendrich determined that a large proportion of the activists majored in the liberal arts, social sciences and humanities; majors that attracted students that have been noted to be further to the left politically than other disciplines. Alphonso Pinkney argues that the greater the amount of formal education one has, the more likely one is to be critical of existing social practices; the students' activism represented the impatience of the younger generation with the moral ills of our nation. Additionally, Lipset states, "students have almost invariably been more

¹⁸ Richard Flacks, "Social and Cultural Meanings of Student Revolt," in *Student Activism and Protest*, ed. Edward Sampson and Harold Korn and Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970), 125-129.

responsive to political trends, to changes in mood, to opportunities for social change, than any other group in the population, except possibly intellectuals.”¹⁹

In 1966, Tom Hayden, former president of the national student activist organization Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), described his fellow student activist in the following words:

Most of the active student radicals today come from middle to upper-middle class professional homes. They were born with status and affluence as facts of life, not goals to be striven for. In their upbringings, their parents stressed the right of children to question and make judgments, producing perhaps the first generation of young people both affluent and independent of mind.²⁰

This broad profile, however, does not accurately represent the African American student activists. A majority came from low to lower-middle class families and only a small percentage came from middle class households. In general, most of the African-American student activists were not middle class reformers concerned about the lives of others; they were the victims themselves, children of janitors, laborers, maids and factory workers. Even though the black students shared similar backgrounds with other black activists, they considered themselves to be better off educationally than the others and they also felt that their advanced education entrusted them with the responsibility to promise change in their community.

Repression created a common bond for African-American students. By participating in civil rights activities the students hoped to reduce the discrepancies between their future expectations and their capabilities and to

¹⁹ Seymour Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), 14.

²⁰ Cited by Kenneth Keniston, “The Sources of Student Dissent.” *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967), 128.

make possible the goals and conditions to which they felt entitled as citizens of the United States.

Student Civil Rights Activism

During the decade of the 1960s, for the first time since the student movement of the 1930s that linked student activism with national politics due to the Depression, the country observed mass student activism directed against the perceived ills of society. As racial discrimination against African-Americans and other minorities continued throughout the nation, college students became interested in civil rights issues and more aware of the fact that many of their colleges actively practiced forms of racial discrimination. The students accused university administrators of emphasizing the dominant values of white society on campus and for not being responsive to the needs of minority students. Increasingly, college students became active in the struggle for civil rights. According to Philip Altbach and Robert Laufer, the roots of the campus Civil Rights Movement were established in the 1950s by student supporters of civil rights groups such as the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).²¹

By the late 1950s, Southern civil rights organizations had a significant student membership base and demonstrations were held in cities throughout the region. The early civil rights protests were dismissed by many as a college fad until four black North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College students revolutionized

²¹ Philip Altbach and Patti Peterson, "Before Berkeley: Historical Perspectives on American Student Activism," in *The New Pilgrims: Youth Protest in Transition*, ed. Philip Altbach and Robert Laufer (New York: David McKay Co., 1972), 29.

the movement. Ezell Blair, Jr., David Richmond, Franklin McCain and Joseph McNeil staged a sit-in against racial segregation and discrimination at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina on February 1, 1960. According to Phillips, this legendary day is considered by many historians to be the beginning of the student protest movement.²²

No longer willing to tolerate the discrimination to which their families had been subjected to for years, African American students united and took control of the Civil Rights Movement, taking the established civil rights organizations by surprise. The February 1st, Greensboro sit-in accomplished its purpose of dramatizing the injustices of racial discrimination and captured the nation's attention. Extensive television exposure of the Southern student demonstrations played an important role in escalating the students' crusade for civil rights. Soon after the Greensboro sit-in, college students from across the United States flocked to the South to join the Civil Rights Movement.

Within the first week of the Southern students' sit-in, word passed from campus to campus and demonstrations spread to communities in South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Florida. Student activism swept the region and for the first time non-violent direct action was used on a wide scale basis. The established civil rights organizations, CORE, NAACP and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) recognized the importance of the college students in promoting their cause and they rushed to offer the student groups their assistance. However, desiring control over their own affairs, the student activists refused to merge with the established civil rights

²² Phillips (1985), 27.

organizations. Philip Altbach argues that the students' decision marked an important turning point in the history of student activism as they stopped taking leadership from adults and established and managed their own affairs.²³

In April 1960, southern student leaders established the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to bring about rapid social change through direct protest action. SNCC strongly believed that the struggle for political and social democracy in the South was the responsibility of all Americans and the organization became a clearinghouse for student protest information. Within only a few years of its founding, SNCC assumed responsibility for organizing the majority of the student demonstrations in the South and, in the eyes of many, became the most important organization in the Civil Rights Movement. According to Herbert Haines, labeled the "shock troops" for their relentless efforts, SNCC has been credited for being responsible for many of the changes that occurred in the 1960s.²⁴

Immediately following the 1960 Greensboro sit-in, white students from predominately elite northern colleges and universities began to take notice of the protest action in the South and left their campuses to lend support to the southern protesters. Others organized their own civil rights demonstrations and held sympathy protests in northern cities to support the southern cause. Individual campuses became centers for civil rights activity. As the movement continued to penetrate the moral conscience of white students, many found

²³ Philip Altbach, *Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997), 203.

²⁴ Herbert Haines, *Black Radicals and the Civil Rights Mainstream, 1954-1970* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1988), 36.

themselves at the forefront of civil rights activities and some assumed leadership roles in civil rights organizations. Between 1960 and 1964, civil rights became the political focus for tens of thousands of American college students and had great influence on students in Canada and Germany. However, the activist core of this movement never represented more than a small percentage of the total student population.

The southern sit-in movement ushered in a decade of American student activism. Everywhere across the South students organized demonstrations and stressed the importance of practicing non-violent protest methods. Students from all backgrounds throughout the country banded together to strengthen the Civil Rights Movement and courageously accepted whatever consequences they encountered. Consequently, according to James Laue, by February 1961, the first anniversary of the student sit-in movement, successful civil rights demonstrations had been held in over 100 southern cities.²⁵ Increased national publicity of the students' efforts played a large role in recruiting new student volunteers and drove the Civil Rights Movement into becoming the most important focus of student activists nationwide. The protesters continued to battle southern segregation and incorporated the economic issues of unemployment, fair housing, poverty and health care into their agenda.

The student sit-ins placed increased pressure on public facilities (i.e., bus terminals and restaurants) to lift their segregationist policies and became the first successful endeavors of the Civil Rights Movement. The student activists were

²⁵ James Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation; 1960-1962: Toward a Theory of the Rationalization of Protest* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 8.

responsible for integrating hundreds of lunch counters and public facilities throughout the South and made society take notice of the moral implications of discrimination and segregation. The students forced millions of Americans to face the contradiction between the nation's proclaimed ideals and its actions in practice. Additionally, according to G. David Garson, the activists educated innumerable students and supporters in a general radical view of society, not just on civil rights, but on a broad array of issues.²⁶ Yet, after all of their success, the students remained unsatisfied with the lack of federal legislation that kept African Americans at a low socioeconomic status and they believed that the federal government was not doing its job of safeguarding the Constitutional rights of black citizens.

Soon after the success of the student sit-in movement, CORE and other civil rights organizations decided it was time to break the rigid segregation imposed on blacks in the nation's bus stations. Determined to travel throughout the South, an interracial group of volunteers boarded busses and integrated bus stations along the way through the use of non-violent direct action. These early Freedom Riders encountered extreme violence from white racists and had little success in accomplishing their goals. CORE became discouraged with the outcome of the project and discontinued organizing the rides. Disappointed in CORE's decision and fearing that the future of the Civil Rights Movement would be in jeopardy if the Freedom Rides ceased, SNCC took over the project and continued to organize rides and volunteers.

²⁶ G. David Garson, "The Ideology of the New Student Left," in *Protest! Student Activism in America*, ed. Julian Foster and Durward Long (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1970), 187.

Under new leadership, the Freedom Rides breathed new life into the direct action movement. Mary Rothschild states that over two-thirds of the Freedom Riders were student volunteers, many of who dropped out of college to join the Civil Rights Movement. As the Freedom Riders continued their mission to combat segregation, national news coverage of their violent encounters with white southerners once again captured the nation's attention. She also contends that the Freedom Riders became instant folk heroes and heroines and the term "Freedom Rider" became a nickname of praise attached to many civil rights workers for years after the rides ended.²⁷

The courageous efforts of the Freedom Riders led to the desegregation of all southern bus terminals except those in the state of Mississippi. They also forced President Kennedy to act through the Interstate Commerce Commission. The rides put the Kennedy Administration on notice and gathered tremendous nationwide public support for the Civil Rights Movement. Most importantly, the Freedom Rides rejuvenated the student movement and brought black and white college students together to push the movement forward.

After Kennedy's death, President Johnson continued to promote the late-president's ideas and took the first step in establishing the Great Society by signing the 1964 *Civil Rights Act* that recognized African-Americans in all states as American citizens protected by the United State Constitution. The Act also provided aid to integrate school districts, prohibited discrimination in national elections, desegregated all public facilities and established the Equal

²⁷ Mary Rothschild, *A Case of Black and White: Northern Volunteers and the Southern Freedom Summers, 1964-1965* (Westport: Greenwood, 1982), 35.

Employment Opportunity Commission. Student activists proved instrumental in the ratification of this legislation but were not satisfied with the slow progress that the Civil Rights Movement was making nationwide. They considered Johnson's legislation a bittersweet victory for the movement. Although the federal government legally barred all discrimination in public accommodations and employment, it failed to address an important issue for African-Americans: the right to vote in state and local elections.

After the 1964 legislation, the focus of the Civil Rights Movement turned to voter registration. Members of SNCC, CORE, SCLC, the NAACP, and the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), organized the Freedom Summer project to increase the number of southern black voters. COFO leaders invited over one thousand northern white student volunteers to assist with the Mississippi voter registration project and assumed that the presence of the white students in the rural South would once again attract media attention to the movement. SNCC volunteers moved from campus to campus and actively recruited northern students to participate in the Freedom Summer project.

In June, hundreds of white students flocked to Mississippi in support of Freedom Summer. According to Terry Anderson, the Mississippi press called the influx of northern students an "invasion" as students from over 200 college and universities joined the project. Most volunteers came from affluent families and "approximately sixty percent came from Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Princeton, Berkeley, Michigan or Wisconsin."²⁸ All of the students came for different reasons, but most held the common belief that segregation was morally wrong

²⁸ Terry Anderson, *The Sixties*, (New York: Longman, 1999), 52.

and that America was not living up to its own creed that all citizens are created equal. Eager to make a difference, the students dispersed into the rural communities, lived among the poor African-American families and dedicated their entire summer to registering voters,

The personal sacrifices made by the student volunteers paid off in many ways. Freedom Summer was a success and accomplished many of COFO's goals. The students effectively registered voters in communities that had been previously unreachable to civil rights workers. They operated Freedom Schools that assisted voters with passing voter registration tests and taught children reading, writing, spelling, math, science and history. Additionally, the students' efforts contributed to President Johnson's signing of the 1965 *Voting Rights Act* that invalidated the use of any test or device to deny the vote to any qualified citizen.

While white students proved instrumental in the fight for civil rights, racial tensions between black and white activists intensified throughout the movement. According to Howard Zinn, a number of black activists possessed anti-white and black nationalist feelings and resented the white students' involvement in what they believed to be a black movement. They could not bring themselves to trust the white volunteers after spending all of their lives in the shadow of the white population.²⁹ Many of the racial tensions were caused by the fears and suspicions associated with working with others from different racial backgrounds and many participants, both black and white, experienced difficulty in overcoming their instilled racial beliefs.

²⁹ Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon, 1965), 167.

Racial tensions within SNCC reached the breaking point in 1964. As Freedom Summer came to a close, SNCC continued to experience internal problems with its interracial make-up and decided to move towards an all black leadership. Some members claimed that white volunteers were incapable of identifying with black issues and problems and they believed that the white activists had no business participating in the Civil Rights Movement. In the autumn of 1964, white members were asked to leave the organization and SNCC developed a black separatist philosophy.

The Emergence of the New Left

Upon being expelled from SNCC, thousands of white student activists were left unorganized and virtually severed from the student component of the Civil Rights Movement. However, those students remained loyal to their activist spirit and continued their protests against the dominant values of American society. Utilizing the non-violent protest tactics learned during their SNCC training, new, largely white student activist organizations formed on campuses across the country. The result was the expansion of the American "New Left" which began in the late 1950s as a student movement on a few liberal, cosmopolitan campuses.

Many scholars contend that the New Left grew out of the Civil Rights Movement and it expanded when the issues of race relations, peace and educational reform gradually became fused together in a movement based largely on American campuses. Bret Eynon argues that "the New Left ideology

was bound by three fundamental themes: participatory democracy, a redefinition of the political and an emphasis on community as an issue, a strategy and a goal.”³⁰

Following the New Left ideology, student organizations such as SDS became popular on campuses due to their broad approach to politics and desire to promote social change. Joseph Shoben, Jr., Philip Werdell and Durward Long argue that SDS viewed itself as a white, middle-class, northern counterpart to SNCC but believed that a broader focus than just civil rights was necessary to achieve real change. Many white students remained dedicated to the civil rights struggle but became increasingly involved with the related issues of civil liberties and world peace.

In his article, “Student Dissent and Confrontation Politics,” Clark Kerr attributes the increased student participation in American political life to the following conditions: 1) mass higher education; 2) concentration in the mass university – the large and often quite impersonal campus has become the standard habitat for many of these students; 3) the permissive environment; 4) the student culture; 5) the explosive issues – civil rights, the Vietnam War, internal injustice and worldwide peace; and 6) the anomalous dependence of students – students are better educated than ever before; they are encouraged to question established beliefs; to seek meaningful occupations, to make fresh

³⁰ Bret Eynon, “Community in Motion: The Free Speech Movement, Civil Rights and the Roots of the New Left,” *The Oral History Review* 17 (1989), 45.

contributions.³¹ The combination of these issues in a changing society led to the emergence of a new student political tone and unprecedented campus unrest.

The Free Speech Movement

The first major campus revolt of the 1960s took place on the Berkeley campus during the 1964 – 1965 academic year after the dean of students banned all on-campus political activity. Students were outraged and viewed this decision by college officials as directed primarily against campus civil rights groups. Arthur Marwick contends that the four-month campaign, which became known as the Free Speech Movement (FSM), developed as returning Freedom Summer volunteers made comparisons between the oppression they witnessed in the South and the oppression they felt within the university.³² It was no coincidence that the FSM took place during the civil rights upsurge. In a protest speech, Berkeley student and FSM leader Mario Salvo compared the similarities between the civil rights and free speech movements:

Last summer I went to Mississippi to join the struggle there for civil rights. This fall I am engaged in another phase of the same struggle, this time in Berkeley. The two battlefields may seem quite different to some observers, but not in this case. The same rights are at stake in both places – the right to participate as citizens in democratic society and the right to due process of law. Further, it is a struggle against the same enemy. In Mississippi an autocratic and powerful minority rules, through organized violence, to suppress the vast, virtually powerless, majority. In California, the privileged minority manipulates the University bureaucracy to suppress the students' political expression.³³

³¹ Clark Kerr, "Student Dissent and Confrontation Politics," in *Protest! Student Activism in America*, ed. Julian Foster and Durward Long (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1970), 3-10.

³² Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, 1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1998), 540.

³³ Cited by Irwin Unger and Debi Unger, *The Times Were a Changin': The Sixties Reader* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), 75.

The FSM incited student activists to fight for their rights as citizens in a democratic society against a government they viewed as oppressive. Alexander Astin et al. argue that the FSM was a spin-off from the Civil Rights Movement because the same rights were at issue in both struggles – the right to participate as citizens in a democratic society and the right to due process of law. Prominent civil rights leaders James Farmer of CORE and John Lewis of SNCC lent national support for the FSM objective and Berkeley students introduced demonstrations tactics used by civil rights protestors to student activists throughout the country.

During the Berkeley students' campaign, they held a police car "captive," physically occupied four floors of a building and shut down the campus with a massive student strike. The summoning of the police to campus by Berkeley administrators to control the situation only made matters worse, and as a result, previously neutral students were radicalized by the police presence on campus. This greatly increased the number of students involved in FSM demonstrations. Bret Eynon reports that as many as 10,500 Berkeley students took some form of action in support of the FSM over the course of the four-month campaign and adds that the FSM eventually raised larger questions about student life and the role of the university in post-war American society.³⁴ FSM symbolized a transition from student protest to student revolt and marked the beginning of a long period of student unrest directed at protecting society's Constitutional rights. The FSM attracted massive media attention and people around the world

³⁴ Eynon (1989), 39-69.

watched the demonstrating Berkeley students on television. In the spring of 1965, after fulfilling its purpose, the FSM disbanded and the first significant campus confrontation of the 1960s had ended.

Black Power Movement

At the same time the majority of the white student activists focused their attention on the Free Speech Movement, campus reform and the intensifying Vietnam War, black students continued to fight for equal treatment. President Johnson's passage of civil rights legislation did little to eliminate the social and economic plight of poor blacks, and African-American students continued to see an America filled with racial discrimination. African-American students demanded action from university administrators regarding the issue of increased black student and faculty recruitment and the incorporation of black studies programs into the college curriculum. While white students staged antiwar protests, a large number of black students protested against what they perceived to be the white values of America's colleges and universities.

In response to an incident of police brutality in the Oakland ghetto against young African-Americans, college students Huey Newton and Bobby Seale formed the Black Panthers, a militant organization, to continue the fight for civil rights. Irwin and Debi Unger argue that the Black Panthers epitomized the late 1960s political climate. Their direct action approach used more violent tactics than the earlier days of the Civil Rights Movement and eventually worked against

itself by alienating the organization from many would-be supporters.³⁵ Not all African-American students agreed with the Black Panther philosophy and their indiscriminant use of violence. Many chose not to become involved with the organization.

