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From Vietnam to Don Smith and beyond : the Iowa State Daily and its portrayal of a radical decade, 1966-1975

Michael Lee Swan
Iowa State University

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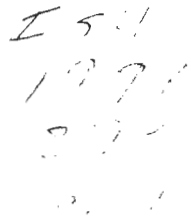

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Michael Lee Swan

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Michael Lee Swan

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"...the changes in the campus press were pronounced, and perhaps seemed to be greater than they actually were."-
—Julius Duscha and Thomas Fischer

"But what caused the most problems was language and changing student mores, including vigorous advocacy and editorial treatment of the news."
— Julius Duscha and Thomas Fischer

Iowa State University is a conservative, quiet place, located in a pleasant town in a bucolic state that still holds largely to rural values. The college, a land grant institution, even used to be separated from the town by a large field, now home of the Iowa State Center. With the opening of C.Y. Stephens Auditorium, part of the Center, in September, 1969, the town and university were on the way to being connected physically.

Even though it is a school of 25,000 students in the middle of farm country, making up half the town's population, it is touched by national happenings. Sometimes it is even on the cutting edge. This happened during the years 1966-75 — a decade described as the "nutty-violent period" by longtime ISU journalism professor and former student newspaper adviser Bill Kunerth. It flamed out just as fast as it ignited. But, for a time, Iowa State and Ames was as full of emotion, shock, anger, fear and grappling with ways to deal with all of it as any place in the country. In at least one case, with the election of a radical student president in 1967, it was way ahead of other campuses. In fact, as former President W. Robert Parks points out, there were only two student body presidents in the 1960s who belonged to the liberal Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) — and Stanford was the other one (Parks interview).

The street in front of the Center would be traversed by Vietnam war protesters during this time period. There would be sit-downs at the Armory and confrontations between blacks and the administration — one of which ended with a vice president

being cold-cocked by a protester. And quiet downtown Ames would be left gripping to make sense of a bomb that went off at city hall. City hall!

The Iowa State *Daily* caught the happenings in words and photos. As will be shown time and again here, it was a college paper that was not under a heavy hand. It caught the good times and the bad times. Some were infruriated by the happenings at Iowa State. It was amazing to some that protest and such irreverance could happen here.

Many of the participants in these activities were contacted; most were happy to talk about those years. Some remembered their collegiate years clearly and fondly and talked as if it was only yesterday. Others had pushed these events into the recesses of their minds and still held mixed emotions that made them somewhat reluctant to discuss those years. Others could not remember some or most of the details. Some of the key players have died (such as Carl Hamilton) or otherwise disappeared and could not be tracked (including the reporter and photographer from *Life* magazine who triggered the final crisis for Don Smith). In most cases, however, those who helped to shape that decade from 1966-75 possessed both a storehouse of information and strong emotions in their memory banks. For several, including President Parks, the questions and interviews offered a time for reflection and introspection.

One of the reasons for reflection among administrators, in particular, was the contrast to previous decades at Iowa State — and campuses across the country. What held true for administration and students was also reflected in the campus newspapers, which are ubiquitous in the United States. Virtually every post-secondary institution had a newspaper in the Twentieth Century. Today there are well over 1,000 college and university newspapers and many of them are published at least five times a week (Duscha, 22).

These papers provide, perhaps, the best record and perspective of collegiate life in the United States over the past 50 years — perhaps longer. College yearbooks offered something closer to a snapshot view, but nothing — certainly no commercial, local newspaper can match the student newspaper in this country — particularly because many, if not most, have enjoyed an atmosphere of freedom in which to operate. This has certainly been the case at Iowa State.

The *Daily* of the 1950s

Thus, it is possible to set the scene for 1966 by leafing through the Iowa State *Daily* of the 1950s. Typical front page headlines and stories included: "'Y' Finance Drive To Get Underway Monday Evening," "Iowa State 100 Years Old Today!" and "Science Attracts Students Interested in Medicine." There were some big events, like "Live T-V Begins Today," "Crowds Line Lincoln Way To Greet President," referring to a visit by President Eisenhower.

There was even coverage of a "riot" with a crowd of 2,000 ending up at the Knoll, home of President James H. Hilton. But, unlike the 1966-75 period, these demonstrators were calling for "No School Monday" because a less than inspiring Iowa State football team had upset Missouri in the homecoming game. The *Daily* captured the action, noting that the throng at the Knoll included the unusual phenomenon of 700 women. President Hilton, incidentally, promised a Saturday off if students were orderly and dispersed happily (The 100-Year Book).

These campus trends extended into the early 1960s. Pinnings, initiates and engagements were still a big, page two, item in 1963. Surprisingly, marriages got much less attention in the *Daily*, but there was lots of coverage in 1960-64 of Pammel Court — the married student housing community that had been erected as a temporary facility until the glut of World War II veterans could complete their education. Nearly 20 years later, Pammel was still thriving and other units had been built so that in 1964 half of the married students lived there.

And, of course, football and other sports were given considerable coverage — sometimes on the front page. But much of the gridiron story chronicled in the *Daily* in the 1960s was abysmal. That is, until 1968, when a new, 32-year-old head coach named Johnny Majors took over. His first two teams went 3-7; then 5-6 and then came a breakout season with an 8-3 record and a trip to the Sun Bowl. Iowa State lost that game, against the last all-white Louisiana State team. The next year they started 5-1, but finished 5-5-1 and still squeaked into the Liberty Bowl game. However, that tie was one of the most memorable games in Iowa State history. ISU ended up deadlocked against mighty Nebraska, 23-23, in Ames. The Cyclones would have won that game but an extra point attempt in the final seconds sailed

just wide.

Majors said during the late 1960s and early 1970s that he was able to use the conservative campus atmosphere of Iowa State as a selling point to recruits who were also looking at the University of Iowa or Wisconsin, where, of course, some of the most outspoken and violent events of the decade were taking place (Tribune, April 18, 1998). And, as this thesis will show, Majors himself succumbed to the unpredictability of the period by threatening to punch a political science professor in the face.

The 1966-1975 time period, "the nutty-violent period," was chosen for this study because of the vast changes that took place in the campus press during that time. As Julius Duscha, director of the Washington Journalism Center, writes, in the 1950s,

> the campus press was unusually quiet, reflecting the general mood of the students at the time. When this quiet was shattered first by the civil rights movement of the early 1960s and then by student opposition to the war in Vietnam, and the increasing militancy of Third World movements, the changes in the campus press were pronounced, and perhaps seemed to be greater than they actually were (Duscha, 22).

For the first half of the Twentieth Century, campus newspapers had actually been steeped in a tradition of conforming strictly to the administration's rules. They could be described as products of the times on campus. Nearly all of the campus papers were under some sort of administrative control in the 1960s and even into the 1970s, according to Duscha (Duscha, 22). On most campuses during the 1960s, the student paper was funded entirely or in part by student activity fees or with appropriations from college or university funds. Colleges and universities were legally the publishers of the newspapers in many instances. The use of newspaper offices was usually rent-free. So, there was confusion over the role of the student newspaper. Was it a student publication or an official publication of the college or university? Who was ultimately responsible for content, the student editors or administrators?

Administrators often did little to clarify the situation. Sometimes they tried to back away from responsibility for the newspaper and "other times they sought to

block the appointment of an editor deemed hostile to the administration's interpretation of the best interests of the institution" (Duscha, 22). However, this was not the case at Iowa State.

A turbulent time for the campus press

Duscha described the 1960s as a turbulent time for the campus press. The war in Vietnam and black militancy caused problems for student editors as well as college and university editors dealing with campus papers. "But what caused the most problems was language and changing student mores, including vigorous advocacy and editorial treatment of the news" (Duscha, 22).

Throughout this period, campus newspapers across America were being called upon by students, administrators and even townspeople to take a stand on issues as disparate as the environment and the war. They were also taking sides on questions of feminine equality, as well as the civil rights movement and personal freedom (as manifested in a relaxation of dormitory hours.) This also included debate on drugs and the opportunity to experiment and the pill.

Students were pushing limits with drugs, language, culture, music and dress.

What led up to the change in the way the campus press was perceived can be seen in the radicalization of many university environments. By the mid-1960s, many campuses were on the verge of upheaval.

Footlick calls the student revolution on the Berkeley campus of the University of California in December 1964 the most important single event in the modern history of American higher education. Students became involved as never before in how their schools were run. They were concerned with and sought responsibility in such areas as the making of parietal rules, curriculum decisions and promotion and tenure policies for the faculty (Footlick, 17-18).

It was a charged period, full of protest, and campus rules were being challenged like never before. The country and campuses were the scenes of demonstrations against the establishment, and violence would spring from them at times.

For the anti-war movement as a whole, the two favored means of protest by 1965 were draft resistance and protest marches (Steigerwald, 107).

By the end of the 1960s, however, radicalism and the peace movement became

marginalized in the larger scheme of national politics (Steigerwald, 113). Steigerwald attributes this to Nixon's promises to win "peace with honor," the policy of Vietnamization that reduced U.S. casualties after 1969, the revision of the draft and federal harassment of activists. The steam was gone from the movement, though by no means was it destroyed. As Charles DeBenedetti, the foremost student of the peace movement, has concluded: "In this war no victory was decisive, at home or abroad...." (Steigerwald, 113).

The successes of the movement, as George Herring concluded, were "limited and subtle." Herring thinks the disturbances and divisions set off by the antiwar movement caused fatigue and anixiety among the policymakers and the public, and "thus eventually encouraged efforts to find a way out" (Steigerwald, 113-14).

Making this period even more tumultuous, there were other huge issues hitting campuses as well.

From 1963 to 1978, the civil rights movement "profoundly altered a large region of the nation, reshaped United States history, mobilized the country's most oppressed group, forced the nation to reckon with racism, its original sin, and exposed the great gap between national myth and promise on the one hand and reality on the other" (Steigerwald, 38). The effort for racial equality was, according to Steigerwald, composed of common people organized in institutions of their own creation. As a populist revolution, he added , it "scored enormous victories at a minimal cost in violence. As such, the civil rights movement transcended its historical place, but it was also the quintessential sixties movement. It demonstrated the heights to which ideals could move people. When the movement's idealism waned, so too did the nation's" (Steigerwald, 38).

The women's movement was flourishing in the 1960s. Women made strides, with one of the benchmarks Betty Friedan's groundbreaking book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). That book pushed for new roles for women, equal with men.

In addition to Vietnam, race and gender equity, lawyer Ralph Nader became famous going against business and government on consumer issues he felt threatened public health and safety. His book *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965) argued that the U.S. automobile industry placed profits over safety. The National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, which established safety standards for

new cars, resulted largely from his work.

Nader also studied other industries. In 1971 Nader founded Public Citizen, Inc., which he headed until 1980.

Also in this time of people power, Rachel Carson wrote her best-selling book, *The Silent Spring* (1962), to warn about the poisonous effects of pesticides on food crops and water resources (Diggins, 325).

The *Daily* would be affected, both by these movements and the issues that surrounded them.

In the 1966-1967 fiscal year, Iowa State had 18,759 students enrolled, with 13,661 men and 5,098 women. In the College of Agriculture there were 2,950 men and only 59 women (a ratio of 50 to 1); in the College of Engineering there were 2,949 men and only 22 women (134 to 1); in the College of Home Economics there were 2,595 women and 154 men (17 to 1 in favor of the women); in the College of Sciences and Humanities there were 3,629 men and 1,493 women; in the College of Veterinary Medicine there were 277 men, with no women; and in the Graduate College there were 2,760 men and 697 women (Iowa State University General Catalog, 1969-71).

The paper that served these students, the *Iowa State Daily*, felt all of these pressures with a degree of intensity hitherto unknown at this university. Student reporters were expected to cover news that evoked the greatest emotions and disagreement. *Daily* editors, either willingly or reluctantly, were being called upon to stand up and be counted on the editorial pages, as well as in the news columns. Even a stance in opposition to the draft could and did earn criticism from both those who favored the draft and those who felt the editorial didn't go far enough. Editors and reporters had to learn to handle stories that received lots of reaction.

The *Daily* reflected all these happenings and was also affected by them.

In short, it was the best of times and the worst of times for the campus press.

Thesis organization

This thesis aims to examine how the *Iowa State Daily* covered issues that most affected the campus between 1966 and 1975. The first date was selected because it represents the beginning of organized resistance to the Vietnam War at Iowa

State. The second date was chosen because it closes a decade activity and because it allows for examination of a least a couple of post-war years that could be described as "a return to normalcy" at Iowa State. "Radicalism" would die out somewhat toward the middle of the 1970s.

In researching this thesis, the first step involved orientation reading and systematic bibliographical work. Qualitiative or historical research methods were used, examining every page of every *Daily* edition from 1966-1975. Key issues and editorial positions were identified and categorized by theme and grouped in under one of half a dozen categories. In addition, a variety of players were interviewed in an attempt to understand how issues were covered and decisions made. These include former editors and reporters, and news sources (including the most famous of all GSB presidents, Don Smith, and his running mate, Mary Lou Lifka). Beyond that, insights were gained from interviews with former *Daily* advisers, one former department chair, James Schwartz, and W. Robert Parks, who was president of the university during this time period.

In short, this thesis combines traditional historical research methods of reading existing documents with the techniques of the reporter and those of the oral historian. It cannot offer a perfect view because key players have died (most notably Carl Hamilton, former journalism department head and later ISU vice-president of information and development). Others, who were key news sources, have disappeared; while some former *Daily* reporters and advisers simply cannot remember events as clearly as they once could.

A noteworthy example of this involves the controversy surrounding Don Smith, his alleged "marijuana party" and other details of his short-lived Government of the Student Body presidency. Beyond the news stories and editorials, no written records remain and individuals, like Professor Bill Kunerth and Dr. Tom Emmerson, who once felt certain they would "never forget those days," now confess to being "fuzzy, at best" in response to various questions. Still, this represents the writer's best effort to reconstruct facts and explain thinking surrounding various decisions.

