

Interview with Anna Stanley

Interviewed by Ann Pflaum

Interviewed on October 4, 1999

Anna Stanley - AS

Ann Pflaum - AP

AP: This is Ann Pflaum. It is October 4, 1999, and I am interviewing... Do you go by Anna Stanley or Ann Stanley?

AS: Anna.

AP: Anna, you have a long connection with the university. I would like you, if you're willing, to just to begin to describe when you first were exposed to the university. We'll want to talk about the occupation of Morrill Hall, but lots of other topics as well.

AS: Good. I transferred from Metro[politan] Junior College in 1963. That's when I became a student at the "U".

AP: Was that the fall of 1963?

AS: The fall of 1963, yes.

AP: One of my first questions would then be, what was your attitude towards President [John F.] Kennedy and do you recall where you were when you heard about the assassination?

AS: Let's see. Oh, 1969...I started the "U" in 1969, sorry.

AP: Oh, okay.

AS: I had just graduated high school in 1963.

AP: So, you started the "U" in 1969?

AS: Right.

AP: So, during the demonstration, you were a freshman?

AS: Yes.

AP: Wow! that's pretty brave to be that adventurous as a freshman.

AS: I'd also spent a lot of time in the Civil Rights Movement. I was a worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee [SNCC]. I came to the university looking for answers, so I was already very political and I was twenty some years old. I had been in the world for awhile. [laughter]

AP: You were not naive. Did you enter at the upper division maybe as a junior or a senior or did you enter as a freshman?

AS: I did a year and a half at Metro, so I think I came into the university as a sophomore.

AP: Which college did you enter?

AS: I started in GC [General College], which was the norm in those days. That's where all black students started. Then, I took two upper division humanities courses and, then, transferred into CLA [College of Liberal Arts]. I think half the year, I was a sophomore and, then, the rest of the time, I finished out my career in the Honors Department, so I was in the Honors Division.

AP: Would that have been the Honors of Humanities or the Honors...?

AS: The Honors Division of CLA.

AP: Do you remember any of the faculty that you would have had at GC or CLA?

AS: I remember a faculty member named Yamamoto. He taught literature in GC. He was very insistent that I make the transfer into CLA. He thought I was wasting my time in GC. Then, he introduced me to Dr. May Brodbeck and, then, I met Burnham Terrell through her and, then, Mischa Penn, Mulford Q. Sibley, Clarke Chambers, Paul Murphy, and David Noble.

AP: Those are the royal family, as it were.

AS: Oh, yes. [laughter]

AP: What was your major when you transferred to CLA?

AS: When I transferred into CLA, at that time, it was American Intellectual History.

AP: Did you do any papers that you recall?

AS: I did some on Mark Twain, some on Robert Penn Warren. I did one on Dred Scott. God! it's been so long now.

AP: It sounds like you had a very classical kind of education then.

AS: Yes, yes. I was studying to be an academic. I was very serious about that. I wanted to teach. I wanted to be a part of that community.

AP: So we are in the fall of 1969 and from what I understand from the record, Fred Lukermann, who was one of the associate deans of CLA, had been negotiating all fall about the African-American Studies Department idea, but then along about January of 1969... You maybe hadn't entered the university if we're talking about January 1969.

AS: We were going back and forward because there wasn't enough black students on the campus to really...

AP: Right, and so you had maybe not entered. By the time this demonstration occurred, you would formally enroll that fall, if I understand the chronology correctly?

AS: I was already there. We had been negotiating with them for almost a year. One was about the recruitment of black students from this area as opposed to importing people from other places. One was about a conference to bring in black scholars and, then, the other was the Afro-American Studies Department itself.

AP: What's fascinating, looking back on it, is that every single demand was met, from what I can read from the record. Let me check that; is that what you recall?

AS: Once the take-over occurred, yes, the demands were met.

AP: Then, one wonders, why did it take such a dramatic action to get them to move. Do you think it was just normal university bureaucracy, kind of messing around?

AS: I think part of it was that they were a little afraid of it. We were very sophisticated. We were not naive politically. We knew exactly what we wanted and we knew how to present it and we had built a case that justified our demands. I think that they got a little squeamish and thought they could back out of it, since most of our discussions had been oral, so there wasn't anything really written prior to Morrill Hall. I just think they underestimated us.

AP: I gather that there was an overnight occupation. I've talked to Matthew Stark and he remembers kind of coming and going. Josie Johnson remembers bringing in food or sending in food. She was a community member. I've heard that Harry Davis was brought in.