Black protest dominated the campus scene in the late 1960s and student violence spread throughout the nation. In 1967, thousands of Howard University students took over their campus because they believed the University did little to change the curriculum that was designed along the lines of white colleges or creating organizations to meet the needs or interests of the African-American student. The Howard students' use of violent takeover tactics was among the first of their kind ever used in the United States and the students essentially seized control of the university. Realizing the Howard students' success, black students effectively "took over" campuses throughout the country including Columbia, Bowie State, Northwestern, Boston University, Ohio State, Tuskegee Institute and many others. Herbert Haines contends that the Black Panthers and black radicalism of the late 1960s was often blamed for the outbreaks of violence on campuses throughout the country.³⁶

Student Counter Culture and Campus Reform

In the fall of 1964, the first baby boomers, children of the post-WWII era, arrived as freshmen on the nation's campuses. According to Unger and Unger, by 1965 there were approximately five million college students in the United

³⁵ Unger and Unger (1998), 148.

³⁶ Haines (1988), 57.

States. By 1970 there were more than seven million. This represented an increase of over 100% in a fifteen year period.³⁷ The rapid expansion of American higher education made it nearly impossible for colleges and universities to adequately accommodate the needs of their students. Students began to feel alienated from their institutions and their professors as enrollment soared and faculty research pressures increased. Additionally, according to the *Report of the American Bar Association Commission on Campus Government and Student Dissent*, rapid growth in an era of change left many institutions unprepared to evaluate how an increased student population would affect administrative decision-making and the formation of policy on campus.³⁸ American institutions of higher education were ill equipped to handle the new students that were arriving on their campuses in droves.

During this decade American society witnessed a youth counter culture that emphasized dress, general values, lifestyles and leisure activities. Theodore Roszak, in his article "Youth and the Great Refusal," introduced the term "counter culture" to the American public. According to Roszak:

The counter culture is the embryonic culture base of the New Left politics, the effort to discover new types of community, new family patterns, new sexual mores, new kinds of livelihood, new aesthetic forms, new personal identities on the far side of power politics, the bourgeois home, and the Protestant work ethic.³⁹

³⁷ Unger and Unger (1998), 57.

³⁸ American Bar Association Commission, *Report of the American Bar Association Commission on Campus Government and Student Dissent* (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1970), 5.

³⁹ Theodore Roszak, "Youth and the Great Refusal," *The Nation* (March 25, 1968) quoted in Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, 1958-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 11.

Scholars Jack Whalen and Richard Flacks believe that the 1960s youth revolt centered on two intertwined but opposing orientations: social responsibility and personal liberation and autonomy.⁴⁰ Many blamed the new youth counter culture for increasing the students' demands for educational reform and ignored the fact that many American universities were excessively authoritarian and bureaucratic institutions that did not encourage individuality or autonomy among their student populations.

Students staged demonstrations on campuses nationwide against the reluctance of the institutions to change with the times. A survey of events of 1965 showed that while civil rights was still the dominant protest issue, mundane matters such as dormitory regulations, food services and dress codes were once again becoming popular on campus. Frederick Obear wrote "college administrators were replacing Southern sheriffs as the target of student wrath."⁴¹ Protests against the undergraduate curriculum and the tradition of *in loco parentis* (paternalistic surrogate authority), both inherited from the colonial college era, became as common as those for peace and civil rights. According to the report by the American Bar Association Commission on Campus Government and Student Dissent, student demands included more course offerings that dealt directly with the immediate social problems and values of the decade, a modified grading system, increased study undertaken in the community as opposed to in the classroom, greater student participation in college governance, more formally

⁴⁰ Jack Whalen and Richard Flacks, *Beyond the Barricades: The Sixties Generation Grows Up* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1989), 106.

⁴¹ Frederick Obear, "Student Activism in the Sixties," in *Protest! Student Activism in America*, ed. Julian Foster and Durward Long (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1970), 19.

accepted disciplinary procedures that recognized the basic rights of students, new procedures to respond to student complaints and the addition of special educational programs for the disadvantaged and minorities.⁴²

Terry Anderson observed that the “universities had devised a veritable straitjacket of petty rules in which to confine their young charges. Every possible aspect of student life was regulated.”⁴³ Students resented the strict paternalism on the nation’s campuses and openly challenged college administrators to relax or abolish many of their archaic policies. Many of the same issues that caused students to rebel during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were once again the focus of attention, such as strict parental rules, inadequate living conditions and obsolete academic curriculum. Midway through the decade, fearing increased student rebellion and violence on campus, administrators began to liberalize the curriculum and discontinue most excessive regulations including the longstanding practice of *in loco parentis*.

In their study, “The Dynamics of Institutional Response,” Julian Foster and Durward Long discuss the effects the student protesters had on higher education in the 1960s. They contend the students were instrumental in forcing the following educational reforms: 1) increased student participation in the governance of higher education; 2) the abandonment of *in loco parentis*; 3) the development of more explicit codes of student conduct and behavior; 4) the reevaluation of the due process system for students; 5) increased student

⁴² American Bar Association Commission, *Report of the American Bar Association Commission on Campus Government and Student Dissent* (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1970), 3.

⁴³ Anderson (1999), 55.

involvement in the educational and political processes on campus; 6) the reconsideration of the traditional content, methods, structures and evaluations of collegiate instruction; and 7) the continued polarization of the academic and professional disciplines.⁴⁴ The student activists of the 1960s succeeded in reforming many of the traditional practices of higher education that college students had been fighting since the colonial college era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Student Antiwar Movement

By the mid-1960s, student unrest brought America's universities into the spotlight as an issue of national concern and made the student activists important players in the national political scene. According to the *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, a 1964–65 survey of 849 American campuses reported that the majority of the institutions witnessed some type of student unrest. More than one-third reported off-campus civil rights activity and one-fifth reported antiwar activity.⁴⁵ Lipset contends, "The civil rights movement, with all its implications about American politics, was almost a necessary condition for antiwar activism on the campus."⁴⁶ Civil rights continued to be an important issue for the white student activists but the escalating war in Southeast Asia became the focus of their attention.

⁴⁴ Julian Foster and Durward Long, eds., "The Dynamics of Institutional Response," in *Protest! Student Activism in America* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1970), 445.

⁴⁵ President's Commission on Campus Unrest, *The Report of The President's Commission on Campus Unrest* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), 29.

⁴⁶ Lipset (1993), 12.

The student antiwar movement, like the FSM, utilized tactics learned from the student civil rights protesters. The activists viewed the Vietnam War as an extension of America's aggressive imperialist foreign policy and "the embodiment of militarism, oppression, dehumanization – everything hateful."⁴⁷ The first significant campus antiwar activity received attention in the spring of 1965 when approximately fifty professors held a teach-in at the University of Michigan, noted Anderson. Soon after, students and teachers from universities across the nation organized teach-ins and came together to discuss alternatives to the war and organize antiwar protest activities. Peace activists and civil rights leaders formed the National Committee to End the War in Vietnam and organized demonstrations against President Johnson's war policy.

Throughout the sixties, the issues of the Vietnam War, civil and human rights and the deficiencies of the universities continued to fuel both the black and white student activist movements. The issue of ending American involvement in the Vietnam War replaced the Civil Rights Movement as the primary concern of white student activists and peace demonstrators took place on campuses nationwide. Students compared the war in Indochina to the oppression of minorities in the United States and demanded that the American government pull its forces out of Southeast Asia.

As the war intensified, the student antiwar movement gained support from black activists who made distinct connections between race relations and the war. Marwick notes that at a February 1967 conference, Dr. Martin Luther King,

⁴⁷ Ottavio Casale and Louis Paskoff, *The Kent Affair: Documents and Interpretations* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), xi.

Jr. delivered his very first speech entirely devoted to the Vietnam War, concluding with a call for the civil rights and peace movements to be combined.⁴⁸ Most antiwar activists felt that the Vietnam War was illegal and immoral and that the draft was unfair. The Selective Service system came under attack because it appeared to be predominately aimed at minorities and the working class and often allowed affluent white youth to manipulate the system. The draft boards were accused of sending blacks into war over whites because white students could easily receive educational exemptions. Many saw the irony of black soldiers fighting for the rights of the South Vietnamese as they were fighting for their rights back home. According to Unger and Unger, by 1967 resisting the draft had become the students' method of choice for stopping the war and male antiwar activists on campuses nationwide burned their draft cards or returned them to the Selective Service in protest against the mandatory draft. Some student activists declared the summer of 1967 "Vietnam Summer" and went into their communities and held teach-outs to convince their neighbors to oppose the war.⁴⁹ The students refused to accept what they saw as the murder of innocent men, women and children in Southeast Asia and refused to be drafted or trained to do the killing.

The appeal and importance of President Johnson's Great Society diminished as the country became more active in and divided by the war. Activists no longer viewed the President as the man who passed the first civil rights legislation or the man who desegregated the schools, Johnson became known solely as the

⁴⁸ Marwick (1998), 229.

⁴⁹ Unger and Unger (1998), 304.

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⁴⁸ Marwick (1998), 229.

⁴⁹ Unger and Unger (1998), 304.

leader of the "War Party" and was taunted wherever he went with chants of "Hey, hey LBJ/How many kids did you kill today?"⁵⁰ In the spring of 1968, over one million college and high school students, professors and teachers boycotted classes to protest the war. In the end, the students had a significant impact. Their efforts contributed to President Johnson's decision to not run for reelection in 1968. Additionally, noted Anderson, ten thousand young activists, mostly college students, stormed the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, many with the belief that the U.S. government was no longer a democracy. The first six months of 1968 set records for antiwar activism as some forty thousand students participated in over two hundred and twenty demonstrations worldwide.⁵¹

Richard Nixon became the next president of the United States and the next target of the students' activism. During his first year in office, he appeased the antiwar protesters by declaring his intentions to gradually pull American troops out of Vietnam and terminate American support of the war. As 1970 approached, antiwar activism on campuses nationwide subsided and students' interests turned to other pressing societal issues, such as women's rights, gay rights, environmental pollution and ecology.

However, everything was changed on April 30, 1970. In a televised address to the American people, President Nixon announced that peace talks in Paris had stalled. As a result, he authorized the bombing of previously neutral Cambodia to halt the North Vietnamese military supply lines that ran South through

⁵⁰ Stuart Taylor and others, *Violence at Kent State, May 1 to 4, 1970: the Student Perspective* (New York: College Notes & Texts, 1971), 9.

⁵¹ Anderson (1999), 121.

Cambodia. Students everywhere were outraged by Nixon's action and believed he lied to the American people about his intentions for ending the war. Since taking office the previous year, Nixon had promoted the "Vietnamization" of the war and promised to replace American troops with newly trained South Vietnamese soldiers. Joe Eszterhas and Michael Roberts note that the activists felt that the President had ignored the U.S. Constitution by invading Cambodia and viewed the action as a move by a repressive government. Demonstrations broke out on campuses nationwide as students vehemently protested the brutal military campaign on the innocent villagers of Cambodia.⁵²

As a result of Nixon's Cambodia decision, the nation's campuses found themselves in a crisis situation. Although the student demonstrations were directed against the federal government, the college campuses suffered the most from the students' activism. This was proven true when student demonstrations turned deadly on the largely moderate and politically inactive campuses of Kent and Jackson State Universities.

On May 4, 1970, National Guardsmen killed four students at Kent State University. By May 5, the National Student Strike Information Center at Brandeis University reported that the aftermath of the Kent State killings had closed 135 colleges and universities. Ten days later, two students were killed and twelve injured on the Jackson State College campus in Mississippi when police opened fire on the women's dormitory. To student activists throughout the country, the killings at Kent and Jackson State illustrated the link between the slaughter of the

⁵² Joe Eszterhas and Michael Roberts, *Thirteen Seconds: Confrontation at Kent State* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1970), 25.

Indochinese by American troops in a hated war and the willingness of the U.S. government to turn its guns on those in this country who would fight to end that war. The strong college student reaction to Nixon's Cambodia decision and the Kent and Jackson State killings forced institutions of higher education across the nation to close their doors in fear of further campus violence.

The 1969–1970 academic year marked the zenith of student protest activity in the history of American higher education. By May 1970, student discontent was so fierce that many Americans feared a student revolution was at hand. According to Tim Spofford, some type of student demonstrations took place on nearly eighty percent of America's campuses and at least one in five campuses where closed prior to final exams.⁵³ The students had effectively made it known on a worldwide scale that they would no longer support a government that was responsible for the senseless killing of any human – American or Vietnamese. The actions of the student activists proved successful in swaying public opinion towards their cause and contributed to the eventual end of American involvement in the Vietnam War. A large segment of society made demands on President Nixon to pull American troops out of Southeast Asia and discontinue all support of the war effort.

As the United States government withdrew its support from the Vietnam War, the era of mass student activism began to wind down. Student activists were satisfied with the government's decision to terminate U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and turned their attention to other matters. The mass media also

⁵³ Tim Spofford, *Lynch Street: The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College* (Kent: Kent State University, 1988), 28.

contributed to the decline of the student movement by focusing its attention on other issues and cutting the activists off from their main link with the general public. The movement could no longer galvanize the base of support it needed to survive without the degree of media attention it received in the 1960s. As a result, the decade of the 1970s witnessed the demise of the student movement.

Additionally, the political climate of the United States in the 1970s began to grow more conservative. The increasingly militant and violent ideology and tactics of the student movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s led to its own self-destruction as more and more students became alienated from its radical goals. Kenneth Keniston wrote, "The emergence of violence within the movement has in turn pushed its members to reexamine their earlier self-justifying assumption that destructiveness characterized their adversaries but not themselves."⁵⁴ As activist organizations like SDS became increasingly radical and violent, moderate and neutral students found themselves in disagreement with their philosophies and tactics and disassociated themselves from the student movements.

The 1970s also brought economic instability to a nation already troubled by war and student unrest. Altbach noted that college students found themselves more concerned about the wavering U.S. economy and their uncertain futures than with the social issues that roused the activists in the 1960s. As a result, colleges and universities observed a noticeable shift in student interest from professions in the social sciences to those in management and the natural sciences; majors that many scholars found did not typically contribute to activist

⁵⁴ Kenneth Keniston, *Youth and Dissent* (New York: Jovanovich, 1971), 208.

behavior.⁵⁵ College student activism in the United States steadily declined through the early 1970s and by 1975, and mass student unrest virtually disappeared from America's college and university campuses.

⁵⁵ Altbach (1997), xxxvi.



Buffalo State College, May 4, 1970

Courtesy of Butler Library Archives – Buffalo State College

Chapter Two

The Rise of Student Activism On the Buffalo State Campus

The city of Buffalo originated around 1789 as a small trading community along what was known as Buffalo Creek and quickly grew with the completion and opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. Buffalo was incorporated in 1832 due to the surge in population and commerce and was fast becoming an important inland port in the 1840s with the flow of both passenger and commercial traffic heading west. As the city continued to go as a Transshipment Center for grain, the city also played a major part in the Civil War by sending soldiers to the Union front and supplying materials to the war effort from its fast growing manufacturing sector. By the end of the war, Buffalo's population had expanded making it the eighth largest city in the country.

With the increase in the city's population came the demand for teachers to educate the growing student population. The State of New York answered that need by building the Buffalo Normal School, which opened in 1871. The first class consisted of a total of 86 students: 75 women and 11 men, all white, with the majority of the student body coming from lower-middle income families.⁵⁶

The first principal of the school was Henry B. Buckham (1871-1886) followed by James M. Cassety (1886-1909) and Daniel S. Upton (1909-1919). These men believed the mission of the school was to educate the future teachers of

⁵⁶ John Aiken, *A History of Community: State University College at Buffalo, 1871-1996* (Buffalo: Buffalo State College Foundation, Inc., 1996), 10.

Buffalo to work within the city. When Dr. Harry W. Rockwell was appointed principal of the Buffalo Normal School in 1919, he believed the mission of the school was to train teachers to educate the fast growing student population in and around Western New York.

As enrollment continued to climb it became apparent that the school was not meeting the demands for an increasing number of the students. The State of New York was able to acquire a large tract of land, just north of the Buffalo State Hospital (now the Buffalo Psychiatric Center) on Elmwood Avenue, and by 1928, ground was broken to build a larger school at the new location. The new campus of the State Normal and Training School opened in 1931 and consisted of five buildings: Rockwell Hall (dedicated in his name in 1961), Vocational Building, Gymnasium, School of Practice and the President's home. Dr. Rockwell believed with this new school came a new vision for its authority by changing the way he, and others who would follow him, were to be addressed. He no longer considered himself the Principal of the school; he was to be called the President of the State Normal and Training School. Women, still the majority of students on the new campus, continued to come from lower-middle income working families. There were no minorities on the campus during this time.

Extracurricular activities for the students included professional organizations, the fine arts, cultural interest clubs, honorary organizations, sororities and fraternities and athletics. The *Elms*, the *Record* and the *Handbook* were the student publications on campus; however, the student journalists who wrote for these publications did not have editorial independence since the administration

and faculty controlled the content being published. John Aiken noted that in these publications, “there is not even a hint of interests and activities aimed at student independence, social problems or political interests.”⁵⁷

Dr. Paul G. Bulger

Upon his retirement in 1959, Dr. Harvey M. Rice was succeeded by Dr. Paul G. Bulger as the school’s third president. At the time of his appointment, he was provost of the Teachers College at Columbia University. He earned his Bachelor of Science degree from Albany State and his doctorate in higher education administration at Columbia.⁵⁸

As Dr. Bulger began his presidency at Buffalo State, there was a surge in student enrollment on college campuses due to many working class veterans entering under the G.I. Bill. These students were older, more serious about their education and less inclined to accept the status quo. According to Aiken, “college education was no longer the privilege of a few but the right of all. The impact of this flow of students was to democratize higher education.”⁵⁹

To deal with this influx of students entering the college campuses across New York State, Governor Nelson Rockefeller convened a committee to look into the condition of higher education within the state. The committee issued the Henry T. Heald Report: *Meeting The Increasing Demand for Higher Education in New*

⁵⁷ Aiken (1996), 14.