This thesis will also examine the influence, or lack thereof, of various forces or groups that had the potential to exert some degree of control or influence over the *Daily* and its editorial content or stances. A half-dozen such forces have been

identified, beyond the students working on the *Daily*, and will be analyzed. They include the following: the student-dominated *Daily* publication board; the *Daily* business or general manager; the faculty members who served as adviser during this time period; the Journalism and Mass Communication department head and other members of the faculty who came into contact with the *Daily*; the Government of the Student Body (a primary funding agency); and the university administration (particularly President W. Robert Parks and Vice President Carl Hamilton).

Hypotheses

This thesis has three basic hypotheses:

--It surmises that every student newspaper is a product of the climate of the times and this was a decade of a conservative paper going to new levels of free expression with an attempt to find a balance;

--It also surmises that where a tradition of freedom of the press has been fostered on campus by administrators and faculty over decades, the school paper will enjoy freedom during times of tension when restraints might be favored by some;

-- It suggests, too, that, where student reporters and editors have traditionally exercised responsibility and maturity, they will enjoy the support of faculty and administrators who believe that First Amendment rights must be upheld even in the face of unpopularity.

While the hypotheses focus on the *Iowa State Daily*, its coverage and editorial attitudes, these things are inexorably and inextricably entwined with the events themselves. Thus, it is inevitable that the focus of this study will shift occasionally from the newspaper to the newsmakers and the the news they were making. For example, it is neigh on impossible to put the *Daily*'s coverage of the Vietnam war into any context without knowing what was happening.

Moreover, since several administrators most closely involved with the news were interviewed, their recollections are inevitably going to focus primarily on their role, rather than the performance of the *Daily*. To omit these reactions would, in a way, be cheating these persons of their place in the history of the university. Moreover, it is hoped that including their recollections and descibing events from

more than one perspective will help readers better understand the atmosphere and environment in which the *Iowa State Daily* and its staff functioned during this so-called "nutty-violent" decade.

For most of the key players interviewed, this was the first time they had been asked in a formal setting to reflect on the events of the 1960s and early 1970s.

In fact, this study begins and ends in times of relative tranquility. However, even in 1966 one could feel something was different. At Veishea, the student festival in the spring, those taking part could enter the old Exhibit Hall and hear a long-haired group playing loud hits of the day, including songs of protest. Nearby, ROTC had set up a display in the greenery in front of the Armory of daunting models of booby traps used by the North Vietnamese. The smell of marijuana sometimes wafted over football spectators at Clyde Williams Field (author's personal recollections as a Veishea visitor).

These portents were followed some ten months later by the election of Don Smith as GSB president and the 40-day period that President Parks would call one of the biggest challenges he ever had at the school.

Small, quiet, conservative, idyllic Ames and Iowa State would never be the same.

CHAPTER II

THE *DAILY* AND PROTEST AGAINST CAMPUS POLICIES: VIETNAM AND WATERGATE

"And this used to be such a nice campus."
—Woman visitor to campus witnessing a demonstration (May 9, 1967 Daily)

For almost five entire years, nothing dominated national politics like the war in Southeast Asia, the escalating U.S. involvement and the increasing number of young men being drafted for combat in Vietnam and, later, Cambodia. Other issues, such as the civil rights movement and the drive for gender equality, also occupied center stage, but nothing could match up to the growing debate over the war and its wisdom. National policy came under scrutiny and then attack as never before in the Twentieth Century. Then, just when things had begun to settle down after the Kent State shootings and the U.S. depature from Vietnam, President Richard Nixon stepped on his own land mine in the form of his coverup of the Watergate burglary and the dirty tricks that it embodied. These two issues, then, largely permeated the campus and largely occupied students and faculty members.

In Vietnam, American ground operations in the south escalated dramatically between 1965 and 1967. The Americans who fought in Vietnam were the "best-fed, best-clothed, and best-equipped army the nation had ever sent to war," but North Vietnam also escalated the war step for step" (Herring, 167). During this period, American troops fought well, "despite the miserable conditions under which the war was waged — dense jungles and deep swamps, fire ants and leeches, booby traps and ambushes, an elusive but deadly enemy" (Herring, 170). Where main units were actually engaged, the Americans usually prevailed, and, according to historian George C. Herring, there was no place in South Vietnam where the enemy enjoyed security from American firepower. It was clear by 1967 that American forces had staved off what had appeared to be certain defeat for South Vietnam in 1965 (Herring, 170).

At the same time, American military operations undermined the social fabric of

an already fragile nation and alienated the people from a South Vietnamese government that never had a firm base of popular support. As one American official later observed, "It was as if we were trying to build a house with a bulldozer and wrecking crane" (Thompson and Frizzell, 225).

American casualties were small compared to the North Vietnamese. Nevertheless the number killed in action rose to 13,500 by late 1967. Swelling draft calls and mounting casualties brought rising opposition to the war at home (Herring, 173). So, in spite of the impressive enemy body count figures cited by the Pentagon, it was clear to many observers in mid-1967 that hopes of a quick military victory were misplaced. Each American blow "was like a sledgehammer on a floating cork," journalist Malcolm Browne observed. "Somehow the cork refused to stay down" (Browne, ix). By now the United States had nearly 450,000 troops in Vietnam.

In March 1967, public discontent assumed big political overtones. Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, an outspoken dove, challenged incumbent President Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic party nomination for president, and his surprisingly strong showing in the New Hampshire primary on March 12 suddenly made him a major political challenge. Within several days another peace candidate entered the field —Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

In January 1968, the Tet offensive launched by the North Vietnamese fueled the protest and confusion about the Vietnam conflict. North Vietnamese soldiers, supported by the Viet Cong, launched a massive coordinated assault on various key cities in the south. In most areas of the country, the invaders were repulsed and suffered heavy losses. But in Saigon, troops attacked and 19 VC soldiers briefly occupied the United States embassy. Shortly thereafter, U.S. troops overpowered the attackers and re-secured the embassy.

This assault on the embassy was only a small part of the overall North Vietnamese offensive. In the broad, strategical sense, Tet was a disaster for the enemy. But, as journalist Bernard Brodie observed, Tet was "probably unique in that the side that lost completely in the tactical sense came away with an overwhelming psychological and hence political victory" (Brodie, 321).

In this sense, what the North Vietnamese offensive did was stunning beyond its

military outcome because it "ushered in a new phase of a seemingly endless war" (Herring, 204). Before Tet, coverage of the war tended to be overwhelmingly neutral or favorable to the U.S. government, according to Herring. The reporting during and after Tet, he observed, was much more critical.

A major reason for this, Herring reasoned, was the "unduly optimistic pronouncements" by U.S. military officials in 1967. Officers up to General William Westmoreland implied — or even declared — that there was light at the end of the tunnel or that victory was just around the corner. These assertions, according to Herring, multiplied the shock of the Tet offensive. They also "widened an already large credibility gap" (Herring, 221).

Congressional opponents of the war became more vocal than ever. Criticism from legislators who had been considered supporters followed. Even new Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford began to voice doubts about U.S. involvement (Head and Grinter, 35).

These facts were underscored by Walter Cronkite of CBS News. "Uncle Walter" was by all accounts the most respected news person in the United States. He was also not a dove by reputation. He had been with "the boys" in World War II and Korea. Cronkite visited Vietnam shortly after the Tet offensive and became convinced that the United States would, essentially, bleed to death if it continued to fight.

Thus, Cronkite concluded an hour-long documentary about the Tet offensive by saying: "To say that we are closer to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past. To suggest we are on the edge of defeat is to yield to unreasonable pessimism. To say that we are mired in stalemate seems the only realistic, yet unsatisfactory, conclusion....It is increasingly clear to this reporter that the only rational way out, then, will be to negotiate, not as victors, but as an honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy, and did the best they could" (Cronkite, 257-58).

President Johnson was stunned by the broadcast, according to George Christian, the President's news secretary. He and his assistant, Bill Moyers, later to win fame on television, were present as the President and some of his staff watched the broadcast. "The President flipped off the set," Moyers recalled, "and

said: 'If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost middle America'" (Cronkite, 258). A few weeks later, he announced he would not be a candidate for reelection.

The presidential campaign of 1968 was very much a Vietnam affair with Richard Nixon triumphing over Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey. Once in office, Nixon actively pursued the war effort, in spite of increasing agitation at home from anti-war activists. The protests reached at tragic climax at Kent State in 1970 when four students were killed on May 4 by National Guardsmen during a protest against the war.

President Nixon's response to the shootings at Kent State may have been pivotal in turning many middle-of-the-roaders against the war in 1970. Rather than expressing sympathy for the victims, the President offered no conciliation. He warned that unrest often ended in bloodshed. He offered no sympathy for the families of the victims. Instead of calming words, he referred to "those bums." Collectively, the nation seemed to repel. Many appeared to agree with the father of one of the Kent State victims when he bitterly remarked, "My child was not a bum" (Steigerwald, 291).

By 1971, a growing number of Americans appeared to have preferred that the war would simply go away. But it would not. Instead, the nation discovered some unpleasant truths about the war with publication of the so-called Pentagon Papers. These internal documents had been copied by a former Pentagon worker, Daniel Ellsberg, and leaked to the news media. They were published by the New York Times, Washington Post and Boston Globe. The White House sought unsuccessfully to stop their publication. As a result, citizens were able to learn (even confirm) that the Kennedy and Johnson administrations had consistently misled the public about their intentions in Vietnam (Herring, 266-67).

Obsessed with leaks since revelations of the secret bombing of Cambodia in 1969 and certain that critics would use the Pentagon Papers in 1971 "to attack my goals and policies," the President took the extraordinary step of securing an injunction to prevent their publication (Nixon, 509). When the Supreme Court overturned the President's order, an enraged Nixon approved the creation of a clandestine group of "plumbers" to plug leaks within the government and instructed them to use any means necessary to discredit Ellsberg (Herring, 267).

As the united front supporting the Vietnam war was unraveling and middle class Americans were growing increasingly dubious about the prospects — and the price — of victory, university campuses across the nation came alive with debate, protest and disobedience. Questions surrounding the morality of the war and the draft were to engulf the quiet, stately campus at Iowa State. In less volatile times, it was easy to picture the columns of Beardshear Hall and Curtiss Hall framing that park-like part of the campus known in winter as "Little Siberia." In spring and summer, the expansive grass is green and lush, bordered on the north by Old Botany and on the south by the campanile.

For decades, the campus had been bucolic and serene as students hurried to classes during the day or took an hour to bask in the sun on central campus. Even today this pastoral picture is more or less accurate. Recent years have seen riots producing mayhem and even one murder in campustown during the school's annual Veishea celebration. Such upheavals are sporadic and, generally, alcohol-induced. And they lasted, perhaps, 12 hours.

During the 1960s and 1970s, however, the upheaval that gripped the campus was pervasive and persistent. Vietnam permeated the air. No class or strip of grass or parade or conversation could escape the war. It was omnipresent, even if it wasn't as violent as it was at places like the University of Wisconsin where in August 1970, with school out of session, a terrorist group hit hard. The group detonated a van full of explosives underneath the Army Math Research Department. Almost the whole building was destroyed and a young physicist, working alone, was killed. Even so, Iowa State had to bite the bullet. Vietnam was everything at this time.

A study of the period includes many effects of the Vietnam conflict back at home. Iowa State provides a good example of what Herring describes as "normally conservative and placid institutions" involved in turmoil with protest (Herring, 262). Cambodia and the Kent State tragedy triggered a climax of protest activity occurring in 1970 across the nation and at Iowa State. And this activity spilled over into the streets of Ames too.

The pages of the *Iowa State Daily* basically played three important roles at this time. They chronicled activities on campus of those who opposed the war on moral

or strategic grounds. They provided a voice for outspoken opinions at "war" with each other. And they also served as a forum for those whose primary concern was the draft. In broad strokes, the protests began in 1965, with demonstrations against both the war and the draft occurring from 1966 through 1970. The high-water mark of opposition to the Vietnam War on campus occurred in 1968 — especially after the Tet offensive. It lasted until about 1970. Then, rather surprisingly, anti-war fever began to subside, to the point that the *Daily* in 1972 was prompted to wonder why tranquility had replaced turbulence on campus.

As Iowa State students grew more restive over the war in Vietnam and the concomitant increase in the draft quota, it was almost inevitable that radical organizations would invade the campus. The most famous (or notorious) of these was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which established a chapter at Iowa State in 1965.

This was not a typical campus organization. At their meetings, anyone could have a say and pretty much for as long as one wished. There was no real leadership, so, according to Tom Hayden, who was a nationally-known member, it was "the perfect organizational formula for the suppression of middle-class ambition" (Steigerwald, 128).

This was the SDS of Hayden, hippie leader Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman and, shockingly for those in Ames, former Professor Gregory Calvert of Iowa State University, who became National Secretary. Calvert advocated the movement from "protest to resistance" (Steigerwald, 139). SDS in October 1967 marched on the Pentagon with 50,000 people in a demonstration that turned violent. This was a demonstration with the SDS's trademark, no real leadership.

The *Daily* reported SDS's campus formation in a story on Oct. 30, 1965 that said 25 students made up the nucleus of the organization. Among the original members, according to the paper, were former members of the Student Committee on Racial Equality (SCORE) and participants in recent campus Vietnam policy protests. Its faculty adviser was Calvert, an assistant professor in the department of history. Calvert reportedly would be in Chicago that same weekend and was going to present national SDS officials an application for a charter.

But the ISU chapter was not planning to follow the national lead when it came to

using demonstrations as the primary means of achieving its goals. At least, that's how the group's spokesperson, Jacqui Alberts, H. Ec. 4, described it to the *Daily*. "Demonstrations have a place," she said. "Attention is drawn to the problem, but it's just publicity." What the ISU chapter of SDS wanted, Alberts said, was "to accomplish something."

