

THE 1968 COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY BEER-IN: SOCIAL JUSTICE, POWER, AND BEER

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Introduction

We all feel the power of protests from contemporary marches and occupations to historic riots and assemblies that sent messages of displeasure to authority figures locally and nationally. The power of protest can be found deep within the mundane acts of our everyday lives. Protesting transforms mundane acts into a language of power. Common actions - sitting, standing, and fasting - acquire symbolic meaning through protests. On 28 October 1968, Colorado State University (C.S.U.) students appropriated drinking beer as the symbol of their activism for social reform. Doug Phelps, the 1968-69 Associated Students of Colorado State University (A.S.C.S.U.) President, led students into the Lory Student Center and occupied the building. A non-drinker, he nevertheless pressed a beer to his lips in an iconic moment that set off days of occupation and signaled a sea-change in the history of C.S.U. and Fort Collins.

This radical moment quickly loses its power when approached simply through the lens of a group of college students wanting to drink beer on campus. Instead, beer was a popular symbol that encapsulated the anger, frustrations, and activism of the students; it was never about beer. Instead, in an era of student protest, the 'beer-in,' a term coined contemporaneously with the event, was a defiant act against an outmoded university that upheld perceived racist, sexist, and paternalistic values. Accumulation of years of agitation and unrest sparked the beer-in, the climatic moment when C.S.U. severed its conservative past and launched into a more progressive future.

Problems at the University

The C.S.U. beer-in coincided with mounting resentment and tiredness within the university. Issues of housing, discrimination, inferior education, and student power had been building for years, allowing the beer-in to present them visibly to the university in a single moment.¹ Minority students continued, and indeed continue, to fight for support and equal rights on campus. Here it is not argued that the beer-in solved the multiplicity of issues on campus, rather, the beer-in politically galvanized the student body and brought threads of underlying discontent to the fore.

C.S.U.'s beer-in, although distinct in its form, shared ideology, grievances, and goals with other student protests. Jasper's, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*, provides a framework for the beer-in. In particular, his conceptualization of 'post-citizenship' social movements provide an illustrative through which to examine the beer-in. At C.S.U., white male students, who held secure rights on campus and in the community, protested for rights for others, such as ethnic- and gender-minoritized students.² This, however, should not be understood in a 'white savior' sense, but rather one in which white male students had little retribution to fear from the administration and could pursue an liberal agenda on campus.³ Additionally, Jasper argued people are 'symbol-making creatures' who enjoy and respond well to symbols.⁴ For C.S.U. students, beer, as an easily recognizable commodity, served well as one such symbol.

Jasper's framework addresses two major critiques of the beer-in as a fundamental social justice statement. First,

one could portray it as an excuse for white male students to have access to beer on campus, while not really understanding, empathizing, or desiring to change minority students' station. This is a valid critique, especially since many pictures of the beer-in show only white male students. Further, the Black Student Alliance (B.S.A.) and Mexican American College Education Fund (M.A.C.E.) continued to fight for their rights after the beer-in. This could suggest that the beer-in leaders were less interested in sustained change on campus than they were breaking the rules about campus drinking. Second, the progressiveness of their aims contrasts with their choice of Coors, a deeply conservative corporation. For decades, Coors funded, and continue to fund, right of center politicians and religious leaders, fueling conservatism in America. If their choice of beer matched their political and ideological persuasions, this would undermine the validity of the liberal motives of the students.⁵

While valid, these critiques of the beer-in do not match the participants' rhetoric and actions. To the first point, there were fewer than one hundred African American students at C.S.U. Therefore, no matter their presence at the beer-in, white students would vastly outnumber them.⁶ Discussed above, Jasper's 'post-citizenship' concept suggests white males students were in a more secure position to demand rights for all students, which was the core of the beer-in's mission. As to the second, it is uncertain why the students chose Coors over other beers, perhaps due to availability, preference, or price. Maybe it was connected to a shared conservatism between students and Coors. More likely, students recognized the conservatism of Coors and doubled down on the conservative structures they were attempting to overturn. In all, it is clear that the students' main goal was to challenge conservative structures at C.S.U. and create a student voice.