AS: Yes, he came in afterward. They sent him to ask us if we would allow ourselves to be arrested by black federal marshals as opposed to white ones and we told him, "No." We considered both of those offenses. He was sort of like a middle person.

AP: Do you want to run me through the day? If I remember correctly from the record, the occupation began around eleven-thirty in the morning?

AS: Yes. There was a meeting, I think, that was called at about ten and I didn't get actually to the meeting until about ten-thirty and by the time I had gotten there, Rosemary [Freeman] and Horace [Huntley] and the other leadership of the Afro-American Action Committee had decided that it was time to shut it down.

AP: Was your meeting in Morrill Hall or was it someplace else?

AS: We were in Coffman Union.

AP: Then, you have to walk down the Mall.

AS: We came out of Coffman Union and crossed the walkways and came down onto Northrop's plaza and, then, went into the building. I remember the first thing we did was to tell the clerks and the secretaries to clear their desks, lock away any documents that they considered to be important, and that they had fifteen minutes to clear the space before we locked the doors. Most of them complied. Some of them wanted to argue with us and we told them it was not up for discussion, to simply do as we asked. So most of them did. Then, they were allowed to leave.

Then, there were some students who were indignant about not being able to carry on business and we informed them that we were also indignant, that it had taken us this long to even get a hearing at the university, so we really weren't interested in their concerns either and we told them to leave and they did. At that point, SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] joined us and asked if they could sit in with us in support of our demands and we told them, "Yes, they could," but they were under our direction and would do exactly what we told them to do or they would be asked to leave. [Paul] Cashman came down. Lukermann came down. They asked us what we were doing and we told them. We said that we wanted to meet with them and with President [Malcolm] Moos as soon as possible so that we could allow the university to carry on its business. They went off to get that meeting together.

Then, we decided that we needed to call members of the black community, so we called Bobby Hickman from the Intercity Youth League and he, then, called Milton Williams—I believe that was his name at that time... Mahmoud El-Kati—and several ministers. By that time, there was a crowd outside chanting, "Hang the niggers," and throwing rocks at the building. So, they told us to stay away from the windows and not to engage anyone and to keep the doors locked. SDS then became a buffer between us and the mob that was gathering outside. Finally, members of the black community came and members of the press came and they wanted to know what was happening, so we explained to them what it was about.

We also asked Lukermann and Cashman to come back down because we were concerned about the safe that was in the area that we were in. We understood that it was on a timer. We wanted to know when it opened and we wanted one of their staff to be present when it opened so that they could lock it or empty or do whatever they needed to do. They arranged for that to happen and we allowed that person to stay in that area with us. Sure enough, in the morning, it did unlock itself. Then, they relocked it. After that, President Moos was obviously upset by what was going on, so they decided that it was not a good idea for him to negotiate with us. So, he appointed Cashman and Lukermann to do that.

I think we were in there probably eight to nine hours and, then, they asked if we would meet with them. A delegation went up to the regents' room and we sat down and hammered out the fine points of what we wanted. They needed to, of course, pass that through President Moos before they could sign off on it and we said, "Fine." It was sent off to him and, then, I think he came back, maybe four or five hours later and we signed it and, then, in the morning, we were gone.

AP: Then, you're involved in setting up the Afro-American History Department, as I understand it?

AS: Yes, I was the official spokesperson and representative for the Afro-American Action Committee. I was the one that made all of the public statements and dealt with the university on academic matters.

AP: Was John King the first chair?

AS: No, Lillian Anthony was the first chair.

AP: That's right. We celebrated—was it?—the thirtieth anniversary this last year. I understand that the department has been very successful, that it is one of the most successful of its kind in the country.

AS: That depends on what you define as success. [laughter]

AP: Okay. Give me your read on the attributes of the department. Is it good, bad, medium, controversial, conservative, radical?

AS: I would say it's exceedingly conservative and I would say that it totally misread what its charge was as we defined that charge. I think that its longevity has been dependent upon its ability to blend in and not rock the boat. I think many of the white faculty who supported us and many white political community members who supported us expected that department to bring some kind of new life to the university, to raise issues and to create discussions. I don't think that that's happened. I think that they've done pretty much what most departments do and that's to publish and teach the same materials as people have taught for thirty years, maybe with a new twist here and there. Our objective for creating the department was to have an academic unit on the campus and to also involve that academic unit in the life of the community. That part of the department has never occurred. It,

basically, has remained within the confines of the campus. It did not join the cap and gown with the community. So, that's a disappointment for me. I think that the scholarship probably is quite good. I just don't find it very inspiring or creative. If I had to do it over again, I probably would have waited until I had a Ph.D. and, then, I would have become its chair. It's very hard to create a house and, then, put other people in as your landlord. That's my take on it. It's not what I envisioned it to be or what the Afro-American Action Committee envisioned it to be. I think they're boring.