The same day that the news of the new SDS chapter was reported, the *Daily* carried a letter to the editor in the form of a poem that represented the total opposite view of the war. This was submitted by an Iowa State alumnus, who was serving with the Marines in Vietnam. Second Lieutenant Don Drobney, I. Ad. '65, apparently wrote the poem in defense of the U.S. war effort while stationed at Da Nang Air Base. According to the *Daily*, a soldier friend of Drobney sent the poem to his family with instructions to show it to the young people on the home front. Drobney's "Poem from Viet Nam" was about twice as long as the following, but this excerpt catches the flavor of his effort.

"....You'd rather hear the Beatles play,
Than learn about the world today.
But stop and think for a moment or two,
And ask yourself, 'does this concern you?'
It's great to be alive and free.
But what about the guy across the sea?
He's giving up his life for me,
so that I can live in liberty.
This guy who lives in filth and slime,
How can he do it all the time?
He's about your age so why should he care,
About a war someone else should share?
....He believes in freedom and the American life,
No parties and dances for this young man,
Until he comes back home again.
The days are hot and the nights are too,
What wonders a cold shower and a shave can do!
He dreams of cold beer and a thick juicy steak,

Then someone shouts, 'We've got a hill to take.'
....You'll recognize him as he walks by.
There's a hardened look in his eye.
He walks so proud yet looks so mean,
He's called the world's greatest fighting machine.
No wonder he's proud, he's a U.S. Marine!

For its part, the *Daily* remained editorially silent about the existence of a SDS chapter on campus -- even though the organization by this time had a national reputation for being confrontational.

There is, obviously, no way of knowing whether this lack of comment was precipitated by a 'wait-and-see' attitude or by disinterest.

Notwithstanding Jacqui Alberts' emphasis on other means to achieve its goals, SDS organized its first demonstration within five months. This occurred on March 25, 1966 and took the form of a 24-hour, anti-war vigil on the steps of Beardshear Hall. It was also held in conjunction with a teach-in and an appeal to teachers to talk about Vietnam in their classes. Between 10 and 20 students were reported to have participated in the vigil, along with SDS adviser Calvert. Demonstrators carried signs that said such things as: "Make Conditions for Negotiations Reasonable" and "No More Escalation."

The protest went off peaceably. Calvert told the *Daily* that student reaction to the vigil had been generally indifferent. At the same time, according to press accounts, the Ames Council for Peace in Vietnam was organizing a teach-in on the night of March 26 in the Sun Room of the Memorial Union. Professors were being encouraged to take time in their classes to discuss the war. Calvert's department head, Dr. Clarence Matterson, took a benevolent view toward this request. He told the *Daily* he had no idea how many teachers in his department opened up classes for discussion, but, he said, they were free to do so if they wished.

In spite of energetic efforts by a few SDS leaders — such as John Grassidonio — the organization largely remained a captive of the conservative campus environment. While SDS and other campus radicals were bringing other universities figuratively and literally to a standstill, it was more or less business as usual at Iowa State.

Within a couple of years, SDS would be known for demonstrations, however. They were usually small, but were of the type that left an impression, especially one at an all-service military review on campus.

An example of this caution occurred in May 1967, when Grassidonio formulated and presented plans for a SDS-led demonstration at the all-service military review three days hence. It was to be peaceful protest, featuring "legions of peace" bearing flowers. Even this seemed too radical for SDS members, who voted not to support the demonstration as an organization, though several members pledged to participate.

Thus, on Saturday afternoon, May 7, during the Veishea celebrations, Grassidonio's plan was put into effect, but without an 'official' sponsor. The target was the all-service ROTC march past a reviewing stand containing President W. Robert Parks and visiting generals and other military officials from the three services.

As the troops set off, they were joined by anti-war protesters, who fell in behind the cadets. As the demonstrators passed the reviewing stand, one of their number shouted, "Present flowers!" and the group held up yellow bouquets (*Daily*, May 9, 1967).

The marchers then presented their flowers to President Parks and military officials on the review stand. One officer, according to the *Daily*, dashed his flower to the ground after Grassidonio had presented it to him. One woman visitor was reported in the paper as saying, "and this used to be such a nice campus."

This disgruntled spectator must have relished what happened next. After the demonstrators had passed the reviewing stand, they were challenged by the Navy ROTC band, which had played the song of each of the three service units as they passed in review. Once they had finished playing, bandsmen marched across the field and into the demonstrators. It is not clear whether they were under orders or acted spontaneously, but, in any event, their action brought a cheer from the crowd, which consisted primarily of parents and friends of ROTC students. There followed a scene out of the Keystone Cops films with the Navy Band pursuing the demonstrators around the field — until the demonstrators dispersed.

Protests on campus were not just directed against the military or its ROTC units.

Businesses and industries, as well as government agencies planning campus interview trips, were targeted across the United States — so much so that some precipitated violence by even mention of their planned presence. The first such intervention at Iowa State occurred in November 1967 when it was learned that Dow Chemical Company planned to come to Ames to conduct job interviews with graduating seniors. The problem, of course, was that Dow produced napalm, a highly inflammable and destructive weapon dropped by the Air Force in Vietnam.

Typical of the leadership at this time — both administrative and radical — a meeting was held between four protestors and President Parks to discuss the administration's willingness to make interview facilities available to Dow.

Whereas on some campuses, raucous, even violent confrontations took place in such situations, Iowa State's radicals chose to hold a fast to protest "the war in Vietnam in general and Dow being on campus in specific." This particular demonstration was organized by Don Smith, an anti-war activist who, months earlier, was president of the Government of the Student Body. Smith said he had a list of 39 people who planned to fast for 30 hours — which was "the amount of time Dow plans to stay on campus," according to the Nov. 10, 1967 *Daily*.

Although Smith led this particular 'fast,' his role in the anti-war movement was secondary to other activists like Grassidonio and Tom Slockett. Retired journalism professor Bill Kunerth said he recalled Smith being involved, but not to the same extent that other SDS members were (Kunerth interview).

The protest against the presence of Dow Chemical recruiters was symbolic of the level of protest occurring on campus against the war in the pre-Tet era. Most faculty members, to judge from the *Daily*'s silence, were tacit supporters of the war effort — at least before Tet. At least they were not expressing opposition publicly. Only a handful were willing to go on record — and few were actually willing to speak out or give interviews to the *Daily*. Notable exceptions at this time were Richard Van Iten, philosophy, and Norris Yates, English. Two other exceptions were Prof. Ward W. Bauder, sociology, and Prof. Aaron Lowin, psychology. According to the *Daily*, they were among 1,300 members of the American Sociological Association to sign an open letter to President Johnson and members of Congress urging an immediate halt to the bombing in North Vietnam and

"phased withdrawal" of American troops from Vietnam (Jan. 10, 1968). No other members of the department were listed as having signed the letter.

A few days later (Jan. 16, 1968) — at a time when the number of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam had reached 525,000 — the *Daily* reported that two faculty members had publicly demonstrated against the war. Prof. Norris Yates, English, and Prof. Robert Meuhlmann, philosophy, had turned in their draft cards symbolically (although probably unintentionally) at the Trophy Tavern of the Memorial Union. The *Daily*, in covering this story, also reported the faculty members who turned in their draft cards had become "a matter of concern" to the State Board of Regents, according to Board President Stanley Redeker of Boone.

Then came the Tet Offensive of January 1968 and the shockwaves that swept the nation over the fact the Viet Cong had actually held the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, even if for just a few hours. In spite of the heavy losses suffered by the enemy, the most important casualty was American public opinion, which was stunned by the realization that we were not only not winning, but there was, in fact, no "light at the end of the tunnel," as President Johnson had promised.

As anti-war sentiment mounted and campuses grew even more restive and radical, Iowa State still proved capable of understated outrage. For example, in September 1968, the protesters emerged again — by staging a quiet anti-war demonstration. According to the *Daily* (Sept. 12, 1968), about 30 students silently protested the war during the presentations of ROTC awards in the Armory. The *Daily* reported that, "except for a few giggles and some quiet whispering among themselves, the demonstrators did nothing to disrupt the ceremony." Possibly the greatest distraction came, not from the protesters, but from a cameraman from WOI-TV, who was "obviously concerned about some signs, going through various contortions in an attempt to keep from exposing the television audience to some of the signs."

The demonstration was not accompanied by flame-throwing rhetoric: on the contrary, the unofficial leader of the group, Steve Ewoldt, was quoted as saying he was "hoping for a year of increased political activity on campus." Not exactly the stuff of rebellion.

It was to be 13 months before anything happened to validate Ewoldt's hopes.

As a result of Tet and other events, an increasingly growing minority of students and faculty members came together to argue against the war. If anything, this sentiment was running stronger and deeper throughout most of the United States (except in the South) and abroad. This was the impetus that led to a Vietnam Moratorium Day on Oct. 15, 1969. In Ames, some 3,000 people jammed C.Y. Stephens Auditorium for a convocation. Afterwards, some 1,500 persons marched east on Lincoln Way to Northwestern Avenue to protest outside the Story County draft board office.

These events triggered one of the most forthright editorials to appear in the *Iowa State Daily* over the Vietnam War. An editorial on Oct. 16, 1969 recapped the previous day's events:

It was headlined "YESTERDAY," and said in part:

"Oct. 15 is over -- never to return. But the moratorium is not over. The war is not over...

"Over on the campus 3,000 persons took their time yesterday to say that they do not like America's men being killed. They do not like the principles of this country being contradicted by a thoughtless war which will have no victor.

"It is unfortunate the President has said he will pay no attention to the speeches, the marches and demonstrations. This 'vocal minority' is growing and Mr. Nixon has an obligation to at least listen to the desires of the group...."

In spite of the march on the Story County Draft Board in downtown Ames, there was confrontation, but no violence or tear gas or arrests. The students had protested, but within the constraints of law and order.

They finally went 'over the top' some six months later in response to the shooting by the Ohio National Guard of four students at Kent State University on May 4, 1970 (*Daily*, May 5, 1970). This precipitated an immediate demonstration on campus involving 3,000 persons and lasting four hours. It came hard on the heels of Ames' own protest involving 400 persons on May 2 against President Nixon's decision to extend the Southeast Asian war to Cambodia (*Daily*, May 5, 1970).

Virtually all page one coverage for the next three days was given over to protests on campus and beyond against the war, with particular focus on reaction to the Kent State shootings. The senate of the Government of the Student Body

voted, 15-11, for a 24-hour strike, beginning at noon on May 6, to be accompanied by a mass rally (*Daily*, May 6, 1970). Pages 2, 6, 8 and 11 of that same day's newspaper were devoted to reactions on other campuses.

Editorially, the *Daily* lined up solidly on the side of protest, in spite of the fact that "we have a president who consistently ignores it" (*Daily*, May 6, 1970). The editors warned against resorting to the violent tactics "of the power structure" and urged students to refrain from "seeking vengeance for those killed in Vietnam and now those killed on our campuses." The right thing, according to the *Daily*, was "to continue to protest policies with which we disagree. Someday, someone will listen."

As a result, the *Daily* urged students to join the strike and attend the memorial services on May 6 on central campus. Even members of the "silent majority," it argued, should "at least attend the memorial service and hear what the 'other wise' has to say" (*Daily*, May 6, 1970).

Some 3,000 persons gathered at noon near the steps of Curtiss Hall for what was supposed to be a meeting of "speeches and dialogue" about things that could be done to get the campus more involved against the war in Cambodia. According to the *Daily*, several speakers argued the case for some kind of non-violent protest, with GSB Vice-President Jerry Parkin declaring that Nixon had "made a mistake" by sending troops into Cambodia. "We must show him it was a mistake," he added (*Daily*, May 7, 1970).

What had been an orderly rally took a dramatic turn when Bob Trembly, Econ. 4, read what he called a memo from the Dean of Sciences and Humanities, Chalmer Roy, declaring that all political science classes would be held as usual during the strike.

"I say we have had enough 'business as usual,'" he declared. He then called for a peaceful sit-in at the ROTC drill field, where Air Force cadets were having a class. The *Daily* estimated that three-fourths of the crowd then migrated to the field just west of the Armory under the leadership of former student Clyde Brown, who asked the group to go "with love and not hate." But, he added, ROTC cadets were being trained to kill and must be told that what they were doing was wrong (*Daily*, May 7, 1970).

According to the *Daily*, the protesters swarmed over the drill field and effectively disrupted the AFROTC drill. After that, the demonstrators descended on the Armory, where they unfolded bleachers and sang. The *Daily* story gives no indication who was in charge, but it's clear that the Armory session was an interlude, during which it was decided that the next target was a blockade at the intersection of Lincoln Way and Beach Avenue. The *Daily* describes how the group moved, en masse, down Morrill road, past Beardshear, gaining strength as they went. Numbers at this point were estimated at 4,000 (*Daily*, May 7, 1970).

When they reached their targeted intersection, some 1,500 demonstrators sat down, thus blocking traffic from all directions for 10 minutes. At that point, a hand vote was held on whether to march on the draft board in downtown Ames. About 1,000 demonstrators (presumably mainly students) decided to continue the march and set off east on Lincoln Way towards the draft board at 414 Northwestern Ave. The others either drifted away or else stayed behind to listen to an impromptu concert by a group called the Jugband (*Daily*, May 7, 1970).

The main phalanx was given some support by Ames police, who blocked traffic on to Lincoln Way in order to prevent west-bound cars from drifting into the east-bound marchers, who were chanting, "We don't want Nixon's war, we don't want any war" and singing, "All we are saying, is give peace a chance" (*Daily*, May 7, 1970). The demonstrators marched east on Lincoln Way all the way to Duff Avenue, then turned north for two blocks, before heading west on Main Street, toward the Selective Service Center, where they sat down on the lawn, apparently intending to conduct something like a vigil (*Daily*, May 7, 1970).

A handful of protesters spent the night outside the building. The *Daily* story is imprecise at this point, but it appears that at least two dozen demonstrators entered the building the following morning when the doors were unlocked and planted themselves on the inside stairs that led to the Selective Service office within the building. Shortly after 9, police arrived and asked them to leave. The demonstrators refused. Police warned that tear gas would be used if necessary. Efforts by officials from the ISU Dean of Students Office failed to persuade the group to disperse. At this point, police evacuated the building and a tear gas canister was released in the lobby (*Daily*, May 8, 1970).