⁵⁸ Marvin LaHood, *State University College at Buffalo: A History, 1946-1972* (New York: State University College at Buffalo, 1980), 12.

⁵⁹ Aiken (1996), 12.

York State: A Report to the Governor and Board of Regents. The report listed three goals for higher education in New York State:

Assure educational opportunities to those qualified for college study; provide undergraduate and graduate professional training and research facilities necessary for the continued development of the State as a leading business, industrial, scientific and cultural center; contribute its proper share of trained personnel to meet the nation's needs for education, health and welfare services.⁶⁰

The report also recommended that the eleven teacher colleges in New York were to become liberal arts and science colleges, meaning Buffalo State had to prepare students for other jobs, in addition to teaching.

As enrollment began to increase dramatically on the Buffalo State campus in the early sixties, the make-up of the students arriving was creating a diverse campus community. This emergence of an ethnic and racial mix of students onto college campuses was due to a program in President Johnson's "Great Society" plan. The programs intent was to help improve the life of the lower social and economic groups struggling to survive. According to Aiken:

With legal and economic incentives, colleges and universities set out to recruit minorities for their campuses, faculty as well as students. Then followed the addition of courses and programs designed for these student and faculty interests. For higher education, the reforms that had the largest impact included The Higher Education Act of 1965, Educational Opportunity Program [EOP], (SEEK) and Affirmative Action, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), Head Start for preschoolers, Upward Bound to get underprivileged young people into college and a dozen others.⁶¹

Academic departments and faculty also responded to the new developments taking place on campuses by offering courses that reflected what was happening in society as a way for students to communicate and understand the changing

⁶⁰ Aiken (1996), 28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

world around them. In the late sixties a new course was offered by the Philosophy Department at Buffalo State, titled "Controversy," it became very popular because it critiqued the established order and offered such topics as police brutality, black power, fair trial and civil disobedience. Also during this time, the history department offered a course called "Alternative Life Styles" that dealt with the history of marginalized social groups.

As student enrollment increased at Buffalo State from 4,549 in 1959 to 7,561 in 1967 so did the number of campus administrators.⁶² At the end of the 1961 academic year there were 23 administrators and by the end of the 1967 academic year there were 114.⁶³ Academic departments were also expanded to handle the influx of students; for example, the Faculty of Natural and Social Sciences was divided into several departments. There was also the development of more programs to meet student needs, such as the creation of the Student Affairs department and the expansion of the Academic Affairs office.

In the summer of 1967, the city of Buffalo was dealing with race riots that were also plaguing other cities in the country at the time. Looting, fire bombings and mass arrests took place over several days as demonstrators, the majority African-American, demanded more jobs and an end to racial discrimination. Local black leaders called on city officials and businesses to help the black youths find jobs in the government and private sectors. These leaders also reminded college and university officials that federal assistance to lower-income students and minorities was available to help them attend two and four year

⁶² LaHood (1980), Appendix H.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 17.

schools. Programs, such as the Education Opportunities Program (EOP) and Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge (SEEK), were created with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965. As these federally funded programs were bringing thousands of minorities onto college campuses across the nation, Buffalo State was no different. According to Aiken, “[Buffalo State’s] eagerness to act as an institution to help move people from the lower socioeconomic groups into the middle class marked one of its unique qualities.”⁶⁴ However, it took inner-city high school graduates, the majority of which were black, and placed them in the middle of a white academic world. This created many new problems for both the black and white student.

Dr. E. K. Fretwell, Jr.

Dr. Paul G. Bulger resigned his position as President of Buffalo State College in September 1966 but remained in the position until February 1967. Dr. E. K. Fretwell, Jr. was named the fourth president of the college in August 1967. He had been the dean for academic development of the City University of New York. He received his bachelor’s degree from Wesleyan University, his master’s degree from Harvard University and his PhD from Columbia University. Dr. Fretwell had written more than dozen articles and “had assisted in the preparation of Dr. James B. Conant’s book, *The Education of the American Teachers*. He had served in a number of appointed and elected offices, including the presidency of the National Association for Higher Education in 1964-65.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Aiken (1996), 36.

⁶⁵ LaHood (1980), 25.

Dr. Fretwell began his duties as president in September 1967; however, his inauguration did not take place until May 1968. Dr. Samuel Gould, Chancellor of the State University of New York, spoke at the inauguration where he called Dr. Fretwell “one of those administrators who remains undaunted and still believes that the university is the only bulwark against the disintegration of human values.”⁶⁶ In his speech, Dr. Fretwell quoted part of Charles W. Eliot’s (president of Harvard University 1869 – 1909) inauguration speech saying:

I contemplate here a college of the future which will be bigger but more personalized; intellectually more demanding but open to a larger spectrum of people who wish to enter and learn; devoted to research and increasingly specialized areas yet effective in teaching freshmen and other students; proud of its great future yet modest about its many accomplishments.⁶⁷

When Dr. Fretwell took over the presidential position, two of the three vice presidents under Dr. Bulger remained, Dr. Houston Robinson and Dr. Charles LaMorte. However, a year later they were replaced with Dr. Carlton E. Bauer and Dr. Sigmund A. Smith. Another carryover from the Bulger Administration was Colonel Silas R. Molyneaux, who would be retained as President Fretwell’s executive assistant. These men would be pivotal in the administration’s decision making during the student protests and campus unrest on the Buffalo State campus in the late sixties.

Many new curriculums emerged under President Fretwell in his early years as the college president. Added to the bachelor degree programs were physics, Soviet Union and East European studies, industrial technology, psychology, political science and home economics. In addition, the Teachers Corps, a

⁶⁶ Cited in LaHood (1980), 25-26.

⁶⁷ Cited in LaHood (1980), 26.

federally-funded two year teacher preparation program leading to a bachelor degree in elementary education and permanent certification in New York State, began in 1968.

Along with the additions to the curriculum came the opening of new buildings on the Buffalo State campus. The Communication Center opened in February 1967(now Bulger) and in September of that same year the new Student Union building was opened. Also the Campus School, a public school located right on campus, was expanded to accommodate students from nursery school through twelfth grade. The new Edward H. Butler Library, opened in August 1969, was built in four quadrants around the central core of the old library. In addition to these buildings, two new dormitories opened Twin-Rise and Scajaquada.

An important change under Fretwell was the governance structure of the college. The three-council structure was replaced with a unicameral body, the College Senate. It still consisted of students, faculty and administrators but now there were twelve student representatives in the new body. According to LaHood, "the student government evolved from the Student Council, begun in 1937, to the College Student Association with its deliberative Student Congress in 1953, to a new organization, the United Students' Government, in March of 1971."⁶⁸ It was seen as power-sharing by students, faculty and administration in which all three would have a say in how the college was run from admissions to curriculum to standards and tenure.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 31.

The Making of a Rebellious Campus: Student Activism at Buffalo State

In 1960, Buffalo State did not have the reputation as an activist college. The majority of the student body still consisted of women coming from lower middle income working class families and the campus had little racial or ethnic diversity.⁶⁹ A thorough review of the student newspaper, *Record*, from the years 1960 – 1970, reveals the steady emergence of an activist spirit on campus beginning in 1966. Although distressed regarding Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War, the students of Buffalo State were much more concerned with how they could improve their life on the college campus.

Prior to the 1966 – 1967 academic year, Buffalo State students, like those across the country, were for the most part apathetic towards the larger social and political issues plaguing the country. When the students chose to protest against a particular issue, it was usually related to improving their lives on the college campus. Basic student concerns such as dormitory regulations, student curfews and the quality and cost of food were common. Students engaged in passive demonstration tactics such as circulating petitions, letter writing campaigns and organized debates to voice their dissatisfaction to the administration. Groups of students also began to create social clubs and political interest groups on the college campuses they now called home. These organizations invited speakers and entertainers onto campuses that frequently brought heightened awareness to the existing social and political problems plaguing the country, like racism and the Vietnam War.

⁶⁹ Aiken (1996), 29.

As Buffalo State students began taking notice of the escalating war in Vietnam, the *Record* published news from the war front along with student letters both in favor and against U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia. Similar to nationwide campuses, not all Buffalo State students were involved in antiwar activities. Many supported President Johnson and America's involvement in the Vietnam War. These students also opposed SDS, spoke out against antiwar demonstrations and received support from the media who considered the antiwar activists disloyal to their country. The full impact of the Vietnam War did not engulf the Buffalo State campus until May 1970.

Race Relations

The first group of non-white students to arrive on the Buffalo State campus were part of the Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge Program (SEEK) when it began in September 1967. The program was designed to give high school graduates from poverty stricken neighborhoods a chance to obtain a college education. There was no restriction on age, sex, race, color, religion or national origin; however, each participant had to meet the following criteria: be a New York State high school graduate; live in a poverty area within Erie or Niagara counties; be a citizen of the United States; be entering college for the first time; be highly motivated with the potential to succeed; and be willing to make sacrifices.⁷⁰ The individuals also had to be nominated by either a community organization or individual.

⁷⁰ SEEK program highlights letter; Misc. folder – SEEK program (67-69), 81-12, Book 1

The goal of SEEK was to move inter-city high school graduates into the mainstream of college life. Many of these students never learned how to properly do homework or conduct research and had to be taught these basic skills. As a participant in SEEK, the student did not pay tuition or school fees, received their textbooks for free and were given financial assistance for their everyday needs. The first group of SEEK participants on the Buffalo State campus consisted of 100 full-time and 150 part-time students, with seventy-six percent being black, eighteen percent being Puerto Rican and six percent being "other."⁷¹

Letters to the editor began appearing in the school newspaper a few months after the SEEK students began classes. These letters addressed various incidents other students claimed to have witnessed with the students in the program. The claims ranged from the SEEK students not studying when in the library, always playing cards in the Student Union, and it was believed some of the students had charge accounts at local stores that were financed through the program. In the February 21, 1968 issue of the *Record*, an article appeared that sought to inform the student population about the SEEK program. Reporter Elaine Zipp spoke directly with the Associate Director of SEEK, Ralph Peo, who was quoted as saying "the purpose of SEEK is, very simple, to insure that the students obtain an education."⁷² He also stated that "many of the problems

⁷¹ Aiken (1996), 37.

⁷² Elaine Zipp, "SEEK Director Clarifies Aims," *Record*, 21 Feb 1968, 6.

between matriculating students and SEEK students were the result of misinformation and prejudice."⁷³

In a companion article, reporter Lee Barlett interviewed several of the students in the SEEK program. The students felt they were treated fairly academically because the teaching faculty did not know they were a SEEK student; however

Socially, they said, they felt some hostility from the students. They reasoned that it was in part racial hostility because they are the first large group of Negroes on campus. They said that some of the hostility also stemmed from students who feel that SEEK students are getting something for nothing.⁷⁴

When student complaints arose again a year later, the *Record* once more ran a series of articles trying to dispel the myths surrounding the SEEK program. The newspaper interviewed the SEEK Director, Robert Hawkes, and quoted him as saying "the SEEK program was designed for graduates of secondary schools...who reside in regions defined as 'poverty areas'...[however], it happens that over 90% of the graduates in 'poverty areas' are black."⁷⁵ The newspaper took the position that until the program was fully understood by the student body and the individuals in the program were accepted, there would continue to be problems within the campus community.

With the increase of minority students on campus, racial tensions between various groups were becoming noticeable. A group calling itself the Third World Students (TWS) demonstrated to support the protesters at State University of New York at Buffalo (UB) who were demanding the administration change its

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Lee Barlett, "Three Students Involved," *Record*, 21 Feb 1968, 6.

⁷⁵ Anita Alzamora, "SEEK Gives Chance To Disadvantaged," *Record*, 8 Oct 1969, 4.

admission policy regarding the acceptance of more minorities into the Medical School program. The TWS were a coalition of minority groups that banded together to demand equal rights on college campuses. They deemed the college admission process as racist due to the denial of minority applicants into select programs. The group also felt that the student governments representing the student body on college campuses were not meeting their obligations of all student organizations, especially minority groups.

TWS exploded onto the Buffalo State campus in November 1969 when they held a rally in the Student Union protesting what they saw as the institutions racist practices. Carrying signs and chanting, they marched around the union before taking the demonstration to the campus community. Voting to boycott their classes until their demands were met, ten representatives of TWS brought their ultimatums to President Fretwell on Thursday, November 13, giving the administration twenty-four hours to respond.

The list of demands that TWS submitted to the administration called for the creation of a Third World Student Government (TWSG) to meet the needs of minority groups on campus. To accomplish this, TWS wanted the college to allocate \$42,000 from the Student Activity funds that would be used to establish and run the new TWSG in addition to \$50,000 from the College Student Association (CSA) as reparations for its cultural exploitation of minority groups on the campus.⁷⁶ They also demanded funds be made available to develop and implement a comprehensive Afro-American studies program.

⁷⁶ "Third World Students Move to Have Demands Met," *Record*, 19 Nov 1969, 1.

The final requests of TWS were that its members and supporters who were boycotting their classes not be academically penalized for absenteeism; that the sixteen Grover Cleveland High School students arrested for disorderly conduct at a school dance be released; and lastly, TWS called for amnesty for all students participating in the strike and that they be free from punishment regarding future conduct towards the administration.

On Friday (November 14) a meeting took place between President Fretwell and the TWS spokesmen in his office. He advised the representatives that some of the demands were not possible; however, the administration was willing to work with them to find a compromise. The group left his office without incident but later that day, another protest took place that was louder and much more disruptive. As the protesters marched through the campus they interrupted classes, set off fire alarms and harassed students and campus workers they encountered along the way.⁷⁷

On Monday, November 17, TWS held another rally in the Student Union and they requested Fretwell's presence at the rally so he could explain his responses to all Third World Students and supporters. The group insisted that he only answer with a "yes" or "no" response to the demands put forth. As the questioning by TWS members continued, Fretwell's responses, even a "yes" answer, were construed as a negative response in the eyes of the TWS members because he could not provide the result immediately.

⁷⁷ Memo to Members of the College Council from E. K. Fretwell, Jr. SUCB – President's Office, Correspondence, etc.; SUCB By-Laws and College Councils. 80-06, Box 3.

After twenty-five minutes, the members of TWS considered the meeting over and Fretwell left. The group continued meeting to discuss their next move and later that evening issued a statement to the campus community; "discussion on means to implement the demands of the Third World has proven unsatisfactory. Therefore, we have been forced to take strong action to demonstrate the validity of our grievances."⁷⁸

Continuing to work on the matter of TWS, Fretwell met with his vice presidents, faculty members and other staffers to discuss possible actions to future incidents on campus. During the course of the meetings, two TWS representatives joined the discussions along with the president and other officers of CSA. The main issue between the two groups was the "unwillingness of CSA to give [TWS] an appropriate share of student activity funds (as seen by the blacks), or the unwillingness of the blacks to understand CSA procedures."⁷⁹ At one point during the meeting, an agreement had been reached but the president of the CSA backed down causing the TWS representatives to leave.

A short time later, President Fretwell was advised that at 6:27 p.m. a small fire was reported in Perry Hall. He was also told of the disturbances in Butler Library and the damages to the vending machines in Bishop Hall. In addition, "gasoline, bullets, a toy gun and making of Molotov cocktails" were also found in the basement of Bishop Hall by campus security.⁸⁰ President Fretwell was also

⁷⁸ "TWS Demands – Fretwell Replies," *Record*, 19 Nov 1969, 3.

⁷⁹ "Memo: To Members of the College Council, From E.K. Fretwell, Jr." College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4., 4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

informed about the bomb threats to campus buildings (Communications Center, Ketchum Hall) during the evening.

After receiving the reports of the increased violence on the campus, Fretwell, who had been working with SUNY attorneys for several days, secured a restraining order to quell any further disruptions. On November 18, the order was issued against:

The Third World Students, The College Student Association, The Interfraternity Council, The Black Liberation Front, All Being Organizations at the State University College at Buffalo, Ram Desai, Emily Freeman and John Doe, Richard Doe, Jane Doe, being fictitious names for persons whose names are unknown and sundry others, acting individually and in concert.⁸¹

The restraining order called for a stop to all disruptive behavior on campus including violence against others and inciting others to riot. The order originated in the Supreme Court of Erie County and was signed by Justice James O. Moore.

This action by the administration seemed to settle the campus because a week after the restraining order was carried out, there were no further protest rallies or marches and the representatives of the TWS organization opened a line of communication with the President to resolve the differences between the group and the college community. In addition, "talk-ins" were being held around campus between faculty and students to discuss the unrest and the demands of the group. By Thanksgiving break the agitation on the Buffalo State campus had greatly diminished, and as a result, Fretwell did not seek a continuance of the restraining order.

⁸¹ Restraining order. SUCB – President's Office, Correspondence, etc.; SUCB By-Laws and College Councils. 80-06, Box 3.