Leading up to the beer-in, problematic institutions and policies had built up over decades at C.S.U. and Fort Collins. The first census year, 1880, presented a population slightly over one thousand souls.⁷ Gambling, violence, and heavy drinking were prolific in the small town that became home to C.S.U. in 1870. University leadership, in their effort to build a moral higher education institute, enacted policies to safeguard their students from the town's vices. They issued rules against students' visits to saloons and began a tradition

of moral policing called in *loco parentis*, meaning the school operated in the place of parents in regulating morality and public behavior.⁸ As early as 1884, the city council endeavored to prohibit the sale of alcohol, and in 1896, was successful.⁹

Although Prohibition ended nationally in 1933, Fort Collins repealed local prohibition slowly. Liquor and beer above 3.2% remained illegal within the city until 1969.¹⁰ For years predating the beer-in, Fort Collins officials and C.S.U. administrators resisted these perennial student requests for more drinking establishments in the bar-poor city. It was not a completely dry town, with institutions such as the Town Pump or Clancy's, which offered a beer-drinking contest requiring simply a 'date and hardy thirst'.¹¹ These bars were insufficient to satisfy the burgeoning town, yet a proposal to grant a business a 3.2% beer license was shot down in 1964 because the city council unanimously agreed that while the city may need more entertaining businesses, it did not need another bar.¹² Certainly access to beer was a ongoing complaint within the city, but this should not overshadow the centrality of student agency and choice about their university for the beer-in.

The lack of city bars was partly a function of C.S.U.'s small population prior to the 1960s. Only by the 1940s did enrollment break 2,000, a product of the post-WWII higher education environment.¹³ 6,000 students enrolled at C.S.U. in 1960, a number that doubled by 1965. This increase was due less to G.I.s and more to increasing female, African American, and Hispanic students who began enrolling in much larger numbers. Colleges began to open their doors, albeit slightly and unevenly, in the 1960s and 70s to a wider segment of Americans. Women, when first admitted to C.S.U., were outnumbered almost 3:1 and not until 1965 did the male-female ratio drop below 2:1.¹⁴ Though a small portion of campus, the female population boomed overall. By the eve of the beer-in in 1968, C.S.U. was home to 15,000 students, 6,000 of which were women. In little more than a decade, the university's student body had diversified and bloomed in unprecedented ways.

Dr. William Morgan, C.S.U.'s president from 1949 to 1969, supervised the seismic transformations unfolding on campus. Morgan built the post-war administration and campus to accommodate the changing student body, yet became the victim of his own success. In the 1950s,



Figure 1. Student Center liberation banner draped across staircase. Students raised this sign as they occupied the building. Courtesy of the University Historic Photograph Collection, C.S.U. Morgan Library Archives & Special Collections.

in response to the growing number of male and female students, Dr. Morgan embarked on a dormitory building campaign, before most students had boarded with local people or, primarily, in Greek organizations, a social club that many students use to find their communities, or local houses. Greek life allowed students to connect with students of similar class levels and value system and members often reside in large houses, men in fraternities and women in sororities.¹⁵

C.S.U.'s ever-increasing student body in the 1950s and 60s exceeded the capacity of Greek and local houses to absorb. Dorms were the only solution to the tremendous increase of students. For Morgan, to ensure C.S.U. captured the rising number of students-and their tuition-they needed to show parents the school could provide quality rooms.¹⁶ This required substantial funds; C.S.U. applied for over a \$1,000,000s of federal funding, for

which they needed to show \$100,000 secured by his and the State Board of Agriculture's (S.B.A.) fundraising.