As the canister's contents did their work, demonstrators "came stumbling and coughing out into the bright sunshine." But the struggle was far from over. Some of the gassed demonstrators flopped to the ground and resisted arrest. Mace and blackjacks were used by police to hand-cuff and arrest 23 demonstrators (*Daily*, May 8, 1970).

Although the *Daily* played these events with two photos on page one, the editors seemed reluctant to pass judgment either way on the draft board demonstrators or the police. On the other hand, the *Daily* carried editorials on three consecutive mornings about the importance of peaceful dissent as the best hope for stopping the spread of war and stopping "the spread of the idea that war will end war" (*Daily*, May 7, 1970). The next day, the editors stressed the importance of non-violence on the grounds that "violence has only had the effect of hardening opposing feelings" (May 8, 1970).

On Saturday, May 9, the day of the Veishea parade, the *Daily* sought to weave together the importance of protest while protecting the equal rights of all persons, including those who supported the government's positions. The editorial made no mention of the Draft Board arrests, but focused instead on the importance of Americans using peaceful means to "communicate to others that the distress over the Indo-China situation is not just confined to radical students." Rather than draft board barricades to protest against the war, *Daily* editors favored writing "your government officials" and participating in discussions about Cambodia in a way that would "not let this issue become polarized and then appear to be the pet ideal of one group" (*Daily*, May 9, 1970).

In spite of the *Daily*'s call for moderation and mediation, tensions were still running high, both on campus and around the draft board. Downtown, the Selective Service office was the site of two more days of student protest. On Friday, May 8, some 150 people rallied in an effort to ensure that no one would be drafted from Story County that day (*Daily*, May 9, 1970). The office remained closed the following Monday as 50 protesters congregated at a parking lot adjacent to the building (*Daily*, May 12, 1970).

That same morning, the draft board protesters decided to shift their focus from picketing the Pyle Office Building to stopping a bus that was scheduled to depart at

6 a.m. with a group of 41 men being taken to Des Moines for their pre-induction draft physicals. The *Daily*'s front page the following morning was devoted entirely to four stories dealing with Cambodia and Vietnam.

It is interesting that many stories written about the demonstrations and war-related controversies at this time did not include the reporter's name. Most were simply credited to a *Daily* staff writer or writers or contained no by-line reference at all. The same held true for photographs. On May 13, for example, only one of the four front-page stories was linked to a person by name. Neither of the two photos was credited. Two explanations are possible. It may have been a policy of the editor only to give by-lines to persons on the *Daily* holding an official position, such as University Editor Scott Jacobs. The other possibility is that names were purposefully eschewed on any story that could conceivably go into someone's dossier and be used to his or her disadvantage at a later date. Probably the first hypothesis offers the best explanation, but these were difficult times and a certain degree of paranoia — or caution — was in the wind.

The three front-page articles on May 13 that carried no author identification included the lead story about some 100 or more persons who had attampted to stop the bus leaving with draftees. In fact, the coach was delayed for only about 10 minutes while police forcibly cleared a path by arresting some 15 persons — including English Professor Norris Yates. They were charged with unlawful assembly, disturbing the peace and, in four cases, resisting arrest. The *Daily* reported that the bond for the entire group, amounting to $3,500, had been collected by 2 p.m. that same Tuesday "through donations and loans on the campus" (*Daily*, May 13, 1970).

Two other front-page stories appeared that same day without by-lines. One reported that the Story County draft board had been moved from the Pyle Office Building to the Ames Post Office at Kellogg Avenue and Fifth Street. Robert Pyle told the reporter that the relocation was permanent and the reason for the move was "fairly obvious," especially in view of the fact that protesters had gathered outside the draft board office for the past five or six days (*Daily*, May 13, 1970).

The other story without a by-line reported on a counter-demonstration involving 200 persons and three cement trucks in support of Nixon's Cambodian policies.

The *Daily* reported that the group, reportedly comprised primarily of local businessmen, marched from the Bandshell to the west end of Main Street waving American flags and singing patriotic songs. Two Ames Ready-Mix concrete trucks led the procession and another one brought up the rear. According to the *Daily*, storekeepers and workers "poured out of their establishments, stood on the sidewalks and clapped as the flag-waving marchers passed" (*Daily*, May 13, 1970).

The one front-page story on May 13 with a by-line (by University Editor Scott Jacobs) reported cancellation of the Governor's Day Review ceremony of campus ROTC units on May 16. The reason for the decision was to avoid a possible conflict that could have resulted in physical violence. President Parks said he "reluctantly" concurred with the decision in view of the "tense and difficult" situation that had been created throughout the state and across the nation as a result of Cambodia and the Kent State shootings (*Daily*, May 13, 1970).

President Parks' support of the decision to cancel the ROTC review provided a good indication of the emotionally charged atmosphere that existed on campus immediately after the Kent State shootings. The President had consistently sought to maintain an even keel on campus through dialogue and discussion. So for him to cancel an event like this was most unusual. But spring 1970 was the tensest of times of all on campus. Not only had news of the Cambodian bombings sparked violent protests and demonstrations, but racial tensions, already badly strained, reached fever pitch on campus in May 1970 (see chapter three).

Another explosive problem facing Parks in May 1970 was Veishea — or, more specifically, the Veishea parade and the possibility that it would be turned into a battleground between pro- and anti-war forces. Veishea, the largest student-run festival in the nation, was scheduled for May 7-9. The shootings at Kent State occurred on Monday, May 4. The mass meeting and the march on the draft board were clear indicators that the Veishea parade could become a lightning rod for violence.

Although decisions surrounding the Veishea parade were covered by the *Daily*, the events themselves fall outside a strict definition of this thesis. However, it is worth a brief digression to illustrate the administrative philosophy that prevailed on campus at this time — and which almost certainly influenced the *Daily*'s attitudes.

Apart from the Veishea Central Committee, the two key players in this drama were President Parks and Veishea's faculty adviser, Neil Harl, now a distinguished professor of economics. As soon as news of the Kent State shootings reached campus, Harl recalled, some people insisted that Veishea should be canceled. But, he added, the Central Committee "felt otherwise" (Harl interview). Instead, the group concentrated on making last minute changes that could address the situation. Four changes were recommended, of which two directly affected the parade.

One was a ban on weapons. Traditionally, military units, such as ROTC and outside drill teams had carried rifles, but, in the wake of Kent State, it was decided even to prohibit the color guards from carrying rifles. Even the St. Joseph Stepperettes from Des Moines were told that they could not carry their mock (wooden) guns in the parade — a decision, according to Harl, that caused their leader to complain in the *Des Moines Tribune* that this was un-American (Harl interview).

But the Central Committee held firm, primarily because it had been warned by one protest group that if there were weapons in the parade, they were going to march with .22-caliber rifles. "I remember some of our Central Committee people's eyes rolling and saying what will happen when people look up and see this ragtag group of longhairs coming down the street with .22 rifles" (Harl interview).

The other decision by the Central Committee was to create another, final unit of unlimited size in Saturday's parade. It was called a "March of Concern." Anyone who wanted to show concern over the Kent State shootings and recents events in the war in Southeast Asia was invited to join the parade (just behind the Nevada High School band). That was to be followed by a mass meeting with an open microphone on central campus near the campanile (*Daily*, May 7, 1970 and Harl interview).

As Harl recalls, the final decision about Veishea rested with President Parks, who had summoned three of his vice presidents for a meeting on Wednesday morning, May 5. Harl was asked to by Central Committee to represent them at the meeting. According to Harl, the Central Committee's proposals were opposed by Carl Hamilton, who did not think they would work, and for a while it looked like

Veishea might be canceled. Harl recalled telling Parks that the Central Committee thought Veishea should go ahead. Parks promised an answer the following morning, but said, meanwhile, plans should go forward.

On Thursday, on his way to opening ceremonies, Parks told Harl, "There's some dissent, but I've decided we're going to go through with your ideas. Let us know if there's anything we can do" (Harl interview).

For its part, the *Iowa State Daily* supported the efforts to make Veishea "more meaningful to these critical times" in spite of the fact that the event was seen by some as "a waste of time and money" (May 8, 1970). "The time for criticizing Veishea is now past," the editors wrote, "the money has been spent and the manpower has been fully expended. But it is not too late for students to gain from Veishea." The question, according to the *Daily*, was how to do it.

> Some may want to use the time to expose local or national injustices. Others might use the time to hide the bad and accentuate the good....
> It can be a weekend of drinking beer and doing dope; but it could also be a weekend of communicating with parents, faculty and fellow students.
> Or attempting to persuade these people through civil disobedience.
> But the decision is yours. What kind of a weekend will this be for you? (*Daily*, May 8, 1970).

The *Daily*'s support for Veishea was tempered by a boxed statement on page five (not the editorial page) under the title:

visit the *daily*'s veishea display (*Daily*, May 8, 1970).

"Please stop and ponder what the display stands for," the commentary continued.

"You can't miss it — its most striking characteristic is that it doesn't exist."

As the editorial commentary noted, there was no *Daily* display — just a spot on the ground floor of Beardshear Hall that had been reserved for one. If you want the University on display, the editors declared, you should read the *Daily*.

> But if you want to see an educational institution wallowing in conceit and meaningless tradition, visit the displays, the robots, the applications of plastic, the computer society in miniature.
> We have committed ourselves as journalists to telling it like it is — a trite

> euphemism for objectivity. The Veishea displays, in our opinion, tell what the dreamers think it is like. We cannot in good conscience build a display which lends support to a dream world.
>
> So long as our black brothers and sisters are dying of starvation in Biafra and America's ghettos; so long as our yellow brothers and sisters are dying from bullets manufactured by a blood-thirsty America; so long as our white brothers and sisters are being killed by the same war machine in Asia's rice paddies and main street USA, we will continue to push for a revamp of priorities, and we begin at home (May 8, 1970).

Although the sentiments might have been heartfelt, it's puzzling that this statement appeared on page five, next to the movie advertisements. Under almost any other circumstances, this ringing denunciation of society's ills would have enjoyed the pride of a place on the editorial page. One can only muse a bit over the understandable possibility that the *Daily* was so busy covering so many important breaking stories that no one had time to even contemplate a Veishea display. Thus the editors may have decided at the eleventh hour to put the best possible face on their empty booth. But this, of course, is mere conjecture.

Veishea itself went off without any major hitches and the "March of Concern" proved to be a rousing success. According to Harl, who expected about 50 people to join at the end of the parade, there were thousands. "Up until that event," Harl added, "the protest activity was mainly fringe. What we saw that morning were ordinary, middle-class, short hair Americans" falling in behind the Nevada High School marching band. When people saw the makeup of the marchers, Harl added, "they knew that things had changed" in America (Harl interview).

After the parade, about 2,000 persons gathered near the campanile, where President Parks made what Harl described as "clearly the best address he gave in his 21 years here as president" (Harl interview). Parks had been asked beforehand to speak to the group, but he apparently had no prepared text and spoke only for a few minutes. According to the *Daily*, the President was greeted with cheers of "Hip, Hip, Hooray" when he said.

> "I am glad this rally is being held for peace. I know you are concerned, deeply concerned about what happened at Kent State and recent developments in Southeast Asia.
>
> "I am concerned too. Bringing peace is the most important problem facing us.

> As president, I want to say you are going about it in the right way.
> "If the university is not concerned with deep human problems such as bringing peace, then what should it be concerned with?" (*Daily*, May 12, 1970).

A university should be a place for discussion, he added, promising to do everything possible "to resist pressures and keep this University open." Parks also pleaded with the crowd to keep demonstrations and protests peaceful. "They must be kept peaceful," he added, "or you will lose the crowd. I beg of you to make peaceful protests an everyday happening" (*Daily*, May 12, 1970).

When he finished, the President was given a standing ovation. Parks "addressed the tone of the event perfectly," according to Harl. "There were so many campuses where the president was under seige. There were campuses that were closed and here was the protest group giving him a standing ovation." Harl called it "one of the most gripping moments on this campus in this century" (Harl interview).

It was also a moment that went without editorial comment in the *Daily*, though the editors did applaud the President for his announcement the following Monday that he was urging instructors to "work understandingly" with any students wishing to complete courses early so they could devote their energies to the political situation — "whether against or for the Indochina war" (*Daily*, May 12, 1970).

The editors recognized that letting students finish early or leave campus was a step well beyond the norm. But, they added, "the turmoil over this country's political and military position is also aside from the norm." Some will criticize the idea of turning students loose early to create more turmoil, the editorial continued, but "We believe responsible students will prevent turmoil rather than enhance it" (*Daily*, May 12, 1970). The time for apathy is past, the *Daily* continued. "We hope that political beliefs of faculty members will in no way bar any student from becoming more politically active...and we hope the students will use this time — peacefully and responsibly" (*Daily*, May 12, 1970).

Just over a week later, the editors returned to the charge, focusing this time on the "understanding gap" that existed between students and "the over thirty group" with regard to politics generally and Vietnam particularly (May 20, 1970). The editorial devoted several paragraphs to explaining how each group viewed the

political process and history, laying special emphasis on the forces that have shaped the thinking of the "over thirty group."

In contrast to their elders, the editorial added, youth today feel U.S. intervention in Indochina is not legally or morally justifiable. It continued with a plea-cum-warning to the over thirty group:

> We hope the youth will not become discouraged with the methods of dissent established by this country and turn to violence as an easier method of change.
>
> But youth will be forced to the brink of violence unless many of the people in this country will at least accept the possibility that this country can make a mistake and that the rights established by the country are for everyone, regardless of their opinion.
>
> Youth claim to see a flaw and they are trying to point it out to others. And with the principles of this country as they are, youth have a right to be heard as well as seen. Repressing this will only lead to violence (*Daily*, May 20, 1970).