Student Demands for Involvement in Campus Administration

As Buffalo State students were becoming more vocal, student organizations and groups began demanding their voices be heard on how the college administration deals with the students. For example, the Inter-Residential Hall Association (IRHA) submitted a proposal to the administration to abolish dorm curfews. The IRHA believed that the system of curfews in place

only delays this process of building the individual responsibility which is so vital to the education of the students involved. Adjustment to this type of university life maybe best realized through individual involvement and experimentation in deciding one's abilities and limitations. In view of the above, any curfew must be self-imposed if it is to serve an educational purpose.⁸²

The request submitted by the Buffalo State IRHA was based on the less stringent dorm curfew policies already in effect at UB.

In early 1967, the Fretwell Administration was presented with a resolution from the Buffalo State Student Government House of Representatives requesting that the Student Personnel Council and the Administration Council evaluate the college's procedures regarding student demonstrations on campus and the use of outside police agents. The resolution came about because the Buffalo Police were present on the Buffalo State campus when a SDS led demonstration took place outside Rockwell Hall. The students were protesting the presence of Dr. Wernher von Braun who was a guest speaker of a CSA sponsored convocation.⁸³ Members of the House of Representatives were informed that the

⁸² *Record*, 13 Dec 1967, 1.

⁸³ Wernher von Braun – a controversial figure; was a German born engineer who was instrumental in the development of rockets and space exploration. During WWII, he developed the long-range ballistic missile A-4 (also known as the V-2) for the Nazis. After surrendering to American forces, he was brought to the United States to continue the development of the long-

Buffalo Police were summoned to the campus by Colonel Molyneaux of the Fretwell administration. The reason was to assist the campus security personnel in crowd control because he felt "the school's own security were not trained to cope with the security problems that arose when the controversial von Braun came to campus."⁸⁴ However, members of SDS refuted this argument because they witnessed the Buffalo Police's Anti-Subversives squad taking photographs of the protesters outside Rockwell Hall. The students felt these photographs would end up in their college file which could possibly obstruct them from obtaining a job in the future.

The resolution, and the subsequent approval of the Campus Rights and Academic Freedoms Procedures Bill that came about after this incident, was viewed as an important step in establishing the rights of the student population. The highlight of the bill that was approved by the administration made note that "police shall be used on campus for the purpose of security and safety only. Police will not be permitted to photograph, follow, or otherwise inhibit students or faculty involved in orderly demonstrations on camps."⁸⁵

Another growing student concern on the Buffalo State campus was in the area of academics. Many of the student complaints centered on the number of closed classes each semester, making it difficult to obtain certain classes needed for graduation, in addition to the quality of the teaching faculty. This growing

range ballistic missile and also designed NASA's space launch vehicles, Saturn I, IB and V. "Wernher von Braun." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/78018/Wernher-von-Braun> (accessed 14 Feb 2011)

⁸⁴ Harry Spector, "House of Representatives Condemns Police; City Police Tactics Compared to N.K.V.D.," *Record*, 3 May 1967, 1.

⁸⁵ Fred Edzards, "Administrators Decide: Police Action Limited," *Record*, 3 Apr 1968, 1.

problem was addressed at a meeting between the administration, the faculty and the CSA. The *Record* reports that the administration and faculty agreed with the CSA that there was a need for student input to address these types of issues. It was agreed that a student committee was to be formed and its primary function was “to initiate and sustain academic and cultural improvement on the campus.”⁸⁶ Called CHANGE, the immediate concern of the group was to educate the student population regarding the SEEK program and in the development of faculty evaluations. The CHANGE committee was to remain active as long as there were academic and cultural issues of great concern to the student body.

In a step towards helping students gain a louder voice with campus administrators, the State University of New York Committee on Student Affairs released a report in November 1968, concerning student involvement in college affairs. In a statement issued by the group, “it is the opinion of this committee that students do have very positive contributions to make in a great many areas of decision making” which would allow students to become involved in the formation of policies and in the rendering of decisions regarding student activities, student conduct and academic policy.⁸⁷ In the report was the procedures that each college and university were to follow to encourage student participation; however, it was up to each individual school to determine how these policies would be implemented on their campuses.

⁸⁶ Eric Nelson, “CHANGE at Buffalo State,” *Record*, 9 May 1968, 3.

⁸⁷ Gale MacCalupo, “Report Urges Student Action,” *Record*, 13 Nov 1968, 11.

As Buffalo State students continued to voice their concerns regarding student rights, a sit-in demonstration took place at the Twin-Rise dormitories on November 12, 1968. *Record* reporter Sue Bring explains that the reason behind the sit-in was to call attention to the fact that the administration had not responded to numerous requests by the residents to leave the lounge area in the dormitory open until 11 o'clock p.m. The lounge, run by the Food Service department, closed every night at 8:30 p.m. presenting residents with a problem of having no place to go after closing to socialize or entertain their guests.⁸⁸ After four nights of sit-in demonstrations, the food service office granted permission for the lounge to remain open until the requested time on 11 o'clock p.m. According to the school newspaper a notice was posted informing dormitory residents that "the lounge will remain open contingent upon proper use of the lounge and the usefulness of it."⁸⁹

Continuing their pursuit of participating in college governance Buffalo State students became actively involved in the school's by-laws process. The *Record* reported that the CSA was working closely with the Faculty By-Laws Committee and the administration to find ways to gain student input in the development and amendment process of the by-laws of the College Senate. The most important concern raised by the CSA was the number of student representatives on the Senate and the reality that no black people sat on the college council.⁹⁰ After weeks of negotiation, it was agreed upon between the parties that fifteen

⁸⁸ Sue Bring, "North Wing Dorm Residents Initiate Sit-In Tactics to Keep Twin-Rise Lounge Area Open Evenings," *Record*, 13 Nov 1968, 1.

⁸⁹ Sue Bring, *Record*, 11 Dec 1968, 2.

⁹⁰ Margaret Eisenhauer, "Student Interest Sparks By-Laws Rallies," *Record*, 26 Feb 1968, 1.

students, including three blacks, would be elected to represent the student body in the by-laws process. This agreement between the administration, the CSA and the By-Laws committee was seen as the beginning of equal voting power in the decision making process of policies that affected the whole campus community.⁹¹

In an editorial, the *Record* took on the issue of student welfare on SUNY campuses and in particular Buffalo State. The editorial, titled "SUNY's Fantasy Island," was critical of SUNY, its mission for the Buffalo State campus and the college teaching faculty. The commentary goes on to assert that the most important factor on all SUNY campuses is the student. The paper was also disparaging of how SUNY and the Buffalo State administration had failed to respond adequately to the problem.

There is little to wonder at, then, that students seem upset, frustrated, and seething with resentment towards the college. The failure of the highest levels of the administration to correct obvious defects, develop a vision of the future, and show vigor and determination have contributed to conditions which possibly could lead to institutional disruption. The vacillation at the top, with its reluctance to make decisions, review and replace, its unwillingness to come to grips with tough problems which may involve changes in structure and personnel of the administration at all levels, merely plays into the hands of extremists of all sorts: the reactionaries who want to maintain the status quo and the radicals who wish to destroy the very institution itself. It creates a climate in which well-intentioned students sensing problems on campus can be manipulated by non-students who have their own axes to grind (for instance, the student personnel difficulties with the proposed by-laws when debated last year), or by students who have a vital stake in the present mess. The end result is a disaffection of concerned persons and an increasing of the heat level on campus, as the recent student meetings suggest. It creates a situation in which good and decent people are destroyed by misinformation, disillusion and disruption. Well might one faculty member comment, 'things were bad under Bulger, they're frightening under Fretwell.' It would indeed be a sad occasion if the tendency to drift continues with its pandering of pressure

⁹¹ Ibid.

groups of extremists leads to solutions imposed by a national guard.⁹²

The newspaper pointed out that if SUNY and Buffalo State did not correct the glaring problems immediately, the campus would fall into a chaotic state with no hope of a recovery.

The issues of student rights and involvement in college affairs continued to be important topics to the Buffalo State campus in the late sixties. The *Record* reported that the College Council voted to adopt two new policies regarding these important matters. The first was a Joint Statement on Student Rights and Freedoms that was drafted by the American Association of University Professors, the U.S. National Student Association, the Association of Student Personnel Administrators and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. It listed ten guarantees of student rights and freedoms and that "the student should be as free as possible from imposed limitations that have no direct relevance to his education."⁹³ The second was a Report on Student Involvement in College Operations prepared by the State University Faculty Senate Committee on College Affairs. The proposal set guidelines for increasing student participation in college affairs, with an emphasis on the rules of student conduct, proposed course offerings, the selection, retention and evaluation of faculty and the overall development of the college.⁹⁴

Students continued to raise their voices and in the spring of 1970 dormitory residents requested the administration consider an "open house" policy that

⁹² "SUNY's Fantasy Island," *Record*, 26 Feb 1969, 10.

⁹³ Louis Browne, "College Council Endorses Student Rights Statement, Student Involvement," *Record*, 12 Mar 1969, 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

would allow dormitory residents to have guests in their rooms past curfew hours. The *Record* reported that other SUNY campuses, such as Albany State, Fredonia, Brockport and UB, had such policies.⁹⁵ However, the problem with implementing such a policy at Buffalo State was considered difficult because it was a large campus and in an urban setting that allowed for individuals not related to the college to enter the campus grounds at any time. The proposal also posed a dilemma for campus security because the office lacked adequate personnel to protect “the rights of the minority, safety of persons and the security of possessions.”⁹⁶

A few weeks after the open house proposal was presented to the administration the school newspaper reported that a tentative agreement had been reached with the Fretwell Administration. Under the deal, each dormitory would set its own open house policy to be presented to the administrative committee, headed by Dr. Charles LeMorte, Vice President of Student Affairs for final approval. Some of the agreed upon rules set up were a sign-in, sign-out system; the escorting of opposite sex guests in and out of the building; and restrictions on the number of guests allowed per resident at any given time.⁹⁷

Following on the heels of the open house proposal, students organized a small protest regarding air pollution on campus. According to the *Record*, students were targeting the heat generating plant near the dormitories. Residents of the dorms were complaining that they could not open their windows because of the smell and soot that was left behind on their belongings while

⁹⁵ “Open House Policies – Take a Careful Look,” *Record*, 4 Feb 1970, 5.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Sue Bender, “Approval Granted to 3 Dorm House Proposals,” *Record* 25 Feb 1970, 1.

others walking in the general area of the plant complained of trouble breathing. These complaints prompted the campus chemistry lab to take air samples in the area which, when tested, were found to contain poisonous gases.⁹⁸ To bring awareness to the rest of the campus community, students who were living in the effected dormitories wore surgical masks to classes and attended a protest cleverly named "The Day of the Gray Death."⁹⁹

SDS and the Black Liberation Front Board

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) began at the University of Michigan in 1960. The founding members of SDS were concerned with the growing inconsistencies between American ideals and the realities of everyday life. The contradictions SDS observed were racial bigotry; the growing affluence while millions remained impoverished; and declarations of peaceful intentions while politicians voted for expanding military budgets.¹⁰⁰ SDS proposed new ideologies that included civil rights, equal opportunity and personal liberties.

In November and December of 1966, SDS began to hold informal meetings on the Buffalo State campus to discuss the purpose and goals of the organization. In its mission statement, SDS declared its intentions to "establish peace, eliminate poverty, and to inject controversy in a stagnant educational system," as necessary steps "for the establishment of a democracy in which each

⁹⁸ Rose Marie Dyjak, "Demonstrators to Protest Pollution at Nearby Heat Generating Plant," *Record*, 4 Mar 1970, 1.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Terry Anderson, *The Sixties*, (Crawfordsville: RR Donnelley & Sons, Co., 2007), 60.

member may formally participate.”¹⁰¹ Before the November meeting a typed flyer circulated around campus accusing the administration of denying SDS their rights by attempting to stop the organization from recruiting members and denying them the right to distribute its newspaper. The flyer included their recruiting message

every student who wants to fight racism, unemployment, the oppression of women and imperialism should join SDS and fight with workers against the bosses who run this school and everything in the country. We will wage a mass struggle against the conditions facing workers and students on this campus immediately.¹⁰²

During the question and answer period at the December meeting, the school newspaper reported that members of SDS attempted to clarify that they were not a communist group. They feel that through the education of individuals the fear of communism will be eliminated and the dread of being labeled a communist sympathizer that was felt by many groups and individuals in the past will also be eradicated.¹⁰³ After the meeting many of the students who talked to the newspaper felt that the members of SDS were not truthful with their proposed plans for the organization on the Buffalo State campus. Many felt that the members did not answer the questions proposed to them in a manner that gave the audience enough information to form a positive outlook on the organization. The students also thought that the members did not provide enough evidence that the group was not a communist organization.

As students questioned why SDS was still a recognized organization on the Buffalo State campus, an article appeared in the student newspaper that alluded

¹⁰¹ “SDS Speaks,” *Record*, 7 Dec 1966, 10.

¹⁰² SDS Flyer. “Administration’s Attempts to Crush SDS Will Fail!” Campus Unrest File.

¹⁰³ “SDS Speaks,” *Record*, 7 Dec 1966, 10.

to SDS as a revolutionary organization. The article warned students to be cautious when interacting with the group's members and highlighted a debate that took place on the campus. The discussion about SDS came about during an experimental course offered by the Philosophy department titled "Controversy." During the examination of the group, Dr. Burton M. Leiser, associate professor of philosophy, stated that "it's as clear as it can be that these people are advocating violent overthrow, rebellion."¹⁰⁴ To counter Dr. Leiser's statement, SDS member and UB graduate student, Robert Cohen, noted that "all SDS wants America to realize [is] her potential, we want human beings to be free...we in SDS are not trying to use anybody...we look at things critically."¹⁰⁵ The moderator, Dr. Martin Lean, professor and chairman of the department of philosophy at Brooklyn College, concluded that based on the actions of SDS on the Brooklyn College campus, he advised students to "exercise great care in joining such groups because they can easily be manipulated by these social engineers."¹⁰⁶

SDS could not make a permanent home on the Buffalo State campus and the UB chapter would send its members to the campus to bring strong protests to the Buffalo State community. SDS ran up against severe student resistance and as the stories about the group in the student newspaper indicate that the campus community was very leery of SDS, its tactics and the overall nature of the group left a negative impression.

Another group that brought controversy to the campus was the Black Liberation Front Board (BLFB). The BLFB was a faction of the Black Liberation

¹⁰⁴ Kathy Brown, "SDS Cited as Revolutionary," *Record*, 20 Nov 1968, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Army that started in 1969 to fight the oppression of the black people by the white establishment. BLFB groups began appearing on college campuses in the late sixties to fight what they perceived as oppression by the white college administrators. The group requested a special meeting in front of the CSA to request immediate recognition as an organization on the Buffalo State campus.

At the September 25, 1969 meeting, CSA advised BLFB that they would be given temporary status until their constitution could be completely reviewed.¹⁰⁷ A week later BLFB was in front of the House of Finances (H of F) Committee with their proposed budget for the academic year. According to the *Record*, due to their late budget submission, the H of F committee had to put the BLFB budget request up for vote to the students.¹⁰⁸ The first proposal was to tax the Student Activity Fee and the second was for existing organizations to allocate some of their budget monies to BLFB; both of these propositions were voted down by the student population.¹⁰⁹ Mr. Charles Hall, the BLFB advisor, stated that the organization would continue as part of the campus community even though its budget demand was denied by the student body.¹¹⁰

The following spring the BLFB was in front of H of F once again to submit their budget proposal for the upcoming academic year. The group requested a budget of \$85,000 and that request was immediately turned down by the member of H of F and a budget amount of \$64,300 was approved by the H of F members and sent to the House of Representative for final approval. During the meeting

¹⁰⁷ "Temporary Recognition for BLF Board," *Record*, 1 Oct 1969, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Alan Geller, "HofF Puts BLFB Budget to Referendum," *Record*, 8 Oct 1969, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Susan Alexis Tkach, "Support for BLFB Budget Voted Down," *Record*, 29 Oct 1969, 1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

members of BLFB blocked doorways so no one could leave the meeting, and those who tried were pushed and hit; and this was viewed by the student body as an intimidation tactic to get their original budget request passed.¹¹¹

At the House of Representative meeting the next day, BLFB representatives requested that their original budget request of \$85,000 be granted. During the voting process of the House members on this motion, BLFB members took down the names of the House members who voted against their request and threatened them with physical violence. The motion for the \$85,000 budget was passed unanimously by the House. The House members who spoke to the school newspaper said they agreed to the original budget request because of the intimidation factor implied by the BLFB members.¹¹²

In the days following the H of F and House of Representatives meetings, President Fretwell issued a statement regarding the incidents that took place at the meetings and the reported threats of violence issued by the BLFB members. He stated that "any individual who believes that his civil rights are being violated may request that a warrant be issued by the civil authorities for the arrest of the alleged violators."¹¹³

The Black Liberation Front Board was only present on the Buffalo State campus for a few years and disappeared by late 1971. Viewed as a militant group, its aggressive nature did not win the support of many students who observed the group as hostile towards the student body. Unlike the TWS who

¹¹¹ "Physical Violence, Intimidation Used by BLFB to Back Budget Demands," *Record*, 25 Mar 1970, 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

fought for all minority student groups, the BLFB only fought for the black student and this action limited their potential growth on campus.