Dormitory rules reflected the sexist climate and the need to ensure the dorms could be repaid. Strict rules on housing requirements and behavior were designed to provide steady and undisruptive rent to the university. Women adhered to a curfew, visitation hour restrictions, and were required to live on campus while men only faced comportment regulations when visiting female housing. Regulating morality was, for the administration, one way to ensure safe living quarters and control thousands of students on campus. By extension, it would assuage parents' fears about sending their children to college. If parents worried about the unsupervised misconduct of their students, then they might look for other housing options. His administration's *in loco parentis* policies clashed with the freedom students



Figure 2. Students' sign highlights the fun and subversive nature of the beer-in. Courtesy of the University Historic Photograph Collection, C.S.U. Morgan Library Archives & Special Collections.

expected as adults. Students recognized and detested the divide between their freedom and the freedom of nonaffiliated adults in Fort Collins most clearly represented by the ability and access to alcohol.¹⁷

In addition to the lack of bars and restrictive housing, there was another force of contention against students imbued with the 1960s spirit of liberation, equality, and feminism. Largely, the C.S.U. student body remained

conservative, or at least were viewed this way. Burns Crookston, dean of students in the 1960s, estimated that 70-75% of students were satisfied with the status quo, 10-15% were unsatisfied but would not instigate anything, and 10-20% of students actively sought change.¹⁸ These numbers are suspect, since they were addressed to worried alumni. Even if he downplayed the numbers of unsatisfied students, however, it is clear that C.S.U. was not a liberal hotbed.

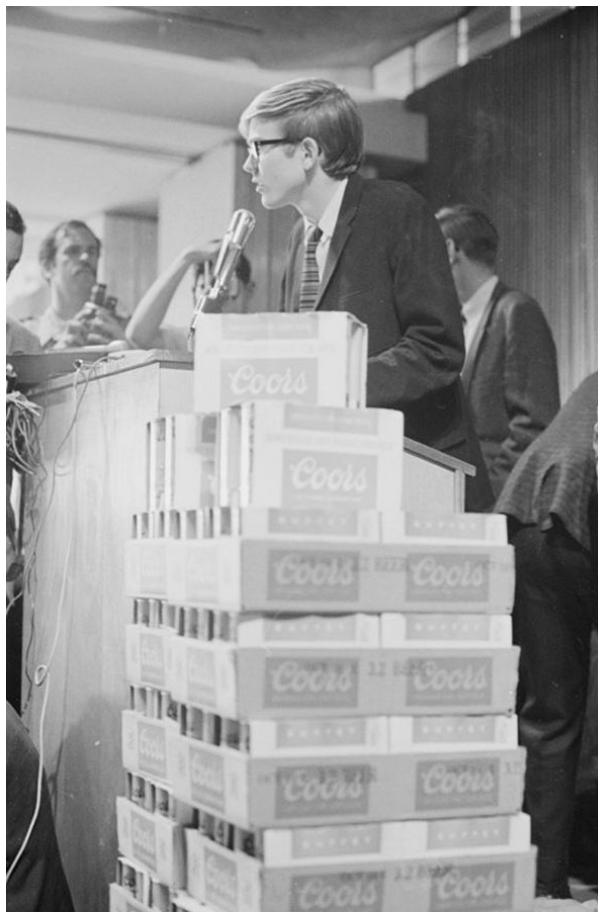


Figure 3. Doug Phelps delivers a speech to the assembled students beside a tower of Coors beer. It is unclear why they chose Coors, or how far they drove to buy it, but they certainly brought plenty. Courtesy of the University Historic Photograph Collection, C.S.U. Morgan Library Archives & Special Collections.

Despite this ingrained conservatism among students, student groups protested vigorously. C.S.U. students who yearned for social change on their campus mobilized large numbers of students quickly through the media. Activist students employed pamphlets, posters, and the *Collegian* - the school newspaper - to inform, incite, and involve students in campus activities and demonstrations. Essentially, the vocal minority was responsible for significant, modern policy transformations within the university.