The editor's sense of frustration was also evident in editorials in mid-May in which they continued to urge strong protest (including civil disobedience) by peaceful means (*Daily*, May 8, 1970), but also spelled out the rights of all citizens if they are "stopped by the police, or arrested, whether you are guilty or not." Included in the advice for those stopped by the police was the admonition that, "Whatever happens you must not resist arrest even if you are innocent" (*Daily*, May 14, 1970).

In fact, the unrest on campus over Cambodia and Vietnam had reached its high-water mark during the week of Veishea 1970 with the draft-board sit-in and the March of Concern. Six weeks later, President Nixon removed American troops from Cambodia, returning that part of the war to a strictly Vietnamese affair. And, while memories of the shootings at Kent State remained vivid, Nixon's pullback caused campus protests generally to subside.

The Parks philosophy had prevailed. So, too, had the *Daily*, with its constant theme of peaceful dissent and responsible protest (*Daily*, May 9, 12, 20, 1970). One reason for this was doubtless the composition of the student body at Iowa State. As President Parks recalled in 1998, "It was a nervous time, but much less on this campus than most....It was much calmer here than even Iowa City" (Parks interview). Parks said it was not uncommon in those days to see college presidents at a national meeting "and never see them again." They were either

forced out because of student rioting, he surmised, or else "they became unglued." Parks said such events claimed presidents at places like Columbia University, Cornell University and Duke. These men were, he said, "victims of the protest period" (Parks interview).

Parks himself was not a victim. In fact, he not only survived, but emerged with his reputation enhanced by his efforts as president of the university at this time. A visit with Parks provides some insights into the personality that allowed him to defuse even the most explosive of situations. For example, about his speech after the March of Concern, the former president recalled "everybody was afraid maybe the so-called radicals would take over...The radicals were all there. They were shocked when I said, 'I'm glad you're protesting the Vietnam War. It think that's right. I just want you to keep it peaceful.' It sort of took the air out" (Parks interview).

Even so, Parks and the administration might have had their hands full if the student body had been more diverse and cosmopolitan. As it was, perhaps 70-75 percent were Iowans who had no experience in the business of dissent, let alone protest and upheaval. For example, Parks recalled how some "peaceniks" wanted to protest the war by preventing the campus ROTC unit from raising their American flag. GSB President Jerry Schnoor brought the protesters to Beardshear to talk to the President, who hit on a compromise solution. "Why don't you raise the flag," he suggested, "but do it upside down?" Parks later described this as perhaps "the dumbest suggestion" he had ever made, but the idea seemed to work and everyone was happy. Besides, Parks added, "they were probably looking for some way to end the thing anyway" (Parks interview).

It may have been this unwillingness to provoke a full frontal confrontation by all but the most radical student demonstrators, but Parks and his staff never did call out the National Guard, at a time when its presence or absence was a kind of benchmark of authority on campuses. "That's one reason," Parks added, "why everybody congratulated us for getting through it with no trouble" (Parks interview).

Looking back on those years in 1998, Parks was generous with his praise. "I didn't handle it by myself by any means." He said members of the administration and faculty were "great in this time" because they didn't wait in their offices. "They went out and talked to students on the street and made themselves very available.

They had good rapport."

The former president also praised state and local officials at that time for taking a non-confrontational approach to the protests. "I was terribly lucky in those days that Bob Ray was governor. He's a Republican, I'm a Democrat, but it made no difference. We were good friends." Parks said Governor Ray resisted the temptation that so many governors succumbed to at that time by taking over, sending troops to campus and becoming local heroes. "Bob Ray understood. We had a governor that knew what a university was and sympathized with those of us who didn't want to stir things up" (Parks interview).

Parks also praised Ames Mayor Stuart Smith, who, he said, handled the situation in a similar manner. He also gave "a lot of credit" to Police Chief Arnie Siedelmann, who was "a calm guy...nice to students. He always tried to calm things down rather than flare them up. He was very considerate and wise, too. For example, if he ever had to arrest a student, he never did it in the Union."

Reflecting back, Parks said the thing that pleased him the most was that "we got through it without really jeopardizing anybody's civil rights." The Administration didn't like the way some of the protests went, he added, but it did not try to get any injunctions against protesters or force or prohibit action in other ways. In that sense, he added, "We never ourselves offered a target to protest against." Bottom line, though, Parks said his tolerant attitude toward the campus protesters was shaped by the fact that "I agreed with them on most things. I thought the Vietnam war was a hideous thing and I wished we were out of it. I wanted us out of it as much as they did" (Parks interview).

"If you look back, and I think I was conscious of this at the time, this was a nasty sort of thing — these campus protests. But don't ever kid yourself," he added. "they helped close down the war" (Parks interview).

The importance of Parks' role and the attitude of Iowa State students was echoed by both former Journalism and Mass Communication head James Schwartz and Terry Gogerty, who was editor of the *Daily* in 1970-71. Schwartz called Parks a "very insightful leader" at a time when many Presidents were losing their jobs because politicians "didn't think they were doing a good enough job of stomping the students into the ground." Instead, Schwartz added, Parks managed

the situation in such a way that the students "never rebelled against the administration and tried to take it over" (Schwartz interview).

As for the students working on the *Daily*, Schwartz said he "was very proud of them. I thought they acted in a very responsible and professional way in covering events on campus. I thought they were doing their jobs as a good journalist would" (Schwartz interview). For his part, former editor Gogerty identified a concern that Parks also shared. The former President lamented that "some were in it for fun and games" (Parks interview). The former editor was even harsher. "There was so much of the peace movement," he said on reflection, "that was glorified panty raids. You never call it that but it was spring fever for a bunch of hormonally crazed college students." Neither Parks and Gogerty, on reflection, had much time for those who were "just out for the ride," but both expressed admiration for those who were extremely sincere in their anti-war efforts (Parks and Gogerty interviews).

A very important aspect of the Vietnam war that involved the kind of division among students that Parks and Gogerty described involved the military draft. The most fundamental of all questions that needed to be answered was: Should I serve my country or not?

If not, then young men had two options to consider. The first was to resist the war actively on moral grounds and, say, burn their draft cards or even move to Canada and become a bonafide draft dodger. Short of that, two other escape routes existed — at least for a while. The first was marriage. But when the government eliminated matrimony as grounds for military deferment, the only other way for university students to avoid the draft was to enroll in graduate school (and this, of course, was mainly a means of buying time).

Which was the better course? That was the thrust of an editorial in the *Daily* as early as Sept. 17, 1965. Under the headline, "Viet Nam Spawns A Perplexing Paradox," Associate Editor Weyland Beeghly wrote:

"The same students who color pacifists 'Red' are often those who once ruled out graduate study, but are now experiencing a new thirst for knowledge, as they throng to graduate schools, they'll be joined by newlyweds, who discovered too late that marriage won't stave off Uncle Sam....

"The paradox is that those who resist the armed services because of personal

convictions are called gutless, while the patriots who escape for less profound reasons are considered shrewd — at least by their peers. Apparently expediency is more reputable than conviction in the new morality."

If the war in the abstract was becoming increasingly abhorrent, the *Daily* was even less sanguine about the military draft and about concerns that some of the escape hatches for students were being closed. The *Daily* articulated these student fears again in a news story and on the editorial page one month later (*Daily*, Oct. 25, 1966).

The news story reported that students who were previously given deferments were now being classified as draft eligible (1-A status) because they were not making "satisfactory progress toward graduation." The Iowa director of the Selective Service, Col. Glenn R. Bowles, explained that students must have the required number of credit hours to be classified as one year further advanced at the end of each year.

The *Daily* reported a study of the 1964-65 graduating class conducted by Registrar Fred Schlunz showing that only 20 per cent of the students graduated in four years (12 quarters). Another 37 per cent graduated in 12 quarters and a summer session. These figures included both men and women.

Schlunz was quoted as saying "If the selective service would go back to class rankings, there would still be injustices, but the normal progress clause really hurts Iowa State."

At least three county draft boards, Story, Boone and Benton, had reclassified Iowa State students 1-A, according to the *Daily*. Students were unsure of the reasons for their classification. Several had all-college averages of 3.00 or better. All the students, however, lacked sufficient credits for their proper year classification. The story added that "It is not known if other selective service boards have taken the same action."

The article cited several academic advisers who had expressed concern that the draft boards "have changed the rules" on them. One complained that he had been under the impression that students were safe from the draft so long as they enrolled for at least 12 hours a quarter.

Editor Eric Abbott responded that day under the headline, "An Unjust 1-A." He

criticized the apparent shift in drafting procedures from grades to the progress they are making toward graduation.

"A changed policy could possibly mean many would be drafted, especially in light of increased demands for men in Vietnam...."

Abbott stressed that, in engineering, some curricula required over 18 hours of classwork each quarter to stay on schedule. "It would be difficult or impossible," he added, "for students to keep on schedule without becoming a slave to hours — not to education."

If appeals by Iowa State students failed to change their classification back to II-S, he warned, "maybe it is time to reconsider releasing information to draft boards."

Two days later, Abbott was back with an editorial headlined: "Appeal 1-A Classification." He reported that Bowles, Iowa director of Selective Service, had yesterday recommended that students reclassified 1-A should appeal immediately to their local draft boards.

Those affected, he wrote, should appeal their 1-A classifications immediately by notifying their local boards, and following other recommendations made by Bowles, such as getting letters from advisers, department heads and deans explaining why a student is not making 'normal progress.' It is important, he explained, that those reclassified 1-A appeal within 10 days, or they will lose the right to appeal.

"After appealing it will be up to the local draft boards to decide whether or not to reconsider draft status and give students back their deferments." At the same time, editor Abbott was not optimistic about the long-range outlook for Iowa college men. "Draft boards across Iowa are gradually turning to colleges in one way or another to fill their quotas. If the war continues at its present pace, more student calls seem inevitable."

There had not been any tremendous increase in draft calls lately, and probably would not be until the Nov. 8 elections and the Christmas season are over, he explained. But Gen. William C. Westmoreland had asked for reportedly large increases in troops, and, Abbott added, he "may get them early next year" (*Daily*, Oct. 27, 1966).

While vulnerability to the draft would remain an issue, the apparent restoration of college deferments for acceptable grades took some of the edge off this aspect of

the anti-war movement. There were a series of volatile demonstrations on campus through 1971, but by Veishea 1972, the atmosphere had taken a distinct turn toward the placid. On May 6, 1972, the Daily carried a front page story headlined, "Campus mood -- definitely different now."

In this article, the reporter recalled the demonstrations of 1970 and observed that Nixon's decision to renew the bombing of North Vietnam "could have set the stage for renewed protests." The *Daily* noted that there were a few sporadic demonstrations and seizures of buildings on various campuses, but nothing compared to the upheaval of 1970. "What happened to the electrified atmosphere of the 1970s? What is this change in mood or interest?" The *Daily* didn't have an answer, but it seemed disturbed by this course of events.

An editorial on the same day (May 6), was headlined, "Tranquil ISU -- quiet decay." Visitors to the Iowa State campus today, it said, would find the atmosphere much as it was years ago: "quiet, conservative, tranquil to the point of being just a little out of step with the world beyond Iowa's borders."

The editors lamented this return to placidity. "There are those of us who can remember when even sober, studious Iowa State students got excited about something more important than the Veishea parade." Those days are gone now, the editorial noted, and "no one quite knows why, because the Indochina war that triggered student outrage two years ago still goes on."

The *Daily* staff might have taken some comfort from the fact that an anti-war rally on campus three days later drew 1,500 protestors to central campus. But with U.S. troops being withdrawn (not increased) in Vietnam, most Americans could finally see the light at the end of the tunnel — even if it was not quite the result that President Johnson and Gen. William Westmoreland had envisioned when they popularized that phrase. In fact, the campus mood appears to have definitely swung away from confrontation toward other issues, such as Watergate.

A study of *Daily* news coverage and editorials dealing with Watergate and the possible involvement of President Richard M. Nixon, shows two flurries of activity. These occurred immediately after the President fired his special prosecutor in October 1973 and again in April 1974. Initially, the *Daily*, like any provincial paper reliant on wire services, made little or nothing of the news of the break-in at the

Democratic National Committee's headquarters on June 17, 1972. Throughout the summer and autumn the Washington Post was almost alone in its pursuit of possible direct linkages between the burglars and the White House generally and the Oval Office in particular (Emery and Emery, 446-47).

Meanwhile, it was business as usual on campus as the Nixon re-election juggernaut rolled over a disorganized and embattled George McGovern (after first having sabotaged Sen. Edmund Muskie's efforts to win the Democratic nomination). This occurred in spite of a story by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein in October that linked Watergate to the Plumber's Unit and a White House plan for massive spying and political espionage against "enemies" of the President. News about the break-in and cover-up began to subsume the nation during winter and spring 1973, but the *Daily* itself remained largely silent on developments, usually running news service accounts and commentary.

The event that turned Watergate into a three-ring media circus was the revelation on July 16, 1973 that there existed a full set of tapes of all Oval Office conversations. These had been secretly ordered by President Nixon in 1970 and could provide definitive proof (or not) of the existence of the so-called "smoking gun" that might link the President to the cover-up. President Nixon fought hard to keep the tapes private on the grounds of Presidential privilege, but was forced in July 1974 to hand them over after the Supreme Court voted, 8-0, against him.

Students and faculty were following the developments intensely, but the *Daily* and others on campus were still in kind of a post-Vietnam limbo that precluded any protests or expressions of moral outrage. The one exception occurred in late 1973 after the so-called Saturday Night Massacre on Oct. 20, when Attorney General Elliot Richardson resigned rather than do Nixon's bidding. At the same time, the President fired the Deputy Attorney General and the White House Special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox (Nixon's own appointee), because they had challenged the President over the Watergate tapes (Emery and Emery, 449 and Emmerson interview).

The shock of this action by the President reverberated through Ames like no other event associated with political intrigue or scandal. The *Daily* came out with guns blazing on Oct. 24. In an editorial decrying the President's firing of Cox, it

compared Nixon's action to those of Adolph Hitler and juxtaposed the action against the backdrop of the upcoming Veteran's Day remembrances.