The Vietnam War, Kent State and Reaction on the Buffalo State Campus

In early February 1968, CSA began to have pointed discussions during its meetings on what Buffalo State, in particular the administration, could do to help the student population gain a better understanding of the developments taking place in Vietnam and the issue of the draft. To address the concerns of the student body regarding the draft and Selective Service Exam, the CSA announced a Draft Resolution. In the resolution, the CSA declared that the “free and unfettered exercise of civil liberties cannot be in conflict with national security...and that too often the cry of national security has been used as an excuse for the needless denial of legitimate freedoms.”¹¹⁴

The Draft Resolution called for conscription to be abolished and a voluntary national army substituted based on the following reforms: conscientious objector provisions; universities should not participate in the Selective Service process; 4-F exemption should be based upon physical and mental disability only; “security questionnaire” eliminated; exemptions for head of family, hardship and those mentally or physically unfit; and a uniform national standards and procedures for all draft boards.¹¹⁵ After further discussions, the Draft Resolution was not presented to the student body for a vote because the House of Representatives and CSA cannot speak on national issues for the student body. According to the

¹¹⁴ “Draft Resolution Open Forum Tomorrow,” *Record*, 21 Feb 1968, 3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

student newspaper, Representative-at-Large, John Elston, was quoted as saying “no male undergraduate student will walk across campus to vote on a CSA draft abolishment resolution when it will have no effect on his being drafted.”¹¹⁶

In March, CSA voted to encourage faculty to open their classes to debate regarding the Vietnam War. The members of CSA believed it was important “to support the ‘concerned committee of faculty and students’ who are asking the college community to participate in this two-day program [Vietnam War Moratorium] devoted to discussing the pros and cons of the United States commitment to the war in Vietnam.”¹¹⁷ President Fretwell, along with Dr. Robison, the Vice President of Academic Affairs, also supported the proposal because they felt it was important for the Buffalo State community to be aware of what was happening in the world. In April, the college celebrated “Revolution Emphasis Week” which included discussion on Revolution in Education, Revolution in America and Revolution in Religion. Aiken noted that these events were showing that “decentralizing, centrifugal forces tugged at the students’ sense of community, as forces swirling beyond the college continued to move on campus.”¹¹⁸

On April 30, 1970, President Nixon announced that American forces had begun bombing Cambodia expanding the Vietnam War. The reaction by college students across the country was a call for a National Student Strike. The Strike called for college students across the nation to strike their classes on the 15th day of each month until the war in Vietnam was over. At Kent State, students

¹¹⁶ “CSA Defeats Draft Motion,” *Record* 14 Feb 1968, 1.

¹¹⁷ “Classes To Open for Debate on Viet Nam,” *Record*, 20 Mar 1968, 3.

¹¹⁸ Aiken (1996), 38.

held a rally on May 1 to oppose the events taking place in Southeast Asia with plans for another on May 4. The administration at Kent State attempted to ban the scheduled student protest, but was unsuccessful.

At noon on May 4, students began gathering at the Commons of the Kent State campus for the scheduled protest. Already stationed on the campus grounds, the Ohio National Guard was given orders to disperse the growing crowd of students (the Guard had been called into Kent a few days earlier at the request of the mayor due to vandalism and looting throughout the city). At 12:25 p.m. shots rang out and in an instant four students were dead. The action by the members of the Guard led to the largest college student uprising ever witnessed across the nation and Buffalo State was caught up in the furor.

A week prior to the Kent State incident, Buffalo State students were also attempting to coordinate strike efforts to protest against Nixon's orders to bomb Cambodia. Upon the news of the students killed at Kent State the students at Buffalo State called upon President Fretwell to grant them their strike request. He met with concerned students in the Rockwell Hall auditorium to discuss their strike demand; however, he advised that due to the SUNY Trustees Policy of educational obligations to the campus community he could not close the school. Later that day, a group of students marched through Rockwell Hall occupying the administrative offices while others attempted to stop traffic on Rockwell Road. The students who occupied the offices did so for several hours and when they were asked to leave, left in a peaceful manner; however, there was some

damage to several office doors. Campus Security also was able to clear the students from Rockwell Road without incident.

Late in the morning of the next day, a large group of students, approximately 250 to 300, requested that President Fretwell meet with them in the lounge of the Student Union. The students again addressed the issue of shutting down the college and again Fretwell reiterated that he could not close the school down due to policy.¹¹⁹ The group also questioned him on the relationship between the college and the Buffalo Police Department and reassured them that the Buffalo Police would not come onto the Buffalo State campus unless an official request from the college administration was sent. Fretwell also stressed, however, that the college was not a sanctuary for lawbreakers and the Buffalo Police have the right and duty to move onto campus if needed.¹²⁰

Before the meeting ended, the students presented several demands to the President, of which he agreed to the following: a commemorative event honoring the students killed at Kent State; a request to all teaching departments to hold meetings to which students could come and enter into discussions; a request to faculty to consider discussions of relevant issues to national events in their classes over the next couple of days; teach-ins at the Student Union; and the President making himself available to students to talk.¹²¹ In an article in *The Buffalo Evening News*, it was reported that after the meeting had broken up, approximately 200 to 600 students proceeded to Rockwell Hall where they

¹¹⁹ "Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, 5.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., 6.

“claimed to have taken over the administration building” and “would remain there until the president (Nixon) stops the war in Cambodia and incidents like Kent State cease to exist.”¹²² The sit-in lasted into the late afternoon.

Later that evening, an arson fire broke out in Rockwell Hall Auditorium at approximately 8:15 p.m. causing \$8,000.00 in damage.¹²³ According to the story in the *Courier Express*, Battalion Chief Elmer F. Ayers stated that the stage curtains were used to start the fire and that the fire ran up the curtains to the catwalk above the stage. A report to Fretwell a few days later indicated that the damage was far more extensive than reported in the newspaper. Along with the curtains and catwalk, stage lamps, the public address speakers and movie screen were damaged beyond repair. The stage floor was charred in addition to having smoke and water damage. The total cost of the fire was set at \$26,480.00.¹²⁴

In the early part of the morning on Wednesday, May 6, a sizable number of Buffalo State students, and non-students, who supported the National Student Strike, attempted to block traffic entering Rockwell Road from Elmwood Avenue. This prompted the Buffalo Police to send officers into the area to clear the ever growing group of individuals. As the police pushed the individuals back onto the campus, these individuals began stopping cars on Rockwell Road, urging the occupants to support the Student Strike by not attending classes or conducting business on the campus. There were no reports of any injuries or arrests during

¹²² *The Buffalo Evening News*, 5 May 1970, 1.

¹²³ *Courier Express*, 6 May 1970, 1.

¹²⁴ “Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970,” College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President’s Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, Report of Fire, Rockwell Auditorium, May 5, 1970.

the morning incidents and in his report to the College Faculty, President Fretwell noted that the responding police “arrived at their own volition” and were not summoned by the administration.¹²⁵

At noon, a large number of students gathered in the Rockwell Quad for the scheduled memorial service to honor the four students killed at Kent State. President Fretwell reported that “two clergymen, a faculty member, as well as an unidentified person who spoke on the plight of Blacks in our society,” attended the memorial as well. After the service, Fretwell noted that approximately 200 Buffalo State students marched down Elmwood Avenue to join students from other local college campuses at Niagara Square to protest the Vietnam War.¹²⁶

Later in the evening of May 6, it was reported to President Fretwell that another arson fire had taken place, this time in the Perry Hall dormitory basement. There were also several reports of the smell of gasoline fumes in the Tower number three dormitory. According to *The Buffalo Evening News*, the fire in Perry Hall was started with paint remover causing \$6,000.00 in fire and smoke damage.¹²⁷ Campus security also alerted the President that the fire alarm systems in several buildings, including resident halls, were tampered with and might not function properly.¹²⁸ The ever growing numbers of incidents taking place was making the Buffalo State campus a dangerous place for students and staff.

¹²⁵ “Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970,” College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President’s Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, 6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1970, 1.

¹²⁸ “Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970,” College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President’s Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, 7.

As the scheduled teach-ins began taking place throughout the campus on May 7, the Student Union teach-in was abruptly moved to Rockwell Hall. The organizer of the teach-in claimed it was difficult to attract the attention of others due to its secluded location on the second floor, so it was decided to move the group to the administrative offices in an effort to gain more followers. As a result, the President decided to relocate his and other essential administrative offices into other buildings across the campus so that there could be continued access to services. By late afternoon the group had left Rockwell Hall of its own volition with no incidents.

By early evening, reports from Campus Security were pouring into President Fretwell's office stating an increase in violence and vandalism to person and property. In addition, there were reports of fires being set in buildings across the campus and of great concern was the non-functioning fire alarm system in the Scajaquada Dormitory that housed 1,600 students. There also were disruptions of classes and the intrusion of a significant number of non-Buffalo State students entering the campus threatening violence.¹²⁹

At 10 o'clock p.m. on Thursday, May 7, President Fretwell made the public announcement of the closing of the Buffalo State College campus. Standing on the steps of Rockwell Hall with a bullhorn in his hand, he read his prepared statement

It is my judgment, concurred in by the faculty and administrative advisors, that a clear and present danger exists to life and property on the campus of the State University College at Buffalo on Elmwood Avenue. As a result, the instructional program of the College is closed until further notice. (This means that there will be no more classes this semester). There will be an

¹²⁹ Ibid. 7.

announcement tomorrow, Friday [May 8], regarding semester marks for seniors expecting to graduate as well as for others. We do not intend to have students lose benefits of their semester's work.¹³⁰

As the President was making his announcement, there were a growing number of individuals gathering on Elmwood Avenue between the college and the Albright-Knox Gallery across the street. As the group began to grow in size, they proceeded to stop traffic on Elmwood Avenue in both directions. The demonstrators also began building road blocks at both ends of Rockwell Road to impede traffic from entering the campus. At approximately 11 o'clock p.m., fifty helmeted Buffalo police, with tear gas launchers, began moving north on Elmwood Avenue from Forest Avenue.¹³¹ Through bullhorns, the police told the crowd to disburse, and when they failed to respond the police began firing tear gas into the crowd.

At midnight, the Buffalo Fire Department was summoned to the campus to answer a fire alarm and could not gain access to the campus because of the road blocks on Rockwell Road, so the Buffalo State Campus Security attempted to remove the road blocks. As they did so, they were pelted with rocks and chased from the area. Two of the campus security vehicles that were left behind were severely damaged by the protesters.¹³²

At this point, the Buffalo Police began to advance towards the college pushing the protesters back into the campus grounds. To get away from the tear gas, the crowd moved into the center of the campus around the Student Union. Many,

¹³⁰ Ibid. 8.

¹³¹ Mike McKeating, *The Buffalo Evening News*. 8 May 1970, 1.

¹³² "Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, 9.

with tear gas stinging their eyes, found outside water faucets and used them to wash their faces. After the crowd dispersed, the Buffalo Police made a sweep of the campus reporting to Campus Security that there were approximately seventy-five individuals still roaming the campus; they then left the campus grounds.¹³³

At 1:30 a.m., President Fretwell was informed by Campus Security that there was still a substantial cloud of tear gas on the campus grounds; in addition, there was extensive damage to windows in many buildings across campus.

With these reported incidents in hand, President Fretwell called upon his Advisory Group, the college vice-presidents, the school deans and other pertinent staff to discuss the growing volatile situation on the campus. After several hours of dialogue it was determined that

trying to maintain campus order in a rapidly deteriorating situation using [the college's] limited Security Department, which was too small and exceedingly tired [was becoming impossible]; the calling in of the Buffalo Police Department [meant] realizing that once an external force of this nature is on campus, we are no longer in charge; and the attempt to get as many people as possible away from the campus, so that danger to persons and property will be minimized [is of utmost importance].¹³⁴

It was decided that the campus would be closed down immediately due to the "clear and present danger to life and property."¹³⁵

In the week following the unprecedented chaos on campus, reports from the Physical Plant Department were sent to President Fretwell breaking down the damages to the campus buildings during the May 7 student uprising. The total vandalism costs were \$102,463 that included the replacement of 178 broken

¹³³ Mike McKeating, *The Buffalo Evening News*, 8 May 1970, 1.

¹³⁴ "Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, 8.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

windows, \$29,960 in fire damage and \$3,763 in Campus Security Officers overtime.¹³⁶ During this time, Fretwell also met with many individuals including deans, faculty and staff to gain a better understanding of what took place on the campus.

This chapter chronicled the student activism and campus unrest that occurred at Buffalo State College during the sixties, focusing on the years 1966-1970. At the beginning of the decade Buffalo State did not have the reputation as an activist institution, but by 1970 it was recognized by some as a very active campus. President Fretwell respected the rights of students to dissent on campus, but not to a point that put the campus community in harm's way. Student opposition to the Vietnam War, racism and the role of students in college governance fuelled the radical organizations as they developed a base of support among previously uninvolved moderate and liberal students.

Prior to these defining events, a multitude of social, academic and political issues motivated different student groups to participate in campus protests. Radical student groups on campus had their own agendas and there was little collaboration among student groups in the planning of demonstrations and other activist activities until the Kent State incident. Kent State became the flash point for destructive and violent student activism on campus.

Throughout the sixties, the issues that incited student protest on campus progressed from basic student concerns such as curfew hours and food service

¹³⁶ "Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, Vandalism Costs.

to issues related to academic freedom, increased student participation in college governance and American involvement in the Vietnam War. As student enrollment rates increased, the institution witnessed a great challenge as the students became more diverse. Coupled with the growing social justice movement of the sixties, many of these new students arrived on campus with activist experience having participated in protests and demonstrations.

Other issues that received a great deal of attention from the students concerned their limited role in policy formation and decision-making within the institution. Students had always desired input into matters related to college governance, and the Fretwell administration made the issue come to fruition with the development of a unicameral body that gave the students more say in how the college operated.

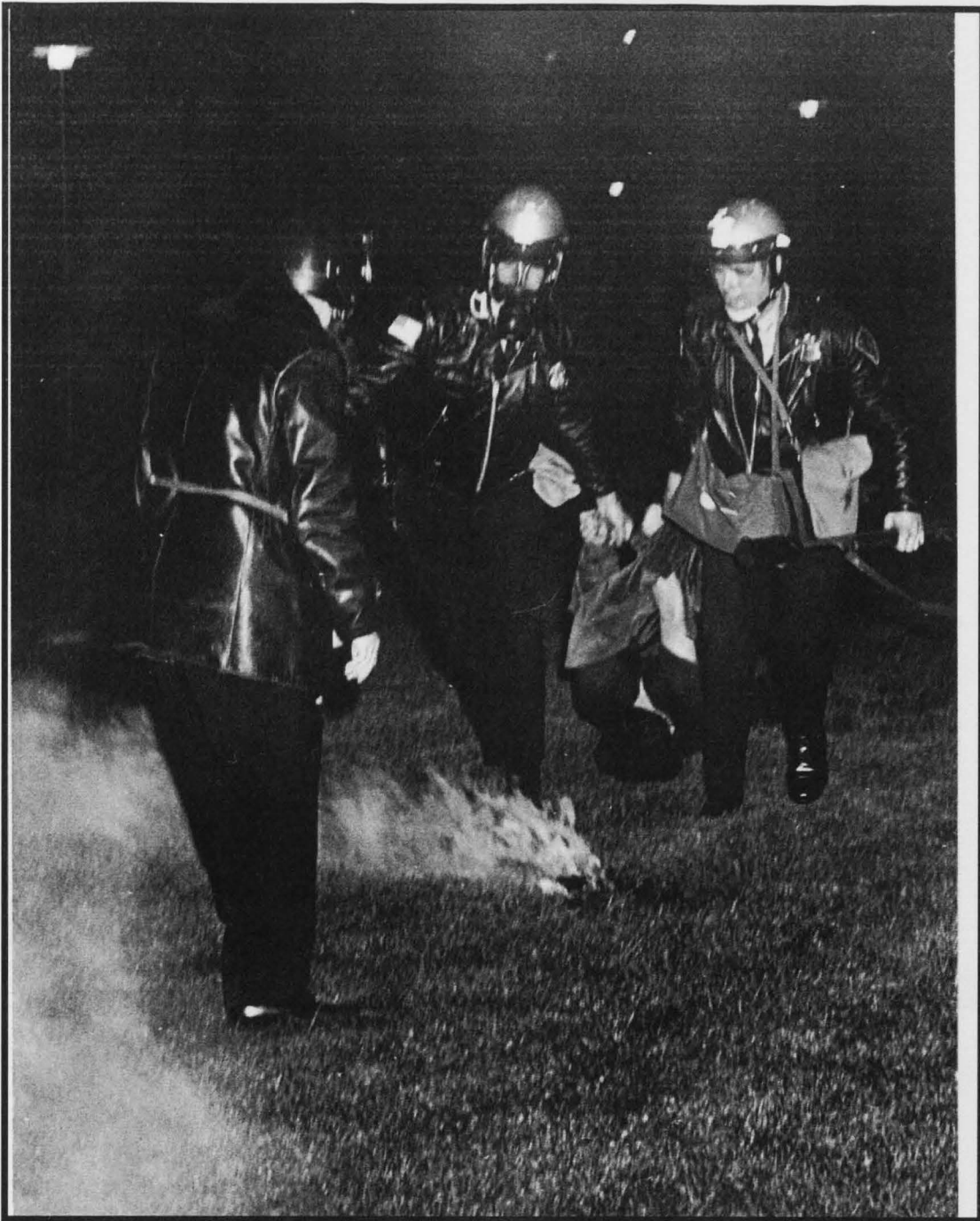
Activist groups, like SDS, tried to assert a presence on the Buffalo State campus without much success. Civil rights groups also developed on campus, such as the Third World Students and the Black Liberation Front Board, causing the administration problems. These groups pushed the administration to the breaking point forcing Fretwell to obtain a restraining order against them to prevent any further harassment of students and workers and to stop any further destruction to the Buffalo State campus.

The Vietnam War was never a big issue at Buffalo State until May 4, 1970 when four students were killed on the Kent State campus. Like all other college and universities across the nation, the students at Buffalo State rallied to strike until the U.S. government pulled out of Vietnam. As the Fretwell administration

responded to the call, students began a destructive march on the campus.