In 1968, the A.S.C.S.U. conducted studies of other campuses that sold beer and presented their largely positive

findings to the S.B.A. In response, they suggested selling beer at the Ramskellar, at the time a campus coffee shop, with quantity and time restrictions. The board's opinion was 'that beer didn't belong on campus' despite one member's report that 'the community generally favored the issue'.¹⁹ Disappointed, A.S.C.S.U. Vice President Bruce Randall commented that the rejection of a carefully constructed study and plan shook his belief in enacting change through proper channels.²⁰

Campus buzzed with discourse preceding the beer-in. A few professors openly supported students advocating for a louder voice and more democratic campus.²¹ Some



Figure 4. Phelps' iconic sip of beer with members of the Steering Committee and crowd raise the V. Courtesy of the University Historic Photograph Collection, C.S.U. Morgan Library Archives & Special Collections.

professors supported the students and wrote to the S.B.A. requesting they let the students protest peacefully without calling the police.²²

Phelps communicated plans for the beer-in through the *Collegian*. He summed up student complaints and goals in terms of student voice and agency: student fees funded many buildings on campus - such as a \$2.9 million football stadium - yet they had no say in how their dollars were spent. Housing rules created a shortage of available living spaces, such as putting three people in two-person rooms. Teaching and the library were in desperate need of restructuring and funding with an emphasis on students. Women and ethnic minority students were on unequal footing in resources and rights on campus. Finally, of course, the right to buy and drink beer on campus.²³ Phelps, and supporters of the beer-in, reiterated these issues in the newspaper continuously before, during, and after their 'liberation' of the student union.

Phelps sent the administration a bill requesting additional student authority and voice in administrative choices in September 1968. Should it not pass, Phelps believed he had two options: he could drop it (an unconscionable choice), or force the university to act through drastic measures.²⁴ It was then that he began to ruminate a possible student strike with large support from the student body.²⁵ Later that month, Phelps took out a column to 'keep you [the students] informed of what is happening in the myriad of programs and projects which make up A.S.C.S.U.'²⁶ Making no headway against the administration to gain student voice, he called a meeting of student leaders in housing, Greek Life, assorted student groups, and the *Collegian* to discuss changes they desired on campus and to garner support for Phelps' bill to address several deficiencies in the university.²⁷

The following Monday, 7 October Phelps had received no word from the administration in regard to his proposal. He voiced his anger over an unresponsive university

that provided subpar education. It is important to note that the time between his bill and displeasure with an unresponsive university were a weekend and a few days, hardly enough time for the university to formulate a response. Yet, these proposals had been suggested in many forms for years, and the accumulation of waiting and unresponsiveness likely weighed far more than this particular bill.

Phelps wrote a lengthy article on 9 October, detailing the failings of the university and the options for students to correct them. He did not believe that administrators had students' best interests in mind and that student regulation was 'absurd and demeaning'.²⁸ To force the administration to teach students to think, he was 'in favor of student action to obtain a higher quality of education'.²⁹ This was an important piece of rhetoric for his plan, as students had limited voice in university policies. Typically, student action materialized as petitions and bills to the university, but these tactics had failed for several years. Therefore, the student action he discussed was more in line with student strikes.

Phelps' article laid out 13 specific issues of student rights, voice, and power within the university. Beer on campus and in residence halls was one, yet clearly not the center, of their complaints. The article ended with a student call to action. He stated, 'I emphasize action because, for myself, it is no longer enough to speak out' and ended his piece 'if we demand justice and it is rejected as anarchy, so be it'.³⁰ Presciently, that is precisely what critics of the beer-in categorized it as. They latched onto the beer proviso and forgot the others. Yet, beer drew students' attention and generated discussion over issues of student power, effectively accomplishing Phelps' goal to foster dialogue among students.

Beer was designated as the symbol of the protest because it showed most clearly the tension between students, the administrations' *loco parentis* policies, and the perceived views of the townspeople. The A.S.C.S.U. stated: 'the symbolic beer issue is a perfect example of the SBA's refusal to give consideration or support to even the most minor student proposals' and further that 'if students are not allowed to make their own rules in college, they cannot be expected to make social rules for themselves after they graduate'.³¹ The beer-in encapsulated many threads of thought in the 1960s that regarded increasing equality and democracy.

The student center was a powerful venue of the beer-in to transform it from 'a sterile, government-functional "visitors center"' into 'a human environment in which students may interact freely with one another' through occupation.³² Symbolically, control over the student center was at the core of student-administration tensions. Ostensibly, the student center should serve the students. Instead, the administration blocked student input in renovations and changes while funding the building with tuition dollars.