"Yes, that day brought to mind pictures of American military men marching the streets under the waving flags of freedom, liberty and justice," the editor wrote. "It was also reminiscent of a time just prior to World War II when a German 'commander in chief' screamed orders to a people blinded by those authoritarian demands...." (Oct. 24, 1973). The next day the *Daily* ran an editorial from the Amherst Student, in conjunction with over two dozen other student newspapers across the country, calling for the impeachment of President Nixon (Oct. 25, 1973).

The same day some 300 persons held a protest rally on the steps of Curtiss Hall. Speakers included students, faculty and two members of the Ames City Council. The *Daily* gave it a page one splash, as former GSB vice-president Dan Koestner demanded the President's impeachment on the grounds that "An 'army' of former aides to President Richard Nixon are now under indictment — an indication that Nixon is not free from wrong doing." Koestner charged Nixon with running "dirty campaigns" throughout his career. "Look at the history of the man," he added, "and you'll see he is certainly no virgin."

Philosophy Professor Richard Van Iten told the crowd impeachment is a "legitimate process." The Founding Fathers, he added, included it in the Constitution "to use in crisis like this one."

Even harsher words were uttered by Ames City Councilman Russell Pounds, a professor of economics at Iowa State. He declared that the events of the last weekend "smacked of a dictatorship." Pounds, a liberal Democrat, warned that "the stealing of America was imminent."

Government of the Student Body Vice President Brian Gardner read a resolution that was to be presented to the GSB Senate for approval. It, too, called for immediate impeachment proceedings against the President (*Daily*, Oct. 25, 1973).

National outrage and frustration over Watergate continued to mount throughout 1973 and into 1974, when the Supreme Court forced Nixon to hand over all the tapes — though one of them appeared with a mysterious, hand-erased gap of 18.5 minutes. The *Daily* covered the artichoke-like unleafing of Watergate throughout the spring and summer. One of its sharpest barbs was delivered on Jan. 30, 1974,

by *Daily* cartoonist Robert (BJ) Krivanek with a strip that Professor Emmerson says he still uses in his journalism history discussion of media performance during Watergate. The one-off strip was titled "Dick 'n Pat in 'Partytime'" and showed First Lady Pat Nixon dressed in an extremely short skirt and thigh-high boots. When the President protests, she changes into a traditional dress. Nixon gives her a hug and discovers she's not wearing any panties. Pat's reply: "Never you mind Dick...They're after your ass, not mine" (Figure 1). The theme and language reflected the attitudes and standards of the 1970s and the *Daily* apparently received no complaints from readers or administrators.

Figure 1. This sharp barb on Watergate was by cartoonist Robert (BJ) Krivanek. It ran in the *Daily* on Jan. 30, 1974. Reprinted with permission of *Iowa State Daily*.

By March, 1974, most of the main news about Watergate was being played on page one. The *Daily* also routinely used a variety of columns on the topic from persons like syndicated columnist Jack Anderson on the editorial page. The national news reports were almost exclusively from the Associated Press, but the paper also tried to localize Watergate and covered related events at home. Thus, in March the *Daily* had a story and photos of a group of 20 Iowa State students who had gone to Chicago to join a larger anti-Nixon protest (*Daily*, March 19, 1974). The paper reported on national personalities, such as noted liberal Nicholas von Hoffman and conservative James Kilpatrick who came to campus in April to debate a variety of issues — but both agreed that Nixon should be impeached (*Daily*, April

11, 1974).

By spring 1974, the *Daily* appeared editorially to be involved in a kind of internal cat and mouse game over the President. On the one hand, most of the editorials revealed growing exasperation over Nixon's stonewalling tactics, his deviousness in other areas and even the role and performance of the press. But at least some of the *Daily* editors appeared (at least on occasion) to be dragging their feet on the question of the President's guilt in the Watergate affair. Still, for the most part, the tone was pretty solidly anti-Nixon.

The anti-Nixon view was easily the most prevalent and explicit. For example, staff writer John Snarksis produced an editorial that described Watergate as "a rape of the democratic process" (*Daily*, April 2, 1974).

Two days later, the *Daily*'s Becky Christian made no bones of her opinion of the President when she described a visit to the White House by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon. "The sight of those two chubby little charlatans drooling on each other must have been a new low for both religion and politics," she concluded, "— the would-be devine master in the embrace of the would-be king" (*Daily*, April 4, 1974).

This was followed by one of the *Daily*'s more graphic editorials. It was only 96 words long — set in 18-point type — under the headline, "Five years is enough" (*Daily*, April 10, 1974). This editorial catalogued a chronology of eight events or activities of the Nixon administration, beginning in 1969 when the President's men engaged in illegal domestic wiretapping against newspaper personnel. It then mentioned the orders to secretly bomb Cambodia (1970); the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office (1971); the acceptance of illegal campaign donations after the April deadline and the break-in at the Democratic Party headquarters (1972).

Then followed Nixon's firing of Archibald Cox (1973) and the indictment on criminal charges of 18 persons with connections to the White House or the Committee to Re-Elect the President, as well as the disclosure that Nixon owed nearly $500,000 in back taxes (1974). Then, the editorial concluded by asking, "How much more will the American public tolerate?" (*Daily*, April 10, 1974).

But two weeks later, editor Tom Quaife lamented that people, including many on

campus, were jumping the gun with regard to Nixon's guilt in Watergate. The editorial was prompted by a "very scary" game of human chess that was played on central campus between "the people" and "King Richard's people" (*Daily*, April 25, 1974). About 300 persons watched as King Richard successfully maneuvered until he was finally put into checkmate by "The Black Guard Who Discovered Watergate: with the aid of "Congress."

Quaife was upset that "any President would be subject to such a skit. Our national leaders are supposed to exemplify virtue, not vice." But what bothered him most was the fact that this game pre-judged the President. "If there are grounds for impeachment, Congress will act accordingly." Until then, he concluded, "exercises such as the one yesterday will do little towards promoting an intelligent search for the truth" (*Daily*, April 25, 1974).

On the other hand, about one week later, Quaife endorsed a proposed float in the Veishea parade featuring a bust of Nixon. The overall theme was "Great Mistakes of the Past." The controversial float would carry the words "Nixon's the One" on one side and the phrase, "Now More than Ever" on the other. Quaife applauded the decision of the Veishea Central Committee to allow the float, asking, "Are we in 1974 to ignore the problems of present concern?" (*Daily*, April 25, 1974). It wasn't exactly a denunciation of Nixon, but it did appear to represent the *Daily*'s desire to see the issues surrounding Vietnam and Watergate thoroughly ventilate.

By now *Daily* editors were, by and large, unrelenting in their demand that Nixon come clean and cooperate or face the consequences. That was the nature of an editorial on May 1, 1974 by Jeff Kunerth, who described the President's stand on his controversial tapes as reminiscent of "the children's toys which, when bumping into one object, rebound and reverse directions until hitting another obstacle.

"Nixon, like the toys," the editorial said, "continues to try new directions until finding one that will leave him in the clear." But Kunerth was having none of it.

He decried the President's offer to provide edited transcripts as a device aimed at producing the "right" conclusion — one that was beneficial to the President, even if it meant sacrificing those people currently under indictment "to save his own neck" (*Daily*, May 1, 1974).

Two days later, Jeff Kunerth used a short excerpt from the White House

transcripts to decry the use of "campaign infiltration and sabotage in a country which prides itself on operating a successful two party system with free elections." There was even greater danger, he added, when "the party in power can use former FBI and CIA personnel to bug and infiltrate the opposing party" (*Daily*, May 3, 1974).

The *Daily* was on its weekly summer schedule with Darlene Keech as editor when Nixon finally released the disputed tapes. This was followed in late July by the vote of the House Judiciary Committee to return three articles of impeachment.

The tone of the summer editorials tended to reflect a general assumption that Nixon was deeply involved in the Watergate cover-up, so the real questions involved procedures and politics. On July 18, the *Daily* wrote that the "fears and suspicions of many people were confirmed last week when the House Judiciary Committee released its version of the transcripts of some presidential conversations." The key, the editorial noted, is "whether Mr. Nixon should be allowed to determine what evidence is relevant...and what is not. The House transcripts make it abundantly clear that he is entirely incapable of making such a decision." In short, the editorial concluded, "Mr. Nixon's 'third-rate burglary' has given birth to a continuing third-rate cover-up" (*Daily*, July 18, 1974).

A week later, the *Daily* was scolding the Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee for dumping their chief counsel because he could not, "in all good conscience, argue against impeachment." What Republicans wanted, according to the editorial, was "someone willing to regurgitate the White House doggerel" (*Daily*, July 25, 1974).

On August 8, with President Nixon clearly on the ropes, the *Daily* carried an editorial that summarized the case against the President. He had, according to the writer, continuallly used "executive privilege" and "national security" to repeatedlly obstruct justice. He had "defied the interest and respect of the American people and the executive branch of government. Public opinion, it added, had been dragged to an all-time low. It remained for the President either to sit back and let the constitutional processes take their course, or he could voluntarily resign. But one thing was clear: "an overwhelming majority of Americans and legislators desire the speedy removal of the President from office, preferably in the latter

course.

"As devastating and regrettable as situation now stands, a bright light shines on the fact that no one is above reproach of Constitutional law" (*Daily*, Aug. 8, 1974).

Unfortunately for the *Daily*, the President's resignation occurred between summer session and fall. By the time the paper was back in business, President Gerald R. Ford had been sworn in and had granted Richard Nixon a "full, free and complete pardon." A full-column editorial by the *Daily*'s John Snarksis called this "a bold and daring decision," but also "a tragic mistake" (*Daily*, Sept. 10, 1974). The presidential pardon, the *Daily* argued, would not prevent the "arousal of ugly passions" or the "polarization of opinion," as President Ford had suggested.

President Ford's pardon would not conclude the Watergate tragedy, the editorial continued.

> The gnawing question concerning Mr. Nixon's conduct remains unsolved. But more importantly, an alarming amount of credence has been given to the notion of a 'double standard of justice.'
>
> While lesser Nixon aides find themselves in prison, the former President never be tried. While a local indigent goes to jail for vagrancy, a former Vice President openly admits guilt to a charge of bribery and receives a suspended sentence.
>
> It's a sickening feeling — knowing we've been misled all along. Now we must live with the fact that all persons are not equal in the eyes of the law; that at the summit, law does not prevail (*Daily*, Sept. 10, 1974).

That was, for the *Daily*, the last editorial dealing with Watergate — and, in many ways, it was the most straightforward and hard-hitting of them all.

*****

As national issues went, Vietnam and Watergate were almost epoch-making events in the United States. But there was not a whole lot that either Parks or the *Daily* could do to shape policy and bring home the boys.

Two other movements during this decade have had lasting impacts on society and were within the power of the administration and the *Daily* to influence. They involved civil rights, particularly for blacks, and gender equity. In a larger-than-life decade, race became a burning issue, particularly with the rise of militancy after Martin Lurther King Jr. was assassinated. In Ames, the City Hall was bombed and

black activists were widely suspected as the perpetrators. There were black-white confrontations and black demands on Beardshear for more respect on campus. And a black hero, Jack Trice, was rediscovered, then promptly (albeit temporarily) relegated to the archives. Gender equity also became a campus issue as women (and men) insisted on greater freedom to pursue the pleasures of a decade that was driven by Elvis, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones.

CHAPTER III

THE *DAILY* AND PROTEST AGAINST CAMPUS POLICIES: RACE, HOURS AND GENDER

"When things jell the university and the students are going to know it."
—Black activist Roosevelt Roby

Women fear losing jobs if they complain
—Daily headline (Oct. 11, 1972)

Although Vietnam was far and away the dominating issue of the five-year period between 1968-1972, two other important issues involving human rights were surfacing with gale-storm force in the United States — and on the Iowa State University campus. The first was the move for racial equality as professed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and exacerbated by extremists such as Huey Newton of the Black Panthers and Stokely Carmichael. The second issue, which was less violent or confrontational, but which carried sustaining power, involved rights for women. Some called it 'Women's Lib,' while others saw it as a culmination of the struggle for female suffrage and other aspects of gender equity that was begun in the late Nineteenth Century.

In both cases, Iowa State University was to feel the impact of each movement. The more militant of the two involved racial equality, but things in Ames never quite reached the boiling point that resulted in massive race riots and violence that were triggered by the explosion in Watts between Aug. 11-16, 1965 and that spilled over two summers later in Newark, Detroit, Spanish Harlem and other northern cities in the late 1960s. On the other hand, things came close to an explosion here when a bomb was found at the garage of a municipal court judge.

Campus protest: race

With most issues involving discrimination — real or perceived — those who feel abused tend to endure for a long time before they react. This represents, in many ways, the Booker T. Washington philosophy that Negro or Colored people could best improve their lot if they demonstrated with actions that they were worthy of

respect. This was the philosophy that guided George Washington Carver during his days at Iowa State. It was also the same principle that was adopted in the early 1960s by Harvey Gantt, a black architecture student from South Carolina who enrolled at Iowa State. Gantt spent a quiet time at ISU before transferring to Clemson (South Carolina), where he integrated the university — and subsequently became mayor of Charlotte, N.C. and ultimately challenged Sen. Jesse Helms for his Senate seat.

Gantt's time at Iowa State was calm and without incident. He was a freshman at Iowa State in 1960-61 and was designated as a junior in Architecture in 1962-63 when he sought admission to Clemson. Indeed, racial relations on campus in those years were fairly tranquil. The *Daily* noted on Feb. 15, 1966 that the first Negro to be pledged at a Greek house at Iowa State, Ben King, had a smooth experience at Alpha Sigma Phi. Actually, he had pledged the previous October, the paper reported, but "it went unnoticed by most people at the University." Two short years later, Black Power had arrived and the campus mood had become more confrontational, perhaps on both sides.