Fearing for the safety of all, the administration closed the campus down to further instruction and released students from their obligations.

What can be concluded from this chapter is that the students of Buffalo State were skeptical of outside forces on their campus; however, they understood that they needed to push the administration into accepting the changes taking place within the student body. The students used passive protest movements to alert the administration that change was needed and became more involved in the day-to-day operations of the college. As the student body began to change, more aggressive student tactics were also used to gain the administration's attention. But the largest and most disruptive demonstrations on the Buffalo State campus involved only a fraction of the total student population and that small number of students created the picture that student activism needed to be destructive in nature in order to promote their radical agendas.



Buffalo State College, May 7, 1970

Courtesy of Butler Library Archives – Buffalo State College

Chapter Three

The Administrative Response to Student Activism and Unrest On the Buffalo State Campus

By the late sixties, the vast majority of colleges and universities in the nation had experienced some type of student unrest. Students demonstrated for a multitude of reasons: off-campus issues concerned civil rights and the Vietnam War while on-campus issues involved student rights and student participation in the academic process. Kenneth Keniston notes in his article that by the end of 1969, "three-fourths of America's 2,500 colleges and universities experienced no protests at all."¹³⁷ After the bombing of Cambodia, however and the killing of students at Kent State and Jackson State in 1970, the number of protests regarding "off-campus" issues rose over eighty percent.¹³⁸

As activism intensified on college campuses, many administrators found themselves in unfamiliar territory and unprepared in how to deal with the challenges the political activity of the students brought to their institution. Consequently, there was no standard response to the student unrest and each institution was left to its own devices to manage the student uprisings. After the many reported cases of student uprisings on college campuses across New York State in the late 1960s, Governor Nelson Rockefeller called for a commission to

¹³⁷ Kenneth Keniston and Michael Lerner, "Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 395 (May 1971), 41.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

study the problem and come up with possible solutions to prevent future disruptive actions by radical students.

According to the *First Report of the Temporary Commission to Study the Cause of Campus Unrest*, the colleges and universities in New York that experienced serious cases of unrest constituted 26 out of the 212 surveyed. In addition, there were eight incidents that were considered critically disruptive to the daily functions of the institution.¹³⁹ Of these cases, the total number of students involved was under five percent of the student population with reported violence to persons, damage to property and involuntary stoppage of classes minimal.¹⁴⁰ However, after the incidents at Kent State and Jackson State, seventy-six percent of the colleges in New York reported some form of student unrest, with the most serious cases involving sixteen percent of the student body.¹⁴¹ Buffalo State was no exception to campus unrest.

During President Fretwell's administration, student activists on the Buffalo State campus demanded the elimination of dorm curfews, involvement in the decision process concerning campus reform, and the rights of the minority student. To bring attention to these matters, the students convened sit-ins and protests and used the school newspaper to address their demands. The administration did not ignore or deny the students their rights to protest; however, the students felt the administration was slow to respond to their demands. This slow response was tied to the fact the administration was bound by the SUNY

¹³⁹ The Academy in Turmoil. *First Report of the Temporary Commission to Study the Causes of Campus Unrest*, Albany, NY (1970), 57.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁴¹ Academy of Battleground, *Third Report of the Temporary Commission to Study to Causes of Campus Unrest*. Albany, NY (1972), 149.

Trustee policies. This hurdle would hinder the administration when it was confronted with two critical cases of campus unrest: the Third World Students demanding their rights as a minority on campus and the student uprising in response to the Kent State killings. How the Buffalo State administration handled the unrest was of utmost importance not only to the campus population but to the neighboring communities as well.

Third World Students

When the Third World Students (TWS) burst onto the Buffalo State College campus in November 1969, it was an unprecedented event. TWS demanded that the college community recognize the rights of the minority groups and felt the most important issue they were fighting against was racism. TWS gave the Fretwell administration a list of demands and what they viewed as racial problems within the college community.

In response to the demands, President Fretwell issued a five-page statement on November 14, 1969. He opened his remarks by asserting that

the limited time available has not yet provided for full discussion with faculty and student groups envisaged in the Trustees Policy Statement of the State University of New York, the by-laws of the College, and other pertinent documents. The questions raised by the "Third World" are to be considered seriously...I welcome those constructive suggestions in the statement which would help make Buffalo State an even more effective place for teaching and learning. Among these are (a) improved teaching, guidance, and counseling, (b) greater opportunities for minority group enrollment and for employment at various levels, (c) improved College governance, and (d) permanent elimination of any remaining vestiges of bias or prejudice in relationships among people...I understand and commend the seriousness of concern on the part of those students at Buffalo State who have presented these demands. We are together in our desire to improve the College so that it may serve effectively all of its constituents: current students, those who will come in the future,

and members of the community whom the College assists directly and indirectly through its various services. Our goal is to arrive at mutually agreeable solutions.¹⁴²

Fretwell broke down his responses to the demands into three categories: early implementation (changes in college procedures that can be made immediately), early discussion with appropriate College agencies and his overall general comments regarding the remaining demands. In the area of early implementation, Fretwell addressed the issue of the Afro-American Studies program, the college's hiring practices and the alleged racism in the classroom. He noted that there were already a number of courses being offered each semester with topics relating to black contributions in the United States. He also reminded the students of the experimental Afro-American Studies program in place by the history department and encouraged the students to seek more money to develop and expand the program.

In answering the call for changes in the hiring practices of the college, Fretwell stated that the number of "black, oriental and Indian" members of the faculty had nearly doubled within the past year; and he emphasized, that "50 of the 128 people hired in the past 18 months" within the maintenance department "[were] non-white."¹⁴³ Of greatest concern to Fretwell, however, was the alleged racism by certain faculty members within the classroom setting. He called for "any pertinent information [to] be brought to my attention at once so that prompt action may be taken under due process."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² "Memo," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office., Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, 1.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 2.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 3

Concerning the topic of early discussion, Fretwell focused on the demands for the implementation of the Third World Student Government (TWSG); the matter of equal justice and the creation of the Third World Judiciary Board; the college's admission policies; and the plea for counselors and tutors specifically for the minority students represented by TWS. Fretwell was of the opinion that the development of the TWSG did "not appear sound, educationally or legally" nor was the need for the Third World Judiciary Board.¹⁴⁵ He believed that two separate student governing bodies would not bring students together to solve the problems at hand but move them further apart. Fretwell also felt that equal justice was important for all Buffalo State students, but the creation of an additional student judiciary board was unnecessary and stressed that the administration and TWS needed to work together to "achieve equitable procedures involving meaningful participation by peers."¹⁴⁶

As for the question of the admissions policies at Buffalo State, Fretwell commented that the college needs to take full advantage of the "5% portion of admissions which can now be allocated to special cases," in addition to approaching the Chancellor of SUNY to work out an agreement to increase the acceptance ratio.¹⁴⁷ He felt that all students, no matter what their race, deserved a college education and believed the restraints by SUNY needed to be corrected. Regarding the request for counselors and tutors specifically for TWS, Fretwell asserted that the college should make funds available to expand this and other services, for all students, not just one group of students.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 4

In Fretwell's general comments, he addressed the matters of TWS striking their classes, the student disruptions at Grover Cleveland High School and TWS's concern over amnesty. He advised the group that it was their academic responsibility to attend classes and that, according to the college catalog, the instructor determined attendance regulations so any issues with attendance needed to be addressed with the Faculty Committee. With regard to the students at Grover Cleveland High School who were arrested for protesting against racism in the school, President Fretwell made it clear that it was not the responsibility of the Buffalo State administration to deal with or comment on matters that take place outside the campus.

In his final comment regarding amnesty, Fretwell stated that "no student of Buffalo State who conducts himself as a responsible individual, cognizant of the rights of others, should have any particular problem. The campus, of course, cannot at any time become a sanctuary for persons who conduct themselves otherwise."¹⁴⁸ He understood the student's fear of academic reprisal for their actions; however, he made it clear that the individuals involved in the protests needed to be aware that any negative actions toward others would be punishable both through the school's judiciary system and the civil law system.

He concluded his remarks by affirming

that the purpose of this written response is not to close off avenues of approach but to open them and to stimulate fruitful discussion. Steps have been taken toward the establishment of an All-College Human Relations Committee. We invite the participation of Third World and any other interested groups in helping us make this a functional body whose major goal is the improvement of human relationships and the provision for prompt and equitable identification and treatment of all student grievances

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

as well as any other matter which may be causing special concerns.¹⁴⁹

After several meetings between President Fretwell and TWS, more and more demonstrations began taking place on campus because the group felt that the administration was not responding positively to their demands. As the meetings continued, some of the more radical students began a destructive path through the campus. As fire alarms were set off, classes disrupted, attempted arson fires set and students and staff harassed, President Fretwell was in contact with SUNY attorneys in Albany to inquire what his legal rights as president were to protect the campus. He was advised that he could request a restraining order, which he did, to gain control of the students causing the problem. Fretwell made a public announcement after the order was issued stating

The basic reason for obtaining the order is to bring about peaceful conditions so that issues such as those raised by the Third World group may be discussed in clear and unemotional ways by all parties. The purpose of the Court's Restraining Order should be clear to all persons. It is to (a) restrain violence against person or property, and (b) to make it clear that anyone, irrespective of his own personal views, who chooses to violate the order may be held in Contempt of Court and will be treated accordingly.¹⁵⁰

A few weeks later when he reported to the Faculty Committee, he surmised the effectiveness of the restraining order by noting that the

basic issue – funds for TWS – [was] both real and symbolic...growing understanding that the President cannot instantly make changes, particularly when when CSA responsibilities, faculty rights, and University policy are concerned; Buffalo lawyers may hold the key to bringing CSA and TWS together...all sides have shown a willingness to cool down...[and] there is some public understanding of the need for cooling down [and that] the situation would be more constructively viewed if there were tangible showing of faith by all parties.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 5

¹⁵⁰ "Special Announcement From The President," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4.

President Fretwell's willingness to listen to TWS and his prompt attempt to rectify the problems spoke volumes as to his understanding of the potential for the situation to become volatile and dangerous for the campus community. He never hesitated in meeting with TWS members in trying to find answers to their demands. But, when the situation started to get out of hand, he did not hesitate in obtaining a restraining order when the safety of his campus and its students were at risk. The use of a restraining order was viewed by some as an excessive measure; however, to the Buffalo State community it showed that President Fretwell wanted to continue communicating with the students to resolve the problems they felt beleaguered them on the campus.

The Kent State Incident

The Vietnam War was a major point of contention with college students in the late 60s. As the drafted loomed and the number of U.S. soldiers dying daily continued to increase, college students across the nation used their campuses to protest what they viewed as an unjust war with the bombing of Cambodia. Some of these demonstrations were peaceful while others became violent. College administrators called upon outside help, usually the local police, to bring the students under control. This action only infuriated the protesters more, causing significant damage to college campuses and physical injury to many.

The protests were not specific to any one type of campus, elite or non-elite; however, when the student uprisings were mentioned in the news, the story was

¹⁵¹ "Memo: To Members of the College Council, From E.K. Fretwell, Jr." College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4., 7.

usually centered on an elite school. Kent State University in Ohio, however, was a non-elite school that was thrust into the spotlight in May 1970. The administration at the time made a critical error in allowing the Ohio State National Guard to use their campus as a base to fight the looting that was happening in the city of Kent. As the students gathered for a scheduled protest on May 4, on the grounds of Kent State, the administration gave the Guard permission to disburse the students. When the protesters refused to leave, the soldiers attempted to move the growing crowd by marching towards them. At 12:25 p.m. shots rang out leaving four students dead and wounding nine others.

As news spread of the student killings, college campuses across the nation erupted in protest, including Buffalo State. Calling for the campus to close, student demonstrators took over the administrative offices in Rockwell Hall as others began to stop traffic entering the campus. The Fretwell administration did everything in its power to address the increasingly volatile situation that was threatening the campus. He met with students to address their call to close the school and agreed to allow faculty to hold teach-ins to discuss the national events taking place. However, SUNY Trustee Policy that governs Buffalo State hindered Fretwell from closing the school, thus making the situation of the campus more precarious.

After several days of violent student unrest on the campus, President Fretwell met with his administrative staff, the college deans and faculty on May 7 to address his growing consternation over the safety of students and staff. With the increase in arson fires and the vandalism of the fire alarm systems in many of the

campus buildings, the safety of the school and its residents was a major concern. After several hours of discussion, President Fretwell believed it was in the best interest of the school that he close the campus to further academic instruction due to the danger that existed on the campus grounds.

On Friday, May 8, President Fretwell and the Faculty Council met to decide what should be done regarding final exams and grades. An eight-point plan for the campus was issued. First, that faculty and administrators report to their offices on Monday, May 11 to provide information and advisory services to students; second, the library will be open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.; third, students, both undergraduate and graduate, will be graded based on performance except those who are failing, those on probation and others with special situations – these students will be given the opportunity to take final exams; fourth, previously scheduled examinations will not be held; fifth, information concerning graduation will be mailed home to each senior; sixth, non-matriculated SEEK students will be given information by phone or mail concerning their final exams; seventh, with the exception of the North and South wings, residence halls will close and residents must vacate by 5:00 p.m., Saturday, May 9; and eighth, curfew is in effect from 8:30 p.m. Friday, May 8 until 6:00 a.m. Saturday, May 9.¹⁵² As the administration was working on completing procedures for the faculty to follow regarding final exams and student grades, President Fretwell requested the faculty to return to campus on Monday, May 11

¹⁵² "Minutes of Faculty Meeting, May 14, 1970," College Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1967/68-1977/78, State University College at Buffalo, President's Office, Correspondence, etc., 80-06, Box 4, Attachment 1.

to answer student questions and concerns regarding the events that unfolded on the campus and their final grades.

At the May 14 faculty meeting, President Fretwell presented his conclusions regarding the unprecedented events of May 6 and 7 that had taken place on the Buffalo State Campus.

Buffalo State, along with other large and complex campuses in the United States, has responded in various ways to a national tragedy about which youth and other feel very deeply. The procedures which were developed by students, by faculty, and by administration were successful for awhile in providing opportunity for expression of grief. Planning of peaceful demonstrations and teach-ins were being challenged by more violent individuals. There was also dissatisfaction on campus leading to serious polarization. Some individuals were disappointed that the College administration did not endorse the strike. Others were concerned that disruptions of various types...were not prevented or at least put down at once. As the President of the College, I was faced with so many demands from widely differing viewpoints, I consulted with both faculty and administrative representatives and made what I believed to be the right step in terms of what was best for the College, in terms of human safety. As President, I suggest looking constructively and positively toward the future, the importance of completing the academic work of this semester, holding Commencement on May 24 as planned, replacing broken windows and other physical needs, and carry out investigative and judicial procedures to identify apparent wrongdoers and provide due process. However, the most important thing is to consider how to make this campus in the months and years ahead the kind of place where dialogue can be heard without violence, where the rights of all – be they minority or majority – are respected and where human, intellectual and professional considerations are paramount.¹⁵³

In the early part of May 1970, college presidents and administrators were faced with unprecedented violence and vandalism on their campuses due to an outside force that was beyond their control. College students across the nation went from demanding their rights of participating in the academic process to demanding an immediate end to the Vietnam War. When the student uprisings

¹⁵³ Ibid. 12.

began, college presidents were unprepared in how to handle the increasingly volatile nature of the event and had nowhere to turn for answers.

President Fretwell dealt with two serious threats to the Buffalo State College campus in the late 60s and early 70s. In November 1969, the TWS disrupted the campus to the point where Fretwell obtained a restraining order to bring calm to the situation. His ability to work with the individuals involved and not to ignore the problem was an asset to the college. His open mindedness helped to bring the situation under control by bringing the feuding groups to the table to work out their differences. His command of the situation showed the college community that he was willing and able to listen to all problems.

As the Vietnam War escalated in the early 1970s, so did college students protests against the war and President Nixon. The students at Buffalo State were aware of the outside issues plaguing the country and did at times join in with other local colleges students in protest of the war. However, on May 4, 1970, as the news of the students killed at Kent State circulated, the call for a student strike became more compelling. As Buffalo State students called on President Fretwell to close the school, his response that he could not brought on a reaction by the students that caught the administration off guard. As students took over the administrative building and disrupted the campus as a whole, he urged calm and attempted to work with the students to meet their demands. As non-Buffalo State students began to enter the college community, the nature of the protests became much more volatile leaving Fretwell with no choice but to close down the campus.

President Fretwell dealt with two serious incidents on his campus that threatened not only the safety of the college community but the physical being of the campus. He showed a great understanding in dealing with the forces pushing the limits of the college community and dealt with them in a way that brought a very favorable outcome. The Fretwell administration set precedents for future administrators to follow and learn from should an incident or incidents of this nature take place again.

Conclusion

The decade of the 1960s was an unprecedented time in the history of American higher education. College and university administrators faced new challenges as the first students of the Baby Boom generation flooded the nation's campuses in record numbers. This influx of new students placed great strain on the facilities and academic resources of many colleges and resulted in an era of unparalleled funding of higher education. Across the country, state and county governments made higher education a budgetary priority and allocated vast amounts of money for the growth and expansion of public university facilities to meet the educational needs of the new student population.

By the mid-1960s, U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War intensified and the nation witnessed a period of societal transformation as young people became increasingly disillusioned with the country's foreign and domestic policies. American youth were upset with the direction in which the nation was headed and wanted to change the social and moral values unquestionably instilled in society. Concerned students looked to their universities to help them find ways to improve social conditions and called upon their college administrators to take a position on the issues dividing the country. College campuses became centers of political activity as students acted out against federal and university policies. The students demonstrated for many reasons but focused primarily on the Vietnam War, military involvement on campus, racial discrimination and the defects of the modern American university.