The Beer-in begins

Phelps and the steering committee - comprised of the A.S.C.S.U. leadership among others - planned the beer-in meticulously. While it is difficult to know for sure when the idea itself was born, by October 1968 they had a firm idea of the schedule and mission. Beer symbolized and encapsulated student anger, and as leader Phelps needed to connect the beer firmly to the students' mission. A referendum was planned for Friday, 11 October in which students would vote to support beer on campus. The night before, however, Phelps and some two hundred students occupied the student center with beer provided through collections.³³ Further, he planned for the A.S.C.S.U. Vice President, Bruce Randall, to stay outside and continue to run the A.S.C.S.U. Phelps stood next to a tower of beer and proclaimed: 'those of us who are drinking beer now do it because we feel it is essential that our voice be heard at this University'.³⁴ The beer-in had commenced. After several lecture and activity-filled days with surprisingly little amount of damage, the administration caved and agreed to meet with Phelps.³⁵ Jubilant with this major victory, Phelps, the B.S.A. and M.A.C.E. leaders, Paul Chambers and Manuel Ramos, met with Morgan and Crookston over the course of several weeks. By the spring semester, their efforts won both tangible and intangible victories for students. One of the most important was the new legacy of student voice and activism.

Students at the time recognized the beer-in as a new moment in their university's history. One student wrote to neither applaud nor attack the beer-in, but rather to praise Phelps for his ability to generate opinions and discourse among students. He wrote positively 'never before was this campus fractionated, for never before was this campus opinionated'.³⁶ Another student clam-

ored their peers to stay awake to politics and 'fight for your rights as a student'.³⁷ A veteran student favored the beer-in as a stand against the administration's paternalism. He claimed 'Students will not learn to be responsible individuals if they are treated as children by an archaic administration'.³⁸ Students who favored the beer-in viewed it in line with Phelps' goals of gaining agency and power for students and educational and administrative reform.³⁹ Those against the beer-in focused instead on the beer as the sum total, rather than a symbol, of the protest.

Campus response

Unsurprisingly, Phelps and the beer-in faced backlash from other students and the university. As Crookston's number suggested, upwards of 70% of students did not favor radical changes on campus. Some supported their goals, but not their methods. Roger Lipker, the editor of the *Collegian* and an anti-protest advocate, stated his support of the beer-in's mission, but believed that participation in this event could jeopardize students' futures.⁴⁰ Lipker did believe 'CSU is ten years behind in both student power and educational reform' yet thought Phelps' rhetoric and actions put the administration in a defensive and unyielding position.⁴¹

Lipker, like many critics, argued that the beer-in would be more respectable if it were "[against] discrimination, better teaching, more money, or student representation" which, in fact, it was.⁴² Many agreed with Lipker, and wrote to the *Collegian* to that effect. One of their many initial criticisms involved understanding where the money for popcorn, balloons, flowers, and candy that filled the student center, not to mention the 'small plane' to disperse beer-in pamphlets came from.⁴³ Ostensibly, Phelps used A.S.C.S.U. funds for them, which displeased students already critical of the beer-in. Further, some students did not understand or agree why the student center needed to be liberated. One student believed the student center 'does a rather good job of keeping their regulations down to a bare minimum'.⁴⁴ Additionally, she interviewed several participants who likewise did not know the purpose of the liberation.⁴⁵ This did not bode well for the attainment of the beer-in's goals.