Black-white relations throughout the United States had reached the boiling point in 1965 with the riots and conflagration in the Los Angeles area of Watts. It was only a matter of time, it seemed, before these confrontations were played out at the local level. And, between 1968 and 1970, the *Daily* reported a series of skirmishes that were bounded on one side by a racial bar fight that resulted in charges and by the discovery of a bomb in the garage of a judge who was trying a black activist. (The word "black" will be in lower case when used in the text of this thesis. This is to maintain consistency with other references to skin color. Sometimes it is capitalized in news stories and will be used that way when quoted directly.)

The first serious act of racial unrest occurred on April 5, 1968 — one day after the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. About 40 Negroes (the then-current term) gathered in the Commons of the Memorial Union to drink a toast to "black unity on campus." Then, according to the April 6, 1968 *Daily*, they smashed their drinking glasses on the floor, "turned over several tables and chairs and walked out."

Shortly thereafter a formal statement was issued by the "Afro-American Students

of Iowa State University" that said: "We, the black students of Iowa State University, are here to awaken you to the conditions and consequences of the situation which led to the violent death of our non-violent leader, the Most Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr."

One of the leaders of the group was Roosevelt Roby, a sophomore at ISU. Roby spoke with the frustration of a race whose leader had just paid the ultimate price. "I would call myself a black militant," he told the *Daily*. "When I have children, I want to be able to tell them what I did, not what I couldn't do." He compared the plight of the blacks with the war in Southeast Asia. The United States, he argued, had been trying to liberate Vietnam "instantaneously, but the black people have to wait over a hundred years."

From Roby's perspective, non-violence had failed the blacks as a policy. He was, he declared, a disciple of the militants in the black movement. "I am in full agreement with H. Rap Brown and (Stokely) Carmichael. Non-violence is over." Roby then uttered what must have seemed like a threat: "When things jell the university and the students are going to know it." He then asserted that the University "got off lucky" in the demonstration at the Union. The majority of the demonstrators, he declared, felt worse than he did. "We could have torn up the whole Union." Some wanted to march on Beardshear, he added, "but we managed to calm them."

A letter to the editor on the incident ran the same day as the news report. It was written by Frederick Anderson, a graduate student in Government who wrote that he sat next to the table and felt the blacks involved were reacting to the last century of American history. He wrote that this "culminated in Memphis Thursday evening" with the assassination of the Rev. King. Anderson pointed out that he was frightened, but "what really frightened me happened a moment later. Two white girls, sitting a short distance away, looked at each other in silence. One asked the other, 'Why did they do that?' That is truly frightening." Another letter, three days later, from a group calling itself "The Iowa State Conservatives," urged that the students participating should be reprimanded.

Roby dropped out of the headlines for a while after this, but on April 8, 1970 became embroiled in a bar fight that once again triggered black protests on

campus. This occurred at the Red Ram bar on South Kellogg Avenue near downtown Ames when, according to the April 10, 1970 *Daily*, Roby got involved in a brawl with two-time NCAA wrestling champion Chuck Jean. According to the article, Jean hit Roby in the throat with an open hand. Roby retaliated by striking Jean in the forehead with an empty beer mug, knocking him to the floor. A brief melee followed before the police arrived.

Shortly after the fight, Black Student Organization (BSO) President Roy Snell issued a "strongly worded" statement, declaring that they would "tolerate no further attacks by whites." The *Daily* quoted Snell as saying there had been a history of harassment by the Iowa State wrestlers. "If any black man, black woman or black child is harassed in any way by a white person," the statement declared, "there is going to be war up here. I mean W-A-R war."

The next day, blacks complained to university officials about the Red Ram incident. But first they gathered in the Union Commons during the noon hour to vent their feelings. Snell, according to the *Daily*, mounted a table in the Commons to declare that blacks "intended to defend themselves."

From the Union, it was reported that about 35 blacks moved to the office of Vice President for Student Affairs Wilbur Layton in Beardshear Hall. Layton, who must have anticipated their plans, talked to the protesters for about 15 minutes. At the same time, he managed to set up a meeting between black students and a number of athletic department officials for early that same afternoon. Shortly thereafter, the demonstrators walked to Beyer Hall for a meeting.

Two days after the fight, the *Daily* backed the blacks editorially. The *Daily* took the stand that the blacks "did something yesterday that other students have either feared to do or were too apathetic to do for some time. They refused to back down from a group of ISU wrestlers and in the process focused on the problem of preferential treatment" for wrestlers.

In a somewhat uncharacteristic display of "radicalism," the *Daily* ran a portion of Snell's statement as part of the editorial. Above it was a picture of half a dozen blacks giving a gloved Black Power salute at an Iowa State football game that fall. Underneath the picture and statement, the headline read: "Right On!" To the left came the editorial, again with some uncharacteristic writing that concluded:

"Although we don't condone the use of guns, knives and clubs we know such weapons do work and in light of recent wrestlers' conduct they seem to be necessary for protection.

"We hope that the University will act before a state of protective guns and clubs arrives. All students have a right to protect themselves."

The next day, April 11, 1970, wrestlers Norm Wilkerson, Dan Gable, Bill Krum, Bill Nichols, Ed Huffman, Lee Johnson, Doug Moses and Dave Bock wrote a letter to the editor, decrying unfair coverage of the incident and stating no reporter attempted to reach a wrestler to get their side of the story. They wrote that the *Daily* made the wrestlers appear to be "a bunch of vicious, law-breaking Klan members."

Tensions were still running high as Ames Police Chief Arnie Siedelmann reported that an investigation into the Red Ram affair was continuing. The *Daily*'s banner headline on April 11, 1970 declared: "Athletic furor continues! No incidents yesterday; police take precautions."

The black protesters produced an unexpected result. On April 13, 1970, Head Wrestling Coach Harold Nichols announced that Jean had been dropped from the wrestling squad for the incident at the Red Ram "and some other things." Snell was taken aback by the coach's decision. He said he thought the suspension was probably "going too far." Snell told the *Daily* that the black protesters had merely wanted ISU wrestlers to "be cool." He expressed his concern that the suspension "may cause a lot of hard feelings."

Meanwhile, both Roby and Jean faced criminal charges for disturbing the peace and assault and battery as a result of the Red Ram fracas. The situation for Roby was exacerbated a few days later, according to the *Daily*, when he and Charlie Knox had an altercation with Ames police in campustown that resulted in Roby's "escape" from custody.

According to the *Daily*, detectives went to Roby's campustown apartment on the morning of April 15 to serve an assault and battery warrant on him. They found their man just as he was leaving his apartment with two men. One of the detectives apparently told Roby that he "wanted to talk" to him, according to a recap in the May 22, 1970 *Daily*. According to subsequent testimony and *Daily* reports, the three men ignored the detective and kept walking.

They were stopped again by a patrolman a few minutes later at the corner of Lincoln Way and Welch Avenue. The warrant against Roby was then read by the patrolman and three law enforcement officials attempted to put him in a squad car. According to testimony, Roby then either broke free or was released and walked north across Lincoln Way, where he was again stopped by two Ames law enforcement officials. At this point, police put out a call for Dr. William Bell, associate dean of students, who agreed to talk to Roby. Handcuffs were forced on Roby and again, unsuccessfully, law enforcement officials attempted to force him into a car. "Efforts were relaxed when it was learned that Dr. Bell was on his way," the *Daily* reported.

Daily accounts of the subsequent trial testimony show that Charlie Knox then showed up and, swearing, pushed Capt. Eldon Hand away from Roby. Knox told officers to release Roby, who then jerked free and remained with a group of about six other blacks for five to ten minutes before walking away. The group escorted Roby, still handcuffed, around the east side of Friley Hall. Police did not pursue Roby, according to Assistant Police Chief Tom Lyttle, because he didn't want to make a big thing over something that didn't amount to more "than a bar-room brawl."

Roby remained a "fugitive" for some ten hours on April 15, before turning himself in at the police station. Knox was identified by police a short time later when he, too, entered the station.

Another confrontation between police and demonstrators supporting Roby occurred on April 27, 1970 at the Ames City Hall. It was the culmination of three days of picketing in front of the city hall by blacks and others who were angered at the charges against Roby resulting from the Red Ram affair. On the 27th — the day Roby's hearing was to occur — a small melee broke out on the steps of city hall. The April 28 *Daily* account of the protests included a photo of Roby struggling with a police officer who was holding a night stick.

Roby was eventually escorted into the courtroom of Municipal Judge John McKinney, where he was to face two charges — disturbing the peace and assault and battery — as a result of the Red Ram affair. McKinney, who was also an Ames lawyer, was known as a no-nonsense judge with a conservative bent.

Nevertheless, McKinney's first act was to drop the charges of disturbing the peace on the grounds that the cause of the disturbance outside the Red Ram after the fight, when two groups were shouting at each other, "couldn't be 'laid at Roby's feet.'" On the other hand, the judge said there was a case made for the assault and battery charges. McKinney continued the hearing against Roby on charges assault and battery until the following afternoon, Tuesday, April 28, 1970.

After continuing the hearing, the judge went to his home at 2613 Pierce Ave. in north Ames to celebrate his birthday. After the party, McKinney recalled (in 1998), he had just helped put his kids to bed and was putting their toys in the garage when he discovered what he thought was a bomb. McKinney (in 1998) produced a Polaroid photo of the device, which was obviously homemade. It consisted of a gallon cannister with a dry cell battery on top, held together with masking tape and connected to a magnesium strip inside the can. A travel alarm had also been taped to the top of the container, which had been filled with chemicals of some kind (McKinney interview).

He recalled that the device was taken to a vacant field nearly 100 yards from his home. Police took the object to the station, where the timing mechanism was dismantled. McKinney said experts from Omaha were later called in to take a look at the incendiary device. Somewhere in the process, police fired five shots into the can to see if it would go off (McKinney interview). It didn't.

When local media heard about the bomb, they descended on McKinney's home, where the judge was, not surprisingly, furious. "My family is shook up, the neighborhood is shook up, all Ames is shook up," he declared. McKinney then recalled talking to WOI-TV's Paul Comer and continuing with other reporters. He said he and his wife considered staying at a hotel. "But we said the hell with it, we're not leaving" (*Daily*, April 29, 1970).

He then said that he was certain that "the blacks are behind this," adding that, "I have no fear of the whites." To reporters who had gathered in his front yard, the judge declared, "We're going to have law and order around here from now on -- we're not going to be run out of town."

McKinney then threw down the gauntlet. "Our kid glove days are over," he declared. "The militants of this country — white or black — are enemies of this

country. I don't dislike the blacks — they are a fine race." Then he added, "I'm ready if Roby is" (*Daily*, April 29, 1970).

The judge, having blamed Roby and his supporters for planting the bomb, said he might disqualify himself from the case. McKinney also took a sharp poke at the ISU administration, blaming Beardshear for "shoving all their problems downtown." University officials, he complained, "won't take a stand, won't draw a line anywhere."

McKinney told the press he felt sorry for Roby because "the blacks are using him as a pawn — just looking for a reason to raise hell." The judge then took direct aim at a black activist named Charles Knox, who was later identified as head of the Black Panthers in Des Moines. "There has never been a real problem around here," McKinney declared, "never any disagreements, but with Charlie Knox in town — all they are interested in is unrest." And, the judge added, "I'm damned fed up with it" (*Daily*, April 29, 1970).

The degree of anxiety triggered by the discovery of the bomb in the judge's garage was evidenced by two events that affected McKinney's family. First, his children were taken to and from school by squad car for a couple weeks. "The other kids at school became jealous because they couldn't ride in it," he recalled with a chuckle. But it was not laughing matter at the time. McKinney recalled in 1998 that, "For two to three months after that there was a group of men, and I had no knowledge of this, who kept watch on the house. Two at a time would do it, with four hour shifts, and they used walkie-talkies to communicate."

McKinney also recalled receiving phone calls in the evening at his home a few days before the bomb was found. "They would ask is this such-and-such at an address and like a dummy I told them that, no, it was me and my address."

Tensions between some blacks and some whites in Ames had reached unprecedented levels by the end of April 1970. On the 29th, in response to McKinney's allegation about black militant involvement, Black Student Organization President Roy Snell was quoted as charging that the bomb had probably been put there by the judge himself. McKinney replied that by reiterating his belief about black agitators. "I feel it was the militants," he told the *Daily*, and "I don't know of any professed white militants around" (*Daily*, April 29, 1970).

The suggestion that blacks were trying to create racial issues was underscored in a letter to the editor of the *Daily* on April 30, 1970. Kenneth Caldwell, EpOp., I Ad 4, wrote that he was bothered by the fact that some blacks had made the barroom brawl "into a racial case because they have nothing else to stand on." As far as Caldwell was concerned, Roby "took the criminal action by swinging a beer mug at Mr. Jean's face and it was clearly Mr. Roby that escaped arrest."

Against that was a letter on April 30, 1970, from a black assistant football coach chastising Judge McKinney for his front lawn allegations about blacks being responsible for the bomb in his garage. This assertion came from Ray Greene, who wrote that considering the state of mind McKinney was in at the time, "one might be understanding and, perhaps, even sympathetic to his feelings."

However, Greene added, "it would seem that a man of his stature and influence would be a bit more careful than to throw out some of the cliches which have become popular since Black people began to assert themselves in the quest for equality and justice in this country" (*Daily*, April 30, 1970).

Judge McKinney, meanwhile, was obviously concerned that his anger had impinged on his ability to hear a case impartially — one that could withstand appeal — so he declared a mistrial on April 28.

In an editorial on May 1, 1970, the *Daily* applauded the Judge's decision to step aside in the matter of the assault and battery charges against Roby, stemming from the Red Ram affair. At the same time, it took McKinney to task for the tone of his comments the night that the bomb had been discovered. But, what really concerned the *Daily* editors was the fact that the judge had said that he might still hear the case against Roby and Charlie Knox for resisting arrest. "This would only convert the already faulty situation into a disaster," the *Daily* pointed out. However, the *Daily*'s fears were not realized. On May 22, after a two-day trial, it reported that Roby and Knox were found not guilty of resisting due process, with Judge McKinney still on the bench. McKinney said he had been asked by both attorneys in the case to continue on the bench for the hearing on this charge (*Daily*, May 22, 1970).