The 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement (FSM) set the tone for student activism as college students everywhere took notice of the confrontation-style tactics used by the demonstrators. The media converged on the Berkeley campus to report on the unprecedented student behavior, and throughout the country there was a general feeling of disbelief that such an uprising could occur at one of the nation's most respected institutions. The FSM marked the beginning of an era of campus unrest and was one of the first great challenges to university administrators as college students nationwide began to follow the Berkeley students' lead speaking out against the serious problems that affected both society and their individual institutions.

As discussed in Chapter One, students who attended elite universities, like Berkeley, were typically of the middle-to-upper socioeconomic classes and were raised with more privileges and opportunities than the average working class student of the non-elite institutions. The affluence of the elite students often shaped their opinions and values and they tended to be more politically and socially liberal in their thinking and behavior than many of their non-elite contemporaries. For these reasons, this researcher presumed that the student activism and campus unrest that occurred at the elite colleges and universities would have differed from that which took place at the non-elite institutions. However, the research proved otherwise.

The student activism that transpired at Buffalo State cannot be viewed in isolation of the unrest that took place at other colleges and universities throughout the decade. As indicated in Chapter Two, Buffalo State student

activism paralleled that which occurred at elite and non-elite universities and colleges, it can be determined that students at both elite and non-elite institutions protested for similar reasons and used similar demonstration tactics to voice their discontent to university administrators and society at large.

As incidents of campus unrest increased, there were no established practices for university administrators to follow in their response to student activism. Following World War II, the typical college student was politically apathetic and did not participate in organized political activities. As a result, college administrators were largely unprepared for the onset of the student movement and most institutions lacked the basic policies and student codes of conduct related to such activist activities as picketing and demonstrations. The research indicates that college officials were ill equipped to deal with the rapid rise in student unrest on their campuses; this determination is drawn from the widely unplanned and unstructured responses to the student activism by college administrators.

Student activism at Buffalo State steadily increased throughout the 1960s. As the student population of the campus was rapidly growing, the administration was unprepared in expanding basic student needs such as food service, housing or for the demand by students for participation in campus governance. It also failed to modernize the college's policies and disciplinary structure to meet its obligation to its changing student population. This, combined with the students' perception of their institution as an unresponsive academic bureaucracy,

prompted a segment of the student body to call for a radical restructuring of the college.

For the first time, Buffalo State attracted a considerable number of students from outside of the Western New York area. As students from across the state moved to Buffalo to further their education, many brought with them their liberal attitudes and past activist experiences and greatly challenged the administration. Students who had previously participated in the Civil Rights Movement and other organized activist events introduced new tactics to the campus and used non-violent civil action to demonstrate against the perceived inadequacies of the college. Because this type of activism was relatively new to Buffalo State, administrators were not prepared to deal with the increased levels of student dissent and the campus lacked the appropriate policies and procedures for managing the unrest.

The beginnings of student activism on the Buffalo State campus revolved around the needs of the expanding student population. Students picketed, conducted sit-ins and used the student newspaper to bring to light the problems they encountered. The students were originally respectful and non-violent in voicing their plight to the administration; however, that changed in 1969 when the Third World Students (TWS) demanded their rights and worked to remove the perceived racism on the college campus. As the TWS demonstrated across the campus, the group disrupted classes, set-off fire alarms and physically harassed students and staff. The Fretwell Administration, unprepared for this event,

obtained a restraining order to gain control of the situation and to protect the student population and staff from further altercations.

The Fretwell Administration again had to deal with violence to students and vandalization of the campus in May 1970 after the killing of four Kent State students. The campus as a whole erupted as did campuses across the nation in response to what college students felt was the indiscriminate bombing of civilians in Southeast Asia. Fretwell met with students and staff to work out possible solutions to the campus uprising; however, violent individuals made that impossible and the campus was closed down on May 7, 1970. Looking back, Fretwell had no other options as the campus became more violent with each passing moment and his concern for the student population was his number one priority.

In the period covered by this study, the Fretwell administration faced many daunting challenges from both within and outside of the college. Fortunately, today's college administrators do not face exactly the same problems that were so troublesome in the 1960s. Student activism continues today on most college campuses and similarities exist among the current issues and those debated in the past. As discussed in Chapter One, a better understanding of past events may be valuable to current campus administrators as they embark upon a new century of student activism in higher education. Therefore, a desired goal of this research is the belief that modern university administrators will be able to draw useful lessons from the administrative actions and/or inaction that occurred during the height of the student movement. Four key lessons learned from the

administrative response to the student unrest at Buffalo State were consultation, communication, clear policies and procedures and contingency planning.

Administrative consultation with student and faculty representatives must precede any executive decisions related to the use of civil authorities on campus. In fact, college presidents should rely upon police force only as an absolute last resort for the restoration of order at their institutions. The Fretwell administration called upon the Buffalo Police in the spring of 1967 to monitor an SDS protest that took place when Dr. Wernher von Braun came to the campus to speak. This action led students to question the administration regarding policy on police presence on the campus and eventually led to the Campus Rights and Academic Freedoms Procedures Bill.

Another lesson learned is that open communications is a requirement for effective leadership. This includes communication among the academic community, law enforcement agencies and local residents. During the TWS incident in November 1969 and the campus uprising in May 1970, President Fretwell worked to keep the lines of communication open with the students. He made every effort to meet with the TWS representatives in an effort to work out the issues and he moved his office during the Rockwell Hall sit-in so students and staff had access to him during the critical time. His ability to understand the gravity of the situation and not close off communications was important to the outcome of the events.

The need for understandable, firm policies that place clear parameters on student behavior is another important lesson learned from this research. The

lack of clear policies and procedures for handling student unrest was a nationwide problem. Because the student movement was largely unanticipated, most college administrators found themselves scrambling to revise and rewrite student handbooks and codes of conduct to keep pace with the student activist behavior. Additionally, many institutions did not have fair, equitable and effective procedures in place to handle violations of campus rules. As the unrest was unfolding, administrators had to instantly develop new judicial procedures to discipline their students. When the TWS protests on the Buffalo State campus became so disruptive, President Fretwell used a restraining order to bring the individuals involved under control. There were no policies in place regarding restraining orders so this action put the college student population on notice that the destructive nature of student demonstrations would not be tolerated.

Another lesson that can be taken away from this study is that university administrators must anticipate the unexpected and think in terms of the unorthodox when working with student activists. When the students of Buffalo State called for a strike in May 1970, President Fretwell's actions regarding the request were limited due to Trustee Policy. When the news of the student killings at Kent State were announced the campus became chaotic to the point where Fretwell had no choice but to close down the school. Contingency plans are of utmost importance if an administration is going to be successful in containing disruptive activities by students. By discussing in advance plans on how the institution will handle campus disturbances, administrators can develop disaster plans and be better prepared to manage emergency situations.

This study of the administrative response to student unrest at Buffalo State College provided a rich and complicated challenge. Although the abundance of available archival materials was somewhat overwhelming, the multitude of official documents, newspaper articles and personal accounts of the events that took place at Buffalo State during this time provided the researcher with a significant window into the past. One of the goals of this research was to bring the student movements on the campus into the larger context of the nationwide student movements. Incidents of student activism at Buffalo State during the 1960s mirrored those that occurred at the nation's elite colleges and universities throughout the decade. No significant differences were found in the fundamental issues that motivated students to participate in activist activities or in the methods the students used to voice their discontent to university officials. Buffalo State students, like students at other college campuses across the country demonstrated for a myriad of reasons; however, the majority of their protests were associated with three key issues: the Vietnam War, civil rights and the deficiencies of the university.

Prior to 1967, student activists utilized non-violent methods to voice their dissatisfaction to university officials. Their tactics included protest rallies, marches, open debates, letter writing campaigns and peaceful sit-ins. For the most part, the activists were conscientious of others and did their best not to disrupt the normal functioning of the institution. As the demand for civil rights and the expansion of the Vietnam War took place, the nature of the activists and their protest strategies crossed the line from dissent to disruption. The activists

often disregarded the rights of other members of the academic community and took part in disruptive and sometimes violent demonstrations. This pattern can be seen at Buffalo State as student activists went from passive displays of protest to dissent and disruption during the TWS incident and the uprising in May 1970. The action by the Fretwell administration during these events can be viewed as the exception to the rule, as he took the time to listen to the student protesters and acted immediately when things went out of control.

In general, college administrators made many critical errors in their responses to student activism throughout the period in question. In most cases, these errors can be attributed to the unpreparedness of the institutions to handle both the great influx of students and the rapidly changing youth culture of the 1960s. Although most administrators realized that their student populations no longer consisted of the politically apathetic students of the 1950s, many continued to abide by their strict "old school" policies and refused to adapt to the needs of the new student generation. In response, the students perceived the administrators as being paternalistic and unsympathetic to the unjust conditions of American society and resolved to affect change with or without the support of their institutions.

Throughout history it has been demonstrated that campus tensions are not necessarily harmful to higher education; it is the administrative response to student activism that lead to constructive or destructive outcomes. In most cases, student unrest provided an impetus and an opportunity for some overdue reforms in the American academy. Today, campuses are alive with student

activists and although the intensity of their protests do not compare to those during the Vietnam era, the modern dissenters are emulating many of the actions learned from the activists of the 1960s. Today, youth continue to take the pulse of society, and the tone of the country at large often dictates the issues that unite students in acts of unrest. It can be argued that current college administrators who use the lessons learned from recent history to make linkages between past incidents of campus unrest and contemporary social problems will be better prepared to respond to student activism than those administrators who possess little knowledge of the primary causes and effects of past student movements.

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Appendix A

PRESENT:

HONORABLE

Justice King

STATE OF NEW YORK (STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK)

Plaintiff,

-against-

THE THIRD WORLD STUDENTS, THE COLLEGE STUDENT ASSOCIATION, THE INTERFRATERNITY COUNCIL, THE BLACK LIBERATION FRONT, ALL BEING ORGANIZATIONS AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AT BUFFALO, RAM DESAI, EMILY FREEMAN AND John Doe, Richard Doe, Jane Doe, being fictitious names for persons whose names are unknown and sundry others, acting individually and in concert

ORDER TO
SHOW CAUSE
&
RESTRAINING ORDER

Defendants

Upon the annexed affidavits of various employees of the State University of New York

College at Buffalo sworn to on the 18th day of November 1969 and sufficient reason appearing therefore, it is hereby ORDERED, that the defendants show cause before this court at Special Term, Erie County Hall, Buffalo, New York on Friday, November 21, 1969 at 2 p.m. why an order should not be entered herein pending the hearing and determination of the issues in this action:

1. Restraining and enjoining each and all of the defendants and all other persons receiving notice of the injunction, whether individually or in concert, from acting within or adjacent to any of plaintiff's academic or -----continued-----

administrative buildings, dormitories, recreation rooms or athletic facilities or in any corridors, stairways, doorways and entrance thereto in such unlawful manner as to disrupt or interfere with the lawful and normal operations of State University of New York College at Buffalo, conducted by plaintiff in such places or to unlawfully block, hinder, impede or interfere with lawful ingress to or egress from any of such properties by plaintiff's faculty, administrators, students, employees or guests or otherwise disrupt the lawful educational function of said university.

2. Restraining and enjoining each and all of the defendants and all other persons having notice of the injunction, whether acting individually or in concert, from employing unlawful force or violence or the unlawful threat of force and violence, against persons or property.

3. Restraining and enjoining each and all of the defendants and all other persons receiving notice of the injunction whether acting individually or in concert from inciting others to do any of the abovementioned unlawful acts; and

4. Granting plaintiff such other relief as may be proper; and it is further

ORDERED that pending the hearing and determination of this motion, the defendants and all other persons receiving notice of this injunction, whether acting individually or in concert, be and they hereby are restrained and enjoined:

1. From acting within or adjacent to any of plaintiff's academic or administrative buildings, dormitories, recreation rooms or athletic facilities or in any corridors, stairways, doorways and entrances thereto, in such unlawful manner as to disrupt or interfere with the lawful and

normal operations of State University of New York College at Buffalo, conducted by plaintiff in such places or to unlawfully block, hinder, impede or interfere with lawful ingress to or lawful egress from any of such properties by plaintiff's faculty, administrators, students, employees or guests or otherwise disrupt the lawful educational function of the said university:

2. From employing unlawful force or violence or the unlawful threat of force and violence, against persons or property;

3. From inciting others to do any of the abovementioned unlawful acts; and it is further

4. Service of this order together with a copy of the affidavits upon which it is based and the summons and complaint herein may be made as prescribed by C P L R 6313 (b) or by any one or more of the following means of service (a) by leaving a copy of same, together with copies of the papers on which it is based, with any individual engaging in the conduct described in the annexed affidavit, or (b) by reading this order to the persons engaged in the prohibited acts set forth herein at the campus of the State University of New York College at Buffalo through a megaphone or other amplification device or (c) by posting the order in not less than fifteen (15) conspicuous places on campus. Service prior to twelve o'clock noon on Thursday November 20, 1969 shall be deemed sufficient.

5. The terms and mandates of this order shall remain in force and effect until superseded by further order of this Court.

Dated: Buffalo, New York
November 18, 1969

ENTER

JAMES O. MOORE
Justice of the Supreme Court

SUPREME COURT

: ERIE COUNTY

Plaintiff designates

Erie

STATE OF NEW YORK (STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

County as the place of trial

Plaintiff,

The basis of the venue is

- against -

Plaintiff's place of

THE THIRD WORLD STUDENTS, THE COLLEGE STUDENT ASSOCIATION, THE INTERFRATERNITY COUNCIL, THE BLACK LIBERATION FRONT, ALL BEING ORGANIZATIONS AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AT BUFFALO, Ram Desai, Emily Freeman and John Doe, Richard Doe, Jane Doe, being fictitious names for persons whose names are unknown and sundry others, acting individually and in concert

business

SUMMONS WITH NOTICE

Plaintiff resides at

Buffalo, New York

Defendants

County of Erie

To the above named Defendant

YOU ARE HEREBY SUMMONED to answer the complaint in this action and to serve a copy of your answer, or, if the complaint is not served with this summons, to serve a notice of appearance, on the Plaintiff's Attorney(s) within 20 days after the service of this summons, exclusive of the day of service (or within 30 days after the service is complete if this summons is not personally delivered to you within the State of New York); and in case of your failure to appear or answer, judgment will be taken against you by default for the relief demanded in the complaint.

Dated, November 18, 1969

John C. Crary Jr.
Counsel
Office and Post Office Address

Thurlow Terrace
Albany, New York

Notice: The object of this action is

injunction

The relief sought is injunction

Upon your failure to appear, judgment will be taken against you by default for the sum of \$ with interest from 19 and the costs of this action.

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
 COUNTY OF ERIE

STATE OF NEW YORK (STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK)

Plaintiff,

- against -

THE THIRD WORLD STUDENTS, THE COLLEGE STUDENT
 ASSOCIATION, THE INTERFRATERNITY COUNCIL, THE
 BLACK LIBERATION FRONT, ALL BEING ORGANIZATIONS
 AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AT BUFFALO, RAM
 DESAI, EMILY FREEMAN and John Doe, Richard Roe,
 Jane Doe, being fictitious names for persons
 whose names are unknown and sundry others, acting
 individually and in concert

COMPLAINT

Defendants.

Plaintiff by its attorney John C. Crary, Jr., complaining of
 the defendants, alleges upon information and belief:

FIRST: That the plaintiff is an educational corporation hav-
 ing the jurisdiction, administration and control of the campus and
 facilities of the State University of New York College at Buffalo.

SECOND: That the Defendants are the organizations and persons
 above named and sundry other persons the names of which are pre-
 sently to the Plaintiff unknown.

THIRD: That the defendants and others acting individually
 and in concert are engaging or are about to engage in conduct
 which interferes with, or threatens to interfere with, the orderly
 operations of the State University of New York College at Buffalo.

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- 2 -

FOURTH: That defendants conduct consists of the unlawful disruption of the peaceful and orderly conduct of classes, setting off false fire alarms, engaged in physical altercations, threatened physical violence, individually and in concert with others marched through various buildings while yelling and shouting and engaged in other disruptive conduct on the campus of the State University of New York College at Buffalo.

FIFTH: That such conduct is in violation of the rules and regulations for maintenance of public order on premises of State operated institutions of the State University of New York adopted by the Board of Trustees of State University on June 18, 1969 as amended by the executive committee of the Board of Trustees on July 10, 1969, which rules and regulations have been duly filed with the Regents and the Commissioner of Education.

SIXTH: That the actions of defendants herein and others, acting individually and in concert, have interfered with, or threaten to interfere with, the lawful and normal operations of plaintiff herein at its facilities located at Buffalo, New York, and such activities and conduct of defendants and others as aforesaid have caused irreparable harm and injury to plaintiff herein and will continue to do so if such activity continues.

SEVENTH: Plaintiff has no adequate remedy at law.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against defendants herein enjoining them from acting individually or in concert in such a manner so as to interfere with the lawful and normal operations of the State University of New York College at Buffalo, and for such other relief as the Court may deem just and proper.

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- 3 -

Yours, etc.

JOHN C. CRARY, JR.
Counsel
State University of New York
Attorney for Plaintiff
Office and P.O. address
Thurlow Terrace
Albany, New York

By William F. McHugh
William McHugh
Associate Counsel
State University of New York

STATE OF NEW YORK)
) ss.:
COUNTY OF ERIE)

E. K. Fretwell Jr. , being duly sworn Desposes that
he is the President of State University of New York College ;
At Buffalo
that he has read the foregoing complaint and that it is true to the
knowledge of deponent except as to those matters alleged on informa-
tion and belief and as to those matters he believes it to be true.
The verification is made by deponent because the State University
of New York is a corporation of which deponent is an officer.