AP: Some of the people we've interviewed have talked about a kind of hands-across-the-barricades tradition at Minnesota. By that they mean that people that are on different sides of demonstrations and various political issues still seem to find some way of not completely losing human contact. Do you think that's exaggerated? Do you think that's sort of too idealistic a view?

AS: I think that what that speaks to is the ability of individuals to rise about their titles and depositions and to deal with the human aspect of what's going on. I think some people are capable of doing that. I wouldn't say that it's a generalized Minnesota trait. No. I think Minnesota engages in a very kind of clinical and antiseptic racism: you can be here if you become like us. I think Afro Studies became like the rest of the community. Yes, from my perspective, they're basically European scholars with brown skin.

AP: Do you see any other exceptions in Minnesota, in other colleges, that are more what you'd like to see?

AS: No, because I don't think people really understand the nature of the struggle to put an Afro-American Studies Department within a university context like Minnesota. Unless you understand what it's there to do, if you don't understand the struggle. I think people got really confused about politics. They got confused about economics. They got confused about housing. They got confused about education. They miss the major point, which is that everything that has been going on since Africans first came here, since the Europeans first came here, has been a struggle over the nature of reality. I think that what we wanted the Afro-American Studies Department to do was to begin to express our reality. If I have a frog's position in American society, if I'm in the swamp, then don't expect me to talk about the beautiful mountains and the wonderful glades because I'm in that swamp. So, what I have to do is talk about that swamp. That's a different perspective. So, my interpretation of American history is going to be different from a European American. We have two totally different experiences. We share the same language, but we don't share the same meaning. I think that's still an issue. The struggle is still over the nature of reality. What is real? That goes for Native Americans. That goes for the Chicano Studies Department. That goes for Women's Studies. If they're doing their job, they're struggling with that issue. What is the nature of feminist reality within this culture? Then, you have to break that down even further. What is the nature of black women's reality in this culture, for white women's reality in this culture, for Native Americans, Hispanics, Hmong, Somalians, you name it? That would be a feminist department. Afro-American Studies Department would deal with the North American experience. It would deal with the experience in the Caribbean. It would deal with the Brazilian experience. Wherever Africans are in this hemisphere, it would deal with that experience and have the scholars there to articulate that experience—that was our dream—and to have Africans from the continent to come and engage us. That was what we

wanted and I don't think we got it, because people got more concerned about tenure and appearance and fitting in and that's what they chose to do.

I think the same thing with the MLK [Martin Luther King] Program. It was about bringing in low-income black students and, then, helping them matriculate through that system, having classes and seminars, whatever, that helped them understand, you're entering into a different cultural context here. What you do out on the street or what you do at home doesn't work here, so you have to make a commitment to being here. So, that means you have to study. You have to learn English as a foreign language and learn to use it. That hasn't happened. It happened for a while, but now I understand that most of the students are coming from the upper middle class; so, again, you have Afro Europeans who are coming. They're not bringing a reality that's different. They've got their Gucci shoes and their Gucci bags and whatever. They want to go to the Bahamas for their holiday or whatever. So, there's no creative tension there anymore and there should be a creative tension.

AP: I was just reading the interview with Marv Davidov. He said, "The average life of a student revolutionary is about six months."

AS: He's wrong. I'm fifty-five. [laughter] I still say and do the same things. I still believe the same things I believed when I was a student, because it didn't have anything to do with place and space. It had to do with how I was raised and values.

AP: Can you tell me a little bit about that, how you were raised?

AS: I was raised in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. My black community was intact. We had our own stores, our own doctors, our own dentists. We had a community and we were not dependant on white people for anything. So, I learned to, number one, have an appreciation and a respect for my elders and a respect for their intelligence and their thoughts and their visions. They were real clear about what they expected from us. They said that those of us who were given great gifts, to us also belonged a great responsibility and that our mission was to serve our people with our talents, not to get rich, not to become famous, and to always say the truth. Even if we're alone, we have to say that and to be respectful of all life that is around us, but not to the exclusion or to the detriment of ourselves. I grew up in a very strong environment and I was nurtured and appreciated as a child. I was not an inconvenience. I was not a burden. I was a thing of celebration because in me, they saw their future. That's how I lived my life.