Further, Phelps, as the leader of the beer-in and A.S.C.S.U. President, faced harsh reprimand from the

student body. A petition to begin the recall process began the night of the beer-in and gained over a hundred signatures within an hour.⁴⁶ Lipker, along with the *Collegian* staff, called for Phelps' resignation based on the use of student money to fund the beer-in supplies (beer excluded) for over two weeks.⁴⁷ Phelps called for a referendum for the students to vote their support of his continued presidency in light of the beer-in. He was voted down almost two to one in a stunning condemnation of his leadership.⁴⁸

Dr. Morgan's administration attempted to reassert control over campus after the beer-in and other demonstrations on campus. Prior to the beer-in, Morgan believed the issue of student power ultimately came down to a question of who is responsible for, and in charge of, the university.⁴⁹ For Morgan, the aftermath and retribution for the beer-in needed to establish the university was in charge of campus, not the students. As such, 169 students faced disciplinary action for

Conduct contrary to established standards of CSU students; specifically, refusal to obey a lawful directive of a university officer to vacate an area where beer was consumed in violation of a university rule and city ordinance.⁵⁰

In particular, the steering committee, comprised of the A.S.C.S.U. board, faced heavier disciplinary actions for violations of safety, several university policies, and using their power to undermine the administration.⁵¹

Many students received their punishments during closed-door hearings, but Phelps, in his commitment to discourse on campus, opted for an open hearing.⁵² Phelps faced probation until July of 1969, others until March of the same year, and some were acquitted entirely, a considerably lenient punishment in light of their subversive actions.⁵³ Administrators must have realized two things: that the students' assertions were not wholly unfounded and that punishing Doug more heavily would make him into a martyr, perhaps engendering more protests. If nothing else, the university wanted to move past this attack on institutional authority. Despite this, campus remained hectic into December; C.S.U. passed a two day moratorium on classes to allow the excitement to settle.⁵⁴

The backlash illustrates the politically active climate of the C.S.U. student body after the beer-in. A.S.C.S.U.

submitted a flurry of bills by the end of the academic year. Women gained the same visitation hours as men. Information about birth control, drugs, and other relevant issues for students were allowed on campus. A "Free University" was formed that allowed teachers the capacity to experiment with their courses to meet student needs. A committee formed to create a Bill of Student Rights. The university investigated racial discrimination and directed \$10,000 to a new position of Race Relations. Finally, true to the movement, the right to drink 3.2% beer on campus.⁵⁵

Phelps and the beer-in invigorated student activism. Students from across campus recognized the new climate that their university had entered. Even Lipker, the constant enemy of Phelps, noted that Phelps had raised the A.S.C.S.U. 'from a social club to a legislative body' and that 'he has done more for student power at CSU than any other person in the past'.⁵⁶ Students became more accustomed to voicing their concerns and acting on them, such as resisting student fee increases to support the football team.⁵⁷ Student organizations fought rising housing prices and discrimination.⁵⁸ Minority students continued to fight for support in recruitment, on-campus resources, and respect successfully.⁵⁹ Conversations about beer on campus continued with vigor, and cumulated with beer sales at the Ramskellar, to accompany C.S.U. College Days celebrations.⁶⁰

Conclusion

On 18 October 2018 the Lory Student Center was reoccupied. Alumni, students, and professors gathered in the Ramskellar, now the on-campus bar and brewery, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the 1968 C.S.U. beer-in. Participants of the beer-in recollected their struggles with administrators over tuition, housing, and equality while drinking beer in the same place they had 50 years ago in protest. The current A.S.C.S.U. hosted the event and scattered about stickers and cups proudly announcing 'It's not about your right to drink, it's about your right to think' and 'Save the Skellar, Bring Back the Pitcher,' a jab against the current move against selling beer by the pitcher in the Ramskellar. 50 years later, C.S.U. students continue to resist the university's beer policies.

Many of the complaints levied by C.S.U. students in the 1960s resonate today. Current universities are inheritors

of the 1960s counterculture, while students and administrators continually address issues of diversity, justice, tuition, and housing. Students uniquely appropriated beer's non-consumptive power and symbolism to encapsulate their grievances, anger, and dreams for a better university at C.S.U.

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Notes

1. It was not even only student anger. University faculty began convening in 1968 to discuss efforts to improve the state of the campus in terms of democracy, quality instruction, and to bridge the gaps between faculty and students. "'Independent" CSU Profs Form New Organization,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 9 October 1968, 1p.

2. This is not to deny participation and agency of black, Hispanic, and female students in their own struggle for rights on campus. Jasper, J.M. (1997) *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.7.