Sworn to before me this

18 day of November 1964

Notary Public

State of New York, Qualified in Albany
My commission expires on March 30, 1970.

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STATE OF NEW YORK :
COUNTY OF ERIE :
CITY OF BUFFALO :

SIGMUND A. SMITH, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. That deponent is Vice President of Administration of the State University of New York College at Buffalo.
2. Upon information and belief on Wednesday, November 12, 1969 certain large groups of students and sundry others marched through Rockwell Hall, Administration building of the State University College at Buffalo (hereinafter "College"); that upon information and belief said groups of students also marched through other buildings on the campus of said college.
3. Upon information and belief a telephone message was received in the college president's office at 12:06 p.m. by Colonel Silas Molyneaux, Executive Assistant to President of College which indicated that "stronger action" would be taken "to demonstrate the validity of our grievances".
4. At approximately 2 o'clock on Friday, November 14, 1969 members of students and others marched through Rockwell Hall and were heard by deponent chanting and yelling obscenities and deponent heard fire alarms sound at said time. Upon information and belief said numbers of students and others, approximately 200 marched through other buildings on said College campus including Ketchum Hall, (where a German class was disrupted), Library building, Student Union and Moot Hall. Said march dissolved following return to Student Union. Said march took approximately one hour.
5. Upon information and belief a certain altercation took place in said Moot Hall between an unidentified woman and employee of the College Food Service resulting in physical injury to said employee while said march referred to in paragraph 7 hereof was taking place.

6. Upon information and belief certain members of the College community predominantly students and persons other than those mentioned in paragraphs 1 - 5 hereof have threatened to "take action" for the purpose of countervailing many of the activities and acts hereinbefore referred to in this affidavit. That upon information and belief deponent believes that such action might result in unlawful acts and possible violence to person(s) and College property on said campus and interfere with the orderly educational operations of said College.

7. In the educational judgment of deponent, deponent believes that a clear and present danger of violence to persons and college property exists on the said College campus and that the relief prayed for in the accompanying petition should be granted plaintiff in the hope and desire and for the purpose of restraining, on pain of contempt and such other legal relief, unlawful acts of violence to person and College property and such other unlawful acts disrupting the educational process of said College and such other unlawful acts referred to in this proceedings.

Subscribed and sworn to before me

this 18th day of November, 1969

William J. Smith

Notary Public, State of New York

Qualified in Albany County

My commission expires March 30, 19

Sigmund A. Smith
Sigmund A. Smith

STATE OF NEW YORK:

COUNTY OF ERIE :

CITY OF BUFFALO :


EUGENE A. BRUNELLE, being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. That deponent is over eighteen years of age, a resident of Amherst, New York; and he is Associate Librarian at State University of New York College at Buffalo.

2. That at approximately 9:30 a.m. on Tuesday, November 18, 1969 in response to a report of a disturbance on the second floor of the Library, deponent proceeded to second floor of the Library Building located on campus of State/^{University} of New York College at Buffalo. Deponent observed four (4) persons knocking books on the Library floor. Upon deponent's arrival on second floor, they retreated to another section of the Library where upon information and belief they threw more books on the floor. Deponent proceeded to the first floor to notify campus Security Office. Deponent then proceeded to a building exit and observed two (2) of the persons involved leave the building.

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO BEFORE ME

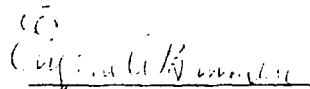
this 18th day of November, 1969



Notary Public, State of New York

Qualified in Albany County

My commission expires March 30, 1971

(E)

 Eugene A. Brunelle

STATE OF NEW YORK)
COUNTY OF ERIE)
CITY OF BUFFALO)

PHILIP BONNER, being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. That deponent is over 18 years of age, is a resident of the Town of Amherst, New York and he is Associate Vice President for Administration of the State University of New York College at Buffalo.

2. That on Wednesday, November 12, 1969, deponent was in Room 203 Rockwell Hall on the State University of New York College at Buffalo campus when deponent heard singing and shouting in the building. Deponent left his office and observed approximately 125 persons marching down the hall singing and shouting. The marchers went to the southwest door of the building and left the building.

3. That on the afternoon of Friday, November 14, 1969 while escorting a fellow employee, one Winnie Klaus, who stated that she was afraid to walk to her car alone, deponent heard the fire alarm ringing in the New Science Building. Upon investigation deponent observed a class in session in the New Science Building during the time when the fire alarm was ringing continuously for about twenty minutes.

4. That deponent observed a tape recorder of fire alarms record sixteen alarms from buildings located on the State University of New York College at Buffalo in a period of approximately a one and one-half hour period on the morning of November 18, 1969. Deponent had also observed at least fourteen other alarms recorded since Friday morning November 14, 1969. Deponent has knowledge of only one actual fire during that period.

5. That deponent responded to a call for assistance from a person in Bishop Hall who stated that male students were entering the womens lavatories while such were occupied by females. Deponent upon investigation determined that due to the resulting tension employees in Bishop Hall should vacate the building as of 4:00 P.M. instead of 5:00 P.M. on Tuesday, November 18, 1969.

Subscribed and sworn to before me

this 18th day of November 1969.

William Furey

Notary Public, State of New York

Qualified in Albany County

My commission expires March 30, 19

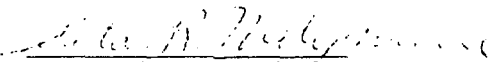
STATE OF NEW YORK :

COUNTY OF ERIE :

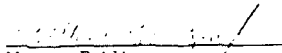
CITY OF BUFFALO :

Col. Silas R. Molyneaux being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. That he is the Executive Assistant to the President of the State University of New York College at Buffalo,
2. That on the 14th day of November 1969 deponent answered a phone call from one Emily Freeman who in substance indicated to deponent "that the demands of the Third World has proven unsatisfactory and therefore we have been forced to take stronger action to demonstrate the validity of our grievances."


 Executive Assistant to the President

Sworn to before me this
 18th day of November 1969


 Notary Public

My commission expires on
 March 30, 1970

SUPREME COURT
COUNTY OF ERIE
STATE OF NEW YORK

GEORGE RACKEL JR. being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. Deponent is a maintenance forman and electrician of the State University College at Buffalo, is over the age of eighteen (18) and a resident of Buffalo, New York.

2. That deponent was directed by Dr. Sigmund Smith, Vice President of said College to reset certain fire alarms which had been set off on November 18, 1969 at the following buildings: Rockwell Hall, Perry Hall, Tower Four Hall.

3. That while in Tower Four Hall deponent observed a large fire in the Kitchenette of said building. With the help of others deponent extinguished said fire. Deponent observed that a plastic bottle had been placed on a burner top of the stove in said kitchenette with the burner turned on. The grease trap had been ripped open which caused, in deponent's opinion, free circulation of air and grease exposure to the fire. In deponent's judgment the said fire was intentionally started.

4. In an adjacent lounge area to the kitchenette, deponent observed a group of approximately ten (10) students and others.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 18th day of November, 1969

William F. McHugh

Notary Public, State of New York

Qualified in W. Bay, County

My commission expires March 30, 1970

George C. Rackel Jr.
George Rackel Jr.

STATE OF NEW YORK (State University of New York)

PLAINTIFF

vs

The Third World Students, College Student Association, Inter Fraternity Council, Black Liberation Front and John Doe, Richard Roe, Jane Doe, One Ram Desai being fictitious names for persons whose names are unknown and sundry others, acting individually and in concert.

Defendants

Deponent deposes and says after being duly sworn:

1. That Deponent is Shirley R. Wolin, Instructor of English at the State University of New York College at Buffalo is over the age of 18 and resides in the Town of Tonawanda, New York.
2. That on the 18th day of November 1969 at 9:20-10:20 deponent was ~~instructing~~ a scheduled class of approximately 35 students in World Literature and four female persons burst into the classroom and demanded to be heard. Deponent refused permission to be heard and requested said persons to leave deponent's classroom. Said persons refused to leave said class and told deponent to sit down. One of said persons uttered obscenities at the members of the class and prevented deponent from teaching her course and proceeded to address the said class. In addressing said class said person stated in substance that after the burning and the looting is over, don't expect that you (meaning the class) will share in what we reap.

SUPREME COURT
STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF ERIE

Shirley R. Wolin
Instructor of English
Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 18th day of November, 1969

William F. McHugh
William F. McHugh
Associate Counsel
State University of New York
*my commission expires
march 30, 1970*
(Commission on State Bar Examinations)

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SUPREME COURT)
 STATE OF NEW YORK) SS.
 COUNTY OF ERIE)

Mary Quider
 MARY QUIDER being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. That deponent is an employee of the Faculty Student Association of the State University College at Buffalo.

2. That on November 14, 1969 while on duty at the snack bar on the second floor of Moot Hall at the State University College at Buffalo at approximately two o'clock in the afternoon a group of students was marching through the building making loud noises. Deponent was standing just inside the snack bar door when a female whose identity is unknown to deponent stuck her head in the snack bar door and stuck her face up into a fellow employee, one Helen Fitzgerald's face, and called Mrs. Fitzgerald an obscenity. Mrs. Fitzgerald stepped back and then forward whereupon the unidentified female tore Mrs. Fitzgerald's glasses from her face and scratched Mrs. Fitzgerald's face. Mrs. Fitzgerald bent forward to pick up her glasses whereupon deponent ran to kitchen of the snack bar for assistance. When deponent returned with assistance, the unidentified female was going down the stairs.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
 this 14th day of November, 1969

James E. Roberts

Mary Quider
 Mary Quider

Notary Public, State of New York
 Qualified in ~~Erie~~ ^{Albany} County

My commission expires Mar. 30, 1971

SUPREME COURT)

STATE OF NEW YORK) SS.

COUNTY OF ERIE)

HELEN FITZGERALD being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. That deponent is employed by the Faculty Student Association at the State University College at Buffalo.
2. That on November 14, 1959, while on duty at the Snack Bar on the second floor of Moot Hall on the campus of the State University of New York College at Buffalo at approximately two o'clock in the afternoon, a group of persons were marching through the building making loud noises. Deponent was standing just inside the Snack Bar door when a female whose identity is unknown to deponent thrust her face into deponent's face and called deponent an obscene name. Deponent took one step backwards and then forward again at which time the unidentified female lunged at deponent, tore off deponent's glasses and scratched deponent's face. Deponent bent down to retrieve her glasses whereupon the unidentified female stepped upon deponent's glasses. When deponent straightened up, the unidentified female raised her fists and asked deponent if deponent wanted to fight. Deponent asked who would pay for her glasses whereupon the unidentified female went down the stairs.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 14th day of November, 1959

[Signature]

[Signature]
Helen Fitzgerald

Notary Public, State of New York
Qualified in 1958 County

My commission expires Mar. 30, 1971

SUPREME COURT)
 STATE OF NEW YORK ss.
 COUNTY OF ERIE)

WILLIAM SCHEFLER being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. That deponent is a Professor of Biology and Chairman of the Department of Biology at the State University of New York College at Buffalo.
2. That on Friday, November 14, 1969 at approximately 3:00 p.m. deponent was standing in the stockroom of the Biology Department on the second floor of the New Science Building located at the campus of the State University College at Buffalo when the fire alarm sounded and a commotion ensued. Whereupon a large group of persons apparently students, went marching down the hall past the door to the stockroom making loud noises.
3. That during the march down the hall a red emergency telephone was knocked from the wall, whereupon one Denise Bauer, a stockroom attendant attempted to retrieve the phone and was spat upon by an unidentified person marching down the hall.
4. That the marchers then left the building.

Subscribed and sworn to before me

this 14 day of November, 1969

[Signature]

William Scheffler

Notary Public, State of New York

Qualified in Albany County

My commission expires Mar. 30, 1971

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STATE OF NEW YORK:

COUNTY OF ERIE:
CITY OF BUFFALO:

William F. Mc Hugh certifies that he is an attorney admitted to practice in the courts of the State of New York; that he has compared the within copies of the Order to Show Cause, Affidavit and Verified Complaint herein with the originals thereof and that he has found said copies to be true and complete.

Dated: November 18, 1969

s/ William F. Mc Hugh
Associate Counsel

Appendix B

STATE UNIVERSITY AT NEW YORK, COLLEGE AT BUFFALO

Report of Fire Rockwell Auditorium
 May 5, 1970 8:14 P.M.

Area: Confined to stage.
 Cause: Arson (Student Demonstrations in progress
 ("Kent State Massacre" - Cambodia Protest Strike
 Person or persons unknown. Kerosene or jellied Gasoline
 applied to curtain and ignited.

Factors Favoring

Damage: Fire detector set off building alarm. Security already
 in building on patrol because of disturbance. Their
 first look, discovering stage curtain on fire, disclosed
 fire in lowest left corner (South end). Grabbing fire
 extinguishers they responded to fire and by the time they
 reached the stage area, fire had grown from two (2) feet
 high to some 16 to 18 feet high up the curtain.

Equipment

Response: Eight (8) pieces of fire equipment came onto Campus
 within 5 minutes of the alarm, and the fire was
 extinguished promptly.

Comments: Inspection of the entire stage area shows the following
 areas as indicated:

1. Entire first row curtain (draw) burned.
2. Opening Arch scorched and damaged across the top.
3. Left hand or south part of arch charred on vertical rise.
4. Electric wiring to first bottom light support charred.
5. Stage lamps and fixtures have minor damage.
6. Electric wiring adjacent to charred arch vertical rise affected
 by heat.
7. Public Address speakers top center of arch damaged.
8. Stage floor fire damaged full width of stage in vicinity of draw
 curtain. Area about 5% damage. Charred from 1/2 inch to 5/8 to
 surface in depth.

Report of Fire (Continued)

Rockwell Auditorium

9. Movie screen damaged beyond repair.
10. The Catwalk areas have charred lumber to be replaced.

There was minor water damage to stage and orchestra floor. Asbestos slate ceiling contained fire to stage area. No structural damage to the building steel work, nor to the roof wood decking which shows smoke stain only. The hollow area above the arch shows no effects from the heat.

As Director of Safety for the campus, the building was declared unsafe for occupancy 8:00 A.M. May 6, 1970 until the Fire Alarm System is corrected by the college electricians.

Upon correction of the fire alarm system and the clean up of the stage area, the building will be declared safe for occupancy with the exception of the stage area which has been ordered barricaded and declared off limits.

\$ 26,480.00

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
COLLEGE AT BUFFALO

Report of Fire
May 6, 1970

Perry Hall, Basement
10:39 P. M.

Area: South half basement corridor

Cause: Arson (Student demonstrations in progress)
(Kent State Massacre" and Cambodia Protest Strike)
Person or Persons unknown, paint and varnish remover spread under two doors and along top of insulated piping which was ignited.

Damage: Ceiling tile, Electrical wiring, telephone wiring, pipe insulation, floor tile, rug, a dropped ceiling, door lockers, doors, emergency light, exit lights, Fire detectors, and some room contents.

Equipment response: Three Buffalo Fire Department trucks at 10:43 P. M. Fire under control 10:45 P. M. and out at 11:05 P. M.

Comments:

1. The heat of the fire was evidently very intense shown by three fire detectors completely destroyed.
2. Inflammable liquid floated under doors and ignited causing fire within two rooms. B-14: entire interior of door completely charred and exterior partly charred. A carton of books destroyed and a corner of a rug was charred. B-16: Both sides charred with inside of door deeply burned. Dropped ceiling tile damaged over half of the room. Twelve floor tiles damaged.
3. Louvers in two doors kicked in.
4. Ceiling lights, wiring charred. Five fire detectors damaged.
5. Insulation on five pipes (two are 4" size) charred requiring replacement of 500 feet.
6. Ceiling tile above piping completely damaged with much charring.
7. Emergency lights and exit light damaged.

Cost Estimates, Fire Damage Perry Hall May 6, 1970
 SUNY, Buffalo College

Replace 6 ceiling lights and wiring @ 50.00	\$300.00
Replace 5 Fire Detectors and wiring to 3	150.00
Replace 2 doors B-14 & E-16 Solid Birch	100.00
Replace 3 ruined door locks	120.00
Repair 2 doors	40.00
Replace 12 floor tiles	20.00
Replace emergency light	85.00
Repair 2 Exit lights	45.00
Replace scorched rug	150.00
Replace ceiling tile corridor	450.00
Replace ceiling tile B-14	120.00
Replace Pipe insulation on 5 pipes	500.00
Repaint corridor completely	450.00
Loss of carton of books	50.00
Cleaning up area	<u>100.00</u>
	\$ 2,480.00

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK COLLEGE AT BUFFALO
Physical Plant Department

Windows Broken on Campus

May 7, 1970

<u>BUILDING</u>	<u>SMALL</u>	<u>LARGE</u>	<u>\$ REPAIRED</u> 1st Stage	<u>YET TO GO</u> 2nd Stage
Bishop Hall	2	9	133.15	9
High Rise		2	70.00	1
Neuman Hall	1	3		4
Construction Trailer	2			2
Moot Hall	6	20	2,834.00	3
Butler Library		3		3
Lecture Hall		1		1
Upton Hall		3	69.67	2
Science Building Green House	10	45	530.45 Maintenance	37
Ketchum Hall	11		Maintenance	
Rockwell Hall			Maintenance	
Lacon	1			7
Campus School		1		1
New Cyn.			<u>Maintenance</u>	
		Total outside replacement	25,37.27	

Total Cost projected on schedule 2,000.00
reflected on total damage per
estimate includes Maintenance replacement 10,000.00
(Green House, Ketchum, Rockwell, etc.)