AP: How did you get from Philadelphia to the Twin Cities?

AS: In my last year of high school, my grandmother sent me to Riverside, New York, to participate in an international program with high school students from all over the world in the Friends Society. I met some young people from here and we got to be friends and we kept in contact. They kept saying, "Come to Minnesota. You need to go to the 'U'. Come to Minnesota. You need to go to the 'U'." So finally, I came to Minnesota and visited for a while. I thought, yes, it's kind of interesting, but I don't know whether I really want to be here. I, then, went back home and had been there for a while and met some friends at the University of Wisconsin and, then, joined SNCC [Student Non-Violent

Coordinating]. I went into SNCC in 1964 and was there until about 1966, 1967 in various parts of the South.

Then, I came back home and I told my grandmother, "I need to go and figure these things out intellectually. I need to understand the underlying ideas that are causing us trouble." Because it is an idea. It is a perception. She said, "Where do you want to go?" I said, "I want to go to NYU [New York University] or I want to go to the University of Pennsylvania. She said, "No, give me the atlas over there." So I pulled out the atlas. She said, "Open it to the Midwest." So, I opened it to the Midwest and I happened to turn to the page with Minnesota on it. She looked at it and she said, "What state is that?" I said, "That's Minnesota." She said, "Get me the big map of the United States." So, I pulled that down. She said, "Show me where it is on here?" I showed her and she said, "That's where you're going." Of course, I had a fit. I didn't want to come to a place where there were buffalo in the street. [laughter] I wanted to stay in the East. She said, "No, you're going to go there." So, my church sold dinners and sent me here with my first \$500.

AP: This is around 1967 or 1968?

AS: Yes, it's about 1968. I started at Metro in, yes, 1968.

AP: When you came onto the campus, did you live on the campus?

AS: No. I lived with a family in West St. Paul.

AP: So, you had to take a streetcar to school?

AS: Buses.

AP: Did you do anything when you were a student like attend football games or any kind of student activities?

AS: No, no. I was strictly a studier and a political preacher.

AP: Did you meet any of Minnesota's sort of great politicians? Did you come to know, along the way, [Walter] Mondale or [Hubert] Humphrey or [Don] Fraser or [Art] Naftalin?

AS: Naftalin, I met. Fraser, I liked. I thought he was a very interesting person. Humphrey, I thought was an excellent politician. I didn't really get a sense of who he was as a person, but I thought he was an excellent politician.

AP: Did you have any impressions of any other administrators or faculty with whom you were interacting at the "U"?

AS: All the ones that I named are the ones that I considered to be my teachers. For the most part, I really was not impressed by the intellectual acumen of most of the faculty. I think they're technicians. I don't think there's any soul in them.

AP: But, the names you did mention, you felt had soul?

AS: Yes, and they had ethics. They might not have agreed with our methods but they understood why we had to do what we did.

AP: What has happened to the other people on the committee with you? Rosemary Freeman?

AS: I think Horace got his doctorate and he's teaching in Alabama. I think Rosemary is teaching in Milwaukee. I think Ida is in New York.

AP: What was Ida's last name?

AS: Elam, E-l-a-m. I know that she's in theater.

AP: Are you the director of the Heart of the Beast [Puppet and Mask] Theatre?

AS: No. I'm one of their master artists and puppeteers—I've been with the company for nine years—and one of their master teachers.

AP: You've mentioned, a couple of times, the concept of reality. Have you discovered a vein of literature or artistic experience that you feel approximates the kind of reality that you'd like to be able to project?

AS: Yes, I think mask and puppetry allows me to do that, to express the things that are most significant to me, and to raise the intellectual questions that are important to me. Yes, I think it does.

AP: Is there a particular production that if you were to say to someone, "Gosh! I really put my soul and my insights on the line in this production or that production...?" Does anything come to mind that you feel is kind of a footprint of your...?