3. For example, the steering committee faced probation rather than expulsion. Pierce, L. (1968) 'Phelps, Six Others put on Probation Yesterday,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 19 November

1968, p.1.

4. Jasper, J.M. (1997) op. cit., pp.9-11.

5. For more on Coors' and the Coors' family conservatism, see Bellant, R. (1991) *The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism*. Boston: South End Press; Baum, D. (2000) *Citizen Coors: An American Dynasty*. New York: William Morrow, p.136.

6. Black Student Alliance, 'Text of Demands Presented by B.S.A. 7 April 1969,' 1969, Box 1, folder 7, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

7. Fort Collins History Connection, <https://history.fcgov.com/contexts/table1> Accessed 9 May 2019.

8. Miller, J.R. (1962) *Pioneer College President: Combining a Biography of Dr. E.E. Edwards with a History of the Earliest Years of Colorado State University*, pp.55-6.

9. McLeod, R.W. (2016) *Ghost Breweries of Colorado: A History of Centennial State Brewing*. Arvada, CO: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform., p.284.

10. McLeod, R.W. (2016) op. cit., p.284.

11. 'Free Friendly Atmosphere with your Beer,' *C.S.U. Collegian* 23 October 1964, p.5. 'Run-A-Ways,' *C.S.U. Collegian* 29 October 1964, p.6.

12. '3.2 Beer License Defeated Through City Council Vote,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 18 September 1964, p.11.

13. Colorado State University, *Historical Enrollment Statistics, 1912-1975*, Accessed 9 May 2019, <https://www.ir.colostate.edu/data-reports/students/student-enrollment/>.

14. S.U. records often recorded gender rather than race, but women are indicative of racial demographic transitions.

15. *ibid.*, p.176.

16. *ibid.*

17. Football games were notorious for this. Though alcohol was banned, townspeople flagrantly brought in hard liquor while student sections were monitored.

18. Crookston, B.B. (1968) 'Questions and Answers About Student Unrest' in *The C.S.U. Alumnus* XLIV, p.5.

19. 'State Board Turns Down Beer on Campus Proposal,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 29 August 1968, p.1.

20. Jimerson, T.E. (1968) 'Beer on Campus Information Fails to Fire Board of Ag's Imagination,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 23 September, p.1.

21. 'Profs Urge Students to Think for Themselves,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 17 October 1968, p.4. These were likely the same professors who earlier formed a committee to increase faculty democratic power.

22. Terrell, C. and Williams, R. 'Letter from the Independent

Faculty Organization to the State Board of Agriculture,' box 1, folder 3, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

23. A.S.C.S.U., 'Policy Statement of the Liberation Steering Committee,' 'A Letter to the Faculty From the Associated Students of Colorado State University,' 'Information on the Five Issue Areas,' box 1, folder 2, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

24. 'ASCSU Ponders Effective Action,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 2 September 1968, p.2.

25. O'Connor, C. (1968) 'Phelps Maintains Administraion Failed, No Response Given to Student Demands,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 7 October, p.1.

26. Phelps, D. (1968) 'From the President's Office,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 25 September, p.2.

27. The bill was succinctly titled 'An Act to Initiate Requests for Procedural and Structural Changes in the Administration of CSU, for Changes in the Processes of Academic Education at CSU, for Recognition of Student Responsibilities and Rights and for Legislative Reevaluation of Colorado State University's Role as an Academic Institution.' 'Meeting Called to Discuss ASCSU Plan,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 5 October 1968, p.5.

28. Phelps, D. (1968) 'Student Power and Educational Reform,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 9 October, p.2.

29. *ibid.*

30. *ibid.*

31. ASCSU 'Information on the Five Issue Areas,' box 1, folder 1, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

32. 'Letter to the Faculty from the Associated Students of Colorado State University,' box 1, folder 1, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

33. Lipker, R. (1968) 'Students Vote on Beer Issue Today,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 11 October, p.1.