AS: I think they all are. The one we're in right now... We're in rehearsal now for one called *Gyre*, which is about the millennium and about the distortion of the human personality and that weird thing we have about seeing ourselves as being separate from the natural world, disassociated from any kind of spiritual life, that science is now our new god and it will answer all of our questions and make us a permanent fixture on the earth. It's difficult. This one is probably the most difficult because what it's doing is that people can only be in it where they are. So, then, it requires a lot of [unclear]. It forces you to deal with that other human quirk of judging other people and being intolerant of where they are. One thing my grandmother always said was, "You can set a magnificent table with all kinds of dishes and people will only eat what they understand, but you still have to set the table." So it's like

constantly hearing her words as I sit in our discussions about what it is we're trying to portray to the audience in this piece. It's like constantly telling myself, "You're fifty-five years old. You're not twenty-one. So these things are clearer to you now. But, you were once there and they weren't clear." It's always a challenge because it's about your spirit. It's about your life. It's about your vulnerabilities and your coming to terms with the impermanence of the things that we hold so dear, like youth, wealth, position, health. All those things are impermanent. Yet, on the other hand, we are eternal because we are a part of that larger essence and it's always trying to stay focused in, what is my purpose in this form? Why did I choose to come into the world in this form, as a black woman, with all that that entails? What are the lessons that my soul wanted to learn or my spirit wanted to learn through this form? Every performance raises those issues. What is the purpose? Why am I here doing this at this time and in this place?

AP: One of the things I'm struck by... I'm hearing something that sounds to me older than SNCC.

AS: Yes, it is. It is much older.

AP: And much more affirming than sort of questioning.

AS: Yes, yes, yes. My grandmother was a very unique woman. Many people that I've talked to, especially Buddhists, when I talk about her to them, they say, "You were raised by a Buddha. You were raised by someone who was able to constantly encompass the largeness of life and that's what she gave you is that largeness." Yes.

AP: Did she live on after you got your degree?

AS: She got to see me get the master's and she got to see me graduate summa cum laude as an undergraduate. I was the first woman in my family to do that, even though the women on her side of the family have been here since 1754. She did get to see me do that. She was with me for thirty-five years of my life. She was my primary teacher. When I came to the "U", I was prepared to ask the questions. Part of my difficulty at the "U" was that people wanted to give me culture and that wasn't what I was coming there for. I was coming there for answers to questions, not for a self. I brought a self with me. That made it real difficult for them to get along with me because I wasn't there to be socialized. That's why I left the Ph.D. program, because it didn't have anything to do with academics at that level. What it had to with was socializing me to be a representative of the Union and to say the right things and to do the right things. I was not willing to be humiliated by that process, so I left.

AP: What Ph.D. program were you in?

AS: I was in American History.

AP: Then, did you go right into the Heart of the Beast or did you do some other things?

AS: Oh, no. I did lots of things. [laughter] I'm a licensed pre-school ed teacher. Most of my work is with kids now and it has been after leaving the university, because I feel most valued by them.

They don't have any preconceived concepts that they need to deal with. What I am is what I am and that's what they deal with. So long as I'm real clear about that, then, they're real comfortable about that. I worked in [President Jimmy] Carter's Welfare Reform Program as a counselor and coach for women on AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children]. I was assistant Affirmative Action officer for Ramsey County, which includes the hospital. I taught in what they called an alternative high school for kids who had been, for whatever reason, abandoned by the regular system. A friend of mine had this idea of using art as a way to reengage them with a license of mine, so I did that for a while. What else? So many things that I can hardly remember them now. [laughter] The Heart of the Beast has been the most rewarding.

AP: Would you come back to the "U" again if you were starting over or would you make a different choice?

AS: Do you mean would I go to the university?

AP: Right.

AS: Oh, yes. I don't regret any part of my life. Yes, I would do it again because I was real clear as to what its purpose was. I remember, after I got the master's, having a conversation with my grandmother and I said, "I should be able to have more money and position." She listened and, then, she just kind of looked at me and she said, "You need to understand that people are not going to pay you \$80,000 to tell them truths that they don't want to hear. So, you have to decide whether you're going to be true to what you know or whether you're going to play the game. But, you can't have it both ways." I've never forgotten that. There have been times in my youth when I resented not being recognized for my contributions or being penalized for my intelligence but I realized that's just all part of this. The most wonderful part about it is that I know what's happening to me. I am not ignorant about that. I'm very aware of it and I understand it. I understand it historically. I understand it culturally. I understand it socially. I understand it economically. I wouldn't give that up for anything. Ignorance has been something that I fought. I always want to know why. Yes, I would do it again and I would do everything exactly the way I did it. Those that I challenged and those that feel like I attacked them, I did and I did for a good reason. Most of them, I don't like now.

AP: By most of them... These are people?

AS: Yes, people.

AP: In other words, the people that you challenged, you don't like now?

AS: Yes, I didn't like them then and I don't like them now. I didn't like what they stood for and I still don't like what they stand for. They've spent thirty years trying to deny that I exist.

AP: Are these sort of faculty types?

AS: Yes, these were faculty types, people in the community, whatever. I was a problem for them, too. My grandmother always said, "You cannot just turn the mirror out. You have to turn the mirror in." There were also black people who were a problem, even a more serious problem than white people. If I was to be very honest and very candid with you, most of the people who wanted me out of the university were black. It was not the white faculty.

AP: Interesting sagas, as it were.

AS: Yes.

AP: Did you do a masters' paper?

AS: Yes, it should be on file in American Studies.

AP: What was it on?

AS: Oh, my god! It has been so many years ago. I think part of it was on Herman Melville's work, Twain, and one was the Dred Scott case.

AP: Of course, Dred Scott was brought to Minnesota.

AS: Right. My Honors' thesis should be there, too. They should all be in the library.

AP: I'll look those up. I have one last question. A couple of people suggested that we talk with you for the interview. One of the people, Toni McNaron...

AS: Oh, yes, I forgot Toni! Yes, she goes in that list.

AP: She told of a little episode and this is how I got the idea of the phrase, "across the barricades." She said that you and she sort of looked at each other at one of these demonstrations... I think it might have been the demonstration at the inauguration of President Moos?

AS: Yes. We also put them on trial once. [laughter]

AP: She was a white Southerner and you were a black Southerner and she said that you just looked at each other and you just sort of clicked, you just kind of understood each other.

AS: Yes.

AP: She was saying that these boundaries just sort of melted away in that case, that you somehow connected.

AS: I think that's true. I think the relationships that we had with white faculty were genuine relationships and they were relationships not based on our politics alone but on our ability to see each

other as human beings. Most of the white faculty, I think, who were there, the ones that I listed, were outsiders so they understood what that was like. They understood that struggle, that idea or that feeling that you have to keep that inner fire in yourself going. I think we personified that for them. I think they really reveled in our gall—[laughter] do you know what I mean?—that we had the audacity to do the things that we did or to challenge at the level that we challenged and to understand what that meant.

AP: I think this has turned into kind of an absolutely heroic icon for the university... the Morrill Hall occupation.

AS: Yes, I think that they really had great hope. They wanted Afro Studies to be what we wanted it to be. It is unfortunate that the department did not have the courage to be that. I think on some level many, many people in the university were disappointed that it just rolled over so easily. I can remember being told by some of my colleagues that I should grow up, that times had changed, and we were in a new era. My response to that was, "No, we're not. It's getting more sophisticated and cleaner, but it still stinks if we breathe deep enough." Yes, I think people like Toni and Clarke Chambers and David Noble and the others that I listed were disappointed on some level.

AP: That's, perhaps, a good place to end. One of the things we always ask people in these interviews is, is there anything you would like to add that I haven't asked you?

AS: The only thing that I would like to add is that I hope the university will, in looking at its history, put us in our context and give us the recognition that we deserve for creating many, many opportunities for many, many people. We were very conscious of not just representing our own issues but whenever we were asked to support Women's Studies, we supported the formation of their department. When the Chicanos asked us to come and support them, we went to the Divisional Council and supported them. We also supported the Native Americans and the Anti-War Movement, all of that. All of that took its energy from us. It's like when I see these little blurbs on the TV about things at the university in the 1960s, we are nowhere there, not even as a footnote. It's kind of weird. It's like watching revisionist history being written again and, again, we're being left out.

AP: I hope not. That's disappointing to hear.

AS: I've been here for thirty years. I have never been invited by the Afro American Studies Department to participate in any of its activity. I understand that black students have no idea where these things came from that they now enjoy. I created the Black Cultural Center and, then, supported the creation of all of the others. But, the model for that came from us. The MLK Program... we get no recognition for that. But, I understand they have brought in other [unclear]. No, I haven't changed. I still believe the things that I grew up with, that truth is more important than ones title or department.

When I look at it sometimes... I used to think maybe we did the wrong thing because I remember before those things were created, we were a community and we relied on each other. The minute that they became [unclear], we began splintering off and defending our positions, rationalizing our lack of

movement. So, I don't know. Sometimes I wonder if black students would not be better off if those things were not there because, in many ways, they're an illusion. I would ask the black students to examine, examine the record, determine whether or not what we did is of value to them now and if it's not, then change it so it is of value to them and help them matriculate through that system with integrity and a sense of themselves. That's what I would say.

AP: Could I get your address? One of the procedural rules that I need to do is I will need to send you a permission form so that we can have this tape transcribed and put in the archives.

AS: Okay.

[End of Tape, 1, Side 1]

[Tape 1, Side 2 is Blank]

[End of the Interview]

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