34. Norris, T. (1968) '179 Students to Receive Disciplinary Action for Consumption of Beer at Campus FAC,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 21 October, p.1.

35. The amount of damage is uncertain. An estimate by the A.S.C.S.U. Business manage put it at \$2,122. Other estimates put it as high as \$5,000 and low as \$200. Easley, B. (1968) 'Student Center Liberation Expenses as on October 31, 1968,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 8 November, p.2.

36. Bruno, D. (1968) 'Birth of an Illusion,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 18 October.

37. Elvy, M. (1968) 'Cause is Just,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 18 October.

38. Wilburn, B. (1968) 'Students Aren't Children,' *C.S.U.*

Collegian, 14 October.

39. For example, two students wrote, '179 students just jeopardized their academic careers- not for beer, but-for a first-rate education.' Praeger, S. and Felix, P. (1968) 'Disgust with Majority,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 30 October, p.2.

40. Lipker, R. 'Public Statement by Roger Lipker,' box 1, folder 1, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

41. Lipker, R. (1968) "'But Let Us Begin,'" *C.S.U. Collegian*, 10 October, p.2.

42. Lipker, R. (1968) 'Don't Risk your College Career on Irrelevant Beer Issue,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 18 October, p.2.

43. Norris, T. (1968) '179 Students to Receive Disciplinary Action for Consumption of Beer at Campus FAC,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 21 October, p.1.

44. Panepinto, L. (1968) 'As I See it: Liberation from What?' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 10 October p.2.

45. *ibid.*

46. 'Phelps Recall Asked,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 11 October 1968.

47. Lipker, R. (1968) 'A Time for Resignation-Part II,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 22 October.

48. Pierce, L. (1968) 'Doug Phelps Voted Down in Referendum Final Count Tallies 4,087 to 2,723,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 1 November.

49. 'Morgan Comments on Student Activism,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 23 September, p.15.

50. 'Release At Will Disciplinary Action,' 23 October 1968, box 1, folder 4, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

51. 'Release At Will Disciplinary Action,' 29 October 1968, box 1, folder 4, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

52. Pierce, L. (1968) 'Committee Hears "Liberation" Cases,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 6 November, p.8.

53. 'Release at Will Disciplinary Committee' 14 November 1968, box 1, folder 4, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

54. 'Release At Will Faculty Council Minutes' December 3, 1968 box 1, folder 4, Collection on Student Unrest, Colorado State University Special Collections.

55. ASCSU, Act #302, Bill #359 November 7, 1968, box 1, folder 41, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #320, Bill #385 February 18, 1969, box 1, folder 66, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #336 Bill #397 April 1, 1969, box 1, folder 75, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado

State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #337, Bill #398 April 1, 1969, box 1, folder 76, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #341, Bill #400 April 1, 1969, box 1, folder 77, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU Act #344, Bill #404 April 8, 1969, box 1, folder 79, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #349, Bill #409 April 15, 1969, box 1, folder 84, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #356 Bill #419 May 20, 1969, box 1, folder 92, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado State University, Colorado State University Special Collections. ASCSU, Act #359, Bill #425 May 27, 1969, box 1, folder 97, Records of the Associated Students of Colorado

State University, Colorado State University Special Collections.

56. Lipker, R. (1968) 'LBJ, Phelps-Similar Situation,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 31 October, p.2.

57. Pierce, L. (1969) 'ASCSU Resolves to Resist Fee Increase,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 22 January, p.1.

58. Norris, T. (1969) 'Goal of Student Committee for Equality to Eliminate Discrimination in Fort Collins,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 27 January, p.5. 'Committee to Consider New Dorm Program,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 27 January 1969, p.12.

Norris, T. (1969) 'IRA Recommends Reduction in Room Rates, 3.2 Beer in Dorms,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 6 February, p.1.

59 'Black Studies Institute Planned,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 14 February 1969, p.6. Notably, in 1970 the B.S.A. protested B.Y.U. at a basketball game for their discriminatory policies.

60. 'Beer Goes on Sale Friday in Ramskellar,' *C.S.U. Collegian*, 30 April 1969, p.16.