Later that summer, Roby was found guilty — this time by Alternate Municipal Court Judge Donald Payer — of assault and battery and was fined $50 and court

costs on Aug. 6, 1970. Meanwhile, wrestler Chuck Jean had already pleaded guilty to charges of fighting and had been fined $50 back on April 28. According to the Aug. 7, 1970 *Daily*, Jean reportedly had left ISU that summer.

The discovery of the explosive device in McKinney's garage on April 27 shocked the community. But its impact was soon overshadowed some three weeks later by the single most destructive act in the history of Ames: the bombing of the City Hall on Friday, May 22, 1970.

The blast occurred shortly after 9 a.m., shattering virtually all the windows at the building on the southeast corner of Sixth and Kellogg in downtown Ames. The explosion was caused by dynamite that had been placed below ground level in a window well on the south side of the two-story building. The blast tore bars loose from the basement jail and blew the door off a cell. No one was killed, but two persons were seriously injured, including a prisoner being held in the municipal jail on drunk driving charges. A state trooper lost an eye and flying glass injured seven others (*Daily*, May 23, 1970).

Among the injured, according to the *Daily*, Police Captain Eldon Hand's back was badly cut by flying glass. Even so, he went into the basement to assist the prisoner who was also seriously injured. Highway Patrolman Charles Elliott was also taken to Mary Greeley Hospital for treatment of serious head cuts that eventually cost him the loss of sight in one eye. He had been sitting near the south wall in police headquarters in the building's basement.

At least a dozen Ames businesses reported damage as a result of the explosion. Between 175 to 200 windows were broken at the Sheldon Munn Hotel, located a half block away. The blast was felt for some 20 blocks. The *Daily* reported that Assistant Chief Lyttle, "with blood stains on his shirt and looking grim, directed the operations immediately following the blast" (*Daily*, May 23, 1970).

The block was cordoned off and crews started cleaning up shattered glass and other debris from the streets. By the middle of the afternoon most of the broken windows had been boarded up, according to the *Daily*. Inside City Hall, it took several hours to clear the lobby and police desk of broken glass and blood. The Highway Patrol brought in its mobile communications trailer to supplement the damaged police equipment, while the local Red Cross set up a stand to feed

workers and law officials and the large number of newspeople who gathered from all over the state. One volunteer estimated that the Red Cross unit had served between 350-450 people by mid-afternoon (*Daily*, May 23, 1970).

Needless to say, all Ames and area police were immediately put on alert. Governor Robert Ray flew in by helicopter almost immediately — landing at the practice field just to the west of Central Junior High at 11 a.m. Meanwhile, speculation as to the culprit or culprits was rampant. State Highway Patrol Chief Howard Miller said the circumstances resembled the May 13 bombing of the Des Moines police station. Mayor Stuart Smith said the two bombings were similar in that explosives in each case were placed outside the building behind something so the force would be into the building (*Daily*, May 23, 1970).

Both the Iowa State *Daily* and the *Ames Tribune* put the story under banner headlines, but already local officials were actively engaged in trying to steady nerves already frayed by the McKinney affair. The *Daily*'s headline on May 23 reflected both the alarm and the calming effort. It read: "Mayor suspects bomb planted by outsiders; asks for coolness." The story began:

"Ames Mayor Stuart Smith said there are clues into yesterday morning's bombing of city hall but refused to elaborate, saying, 'We are not going to strike out now at people we don't like.'"

The *Daily* echoed the call for calm in an editorial headlined "Reaction bomb" (*Daily*, May 23, 1970). The editors wrote:

"A bomb. It ripped city hall. It injured innocent people. And at this time it can only be attributed to the workings of a very thoughtless mind.

"And now another bomb may be in the making. The more senseless bomb known as over-reaction."

The call for calm was obviously an attempt to prevent a black backlash in Ames. The blast occurred only two days after Roosevelt Roby and Charles Knox had been tried and found not guilty of resisting due process. John McKinney, who was upstairs in his chambers putting on his judicial robe when the bomb went off, revealed to the press on the day of the blast a possible connection that could have been alarming. He said that officials at city hall had received a bomb threat two days earlier — on the day of the Roby-Knox trial. Related to this was the report that

city officials had been put on alert since the discovery of the bomb-like device in McKinney's garage. Thus, for the past three weeks, security measures included half hourly surveillance of City Hall and the surrounding grounds.

Although no one was saying so for publication, there was a lot of private speculation in Ames and on campus that black activists were behind the blast. Several people who were around or even involved have theorized that Knox was a key player, though probably not the main operative, in both the McKinney bomb and the City Hall explosion. But no one knows for sure and it's unlikely that the perpetrators will ever be found.

"I thought they really had a line on who did that," former *Daily* Adviser Bill Kunerth recalled in 1997. He tends to endorse the notion that black militants from out of town came to (or were invited to) Ames to plant the explosives (Kunerth interview, Dec. 1, 1997). He identified them as the Nelson brothers — and, though this is not clear, there is reason to think they may have been from Des Moines. In any case, Kunerth says, the trail went cold when one of the brothers "got blown up in Minneapolis walking down the street with a bunch of dynamite." As Kunerth recalls, one of the Nelson brothers "ended up in the Nebraska penitentiary for ambushing a cop. He put in an emergency call and blew him up....He was in prison at the time of the bombing...But there was strong speculation he (the deceased brother) did it."

In any event, Charles Knox remains one of the most elusive characters in the dramas that were played out in Ames in April and May 1970. Former *Daily* editor Terry Gogerty recalled that, sometime during his tenure in 1970-71, he got an interview with Knox, but "he refused to talk to me" (Gogerty interview). Gogerty said he met with Knox with another black man at the table. But Knox would not speak to Gogerty because "I was part of the white problem." At least that's what Knox told the other black man. Gogerty recalls, "I would ask him a question, but he wouldn't look at me and he would just talk to the guy at the other table."

One of the more bizarre aspects of the City Hall blast was the fact that the situation calmed down quickly after that. There were no more bombs and no more threats of violence, McKinney recalled. "A sort of calm pervaded after the bomb...It was amazing." From the *Daily*'s perspective, the blast occurred just as classes

were ending and there ensued a period of about one month without any publication. The break, of course, contributed to the easing of the tension — at least for awhile.

In fact, nearly two years passed before black militants committed another act of violence on campus — and this time it occurred in Beardshear Hall — in the offices of President W. Robert Parks. Admittedly, it was an isolated event, but it demonstrated the friction that still existed on campus between African-American activisits and the administration. Moreover, the *Daily* was physically excluded from from the scene by blacks who wanted coverage by other media, but who still considered the student newspaper as part of the white problem.

This confrontation, resulting in violence, occurred on Friday, May 17, 1974 — one week before publication ended for the semester. More than two dozen black students arrived at Beardshear around 10:30 a.m. to see Vice President for Student Affairs Wilbur Layton. Their first act was a demand to see President Parks, whose office then was just next door. Layton recalls (in 1998) telling them that an unannounced visit was not a good idea and, besides, Parks wasn't even there — he had gone to Des Moines (Layton interview).

According to the *Ames Tribune* reporter, the black students were dubious, to say the least, when told that Parks was in Des Moines (*Tribune*, May 18, 1974). They demanded to search the suite of offices occupied by the President. Their arrival en masse in the ante-room of Parks' office caused the President's administrative assistant, Joyce Van Pilsum, to push an emergency button.

Among those who responded was Vice-President for Business and Finance Warren Madden, who headed across the hall to the President's office. Madden said Layton was standing in the doorway, trying to prevent the blacks from entering, but was not using any physical force. Apparently, two black women approached Van Pilsum and started arguing with her about going into Parks' office. Layton said he knew that Van Pilsum had a bad back so he stepped in to protect her.

In the process he raised his arms to block them — an act that resulted in some incidental contact with the black women. "I made the mistake of touching one of them," he said. Layton added that his move to block the women was "misunderstood" by some of the black men, who thought he had used physical

force. "That's when (Tony) McConico decided to hit me on the head."

The *Daily* reported that the vice president was struck with a wooden stick. But Layton said it was a two- to three-foot long galvanized pipe, three-fourths of an inch thick, that McConico (a high school student from Chicago) hit him with. "It could have killed me," Layton recalled. Luckily, the pipe did not hit him directly on the head and flew into the room's door frame, leaving a one-half inch deep dent in the woodwork. Layton said he had kept the pipe for years, but lost track of it after he and his wife retired and moved to Oregon (Layton interview).

The bleeding vice president retreated to his office for a short time and was then taken to the Student Health Service, where he got six stitches in his scalp. Layton recalled phoning his wife, who brought him a clean shirt. He then returned to the meeting where the blacks were awaiting the return of President Parks. Layton recalled in 1998 being particularly surprised by the blow, because he had always gotten along well with the two Black leaders there. They were Fred McConico (Tony's older brother) and Albert Linton, who were joint heads of the Black Student Organization.

Layton said that "things quieted down after I got hit. I talked to Linton and (Fred) McConico. We were respectful of each other." Layton said he made a decision not to press any charges. Madden said no one wanted to. "With certain types of crime, punishment doesn't deter anybody," Layton reasoned (Layton, Madden interviews).

Vice President Madden recalled a vividly different scenario (Madden interview). "The group said they wanted more minority students at the university, double enrollments," Madden said. The group also insisted that no one should leave the room, he said. One black even pulled out a gun, put it on the table where it was visible, Madden recalled, and then put it back in his pocket. Layton said he did not see the gun.

Madden recalled that more words were exchanged and the protesters ended up occupying the President's conference room. For example, according to the *Tribune* reporter, who was present, Linton declared, "if it comes down to a Kent State, we are prepared." McConico added that "people are going to pay a price" if it turned out that administrators were not sincere in their statements at the meeting (*Tribune*, May 18, 1974).

President Parks ultimately returned from Des Moines around noon and joined the group, which by now numbered nearly 50. In addition, Madden, Layton and Vice President George Christensen were involved in the talks. Also included in the meeting were a few members of the press, including the *Ames Tribune*. Other journalists were allowed to attend a press conference held after the meeting ended. Only the Iowa State *Daily* was completely barred by the Blacks on the grounds that the paper had been "guilty of discriminatory reporting in the past (*Tribune*, May 18, 1974).

A four-hour meeting followed — described by the *Tribune* as "torrid." Things got so tense, apparently, that Parks was asked afterwards by the *Tribune* if he had been held up against the wall. The President denied this absolutely. Parks also refused to label the blacks moving into his office as a takeover (*Tribune*, May 19, 1974). "Physically, they could have done anything they wanted," Madden pointed out. But, Madden added in retrospect, he "didn't ever feel really threatened," as the meeting itself was under control, but there were loud words exchanged. Madden said Parks used his hallmark, patience, in dealing with the situation and he thought the President handled it very well (Madden interview).

Even so and unknown to the blacks, Madden said some 200 Iowa Highway Patrolmen had been marshalled at the Department of Transportation parking lot in downtown Ames. Another group of law enforcement officers was poised in the concourse of the Physical Plant on campus. (Layton later said that he was not aware that these precautions had been taken) (Madden, Layton interviews).

The *Daily*'s report of the meeting, while three days late, provided a fairly comprehensive idea of the demands being made by the blacks. The protesters charged harassment, discrimination and insensitivity by Ames residents, Iowa State students and faculty members. The blacks presented the meeting with a list of their demands, including the right to be allowed to speak with the university's President directly when problems arise "rather than use any other administrator as a liason" (*Daily*, May 20, 1974).

They also registered complaints against the Ames Police Department and wanted "mental abuse and physical harassment of black students" to end. They also requested that action be taken to place "no less than two" black police officers

on the Ames police force.

They also demanded a halt to the "harassment of black pedestrians on the streets of the city of Ames" and "in supermarkets and other shopping facilities" (*Daily*, May 20, 1974).

As far as the University was concerned, the blacks demanded that "action be taken against the insensitivity of the ISU instructors in relation to Black students in their classrooms and Black students as their advisees." They demanded an increase in black faculty, staff and administrators by fall quarter of 1974 and insisted that any minority person being interviewed for a position in the university "be automatically scheduled to meet with students before he or she is appointed to any position" (*Daily*, May 20, 1974).

In addition, the protesters demanded immediate establishment of a house in one of the residence hall associations "specifically for Black students and that this house have a Black head resident." The group also demanded that a fund be established to help finance the education of black athletes who completed their varsity eligibility, but who had not yet completed their undergraduate studies. They also requested that every effort be made to bring more black females to campus (*Daily*, May 20, 1974).

Most of these demands, while being sympathetically heard, proved impractical in the short run. But, it was at this marathon session that ISU administrators did commit themselves to bringing 400 more minority students to the school. (This came to be known as Project 400.) "After four hours, everyone was out of energy and we had agreed to expand minority enrollments and they walked out," Madden recalled. Besides, he added, people started wanting to take bathroom breaks and that helped lead to the meeting's conclusion (Madden interview).

Layton was quoted in the *Daily* as saying the outcome of the meeting was "very positive." Some of these demands we can do immediately, Layton told the *Daily*. "The overall tone (of the meeting) was that Ames is not a very comfortable place for Blacks to live" (*Daily*, May 20, 1974).

Unlike many campus incidents involving race, gender, war or politics, the Iowa State *Daily* was excluded from this confrontation in Beardshear. Other members of the local media — notably, the *Ames Daily Tribune*, KASI radio and WOI television

— were granted entrance. When asked why *Daily* reporters were excluded, one black student reportedly said, "No comment. No comment for the *Daily*." Another black student told a *Daily* reporter to "read about it in the *Des Moines Register*."

A *Daily* editorial the next day (*Daily*, May 21, 1974), headlined "People are created equal," took to task black students for not letting the *Daily* into the meeting. "Blacks claimed *Daily* reporters could not attend," the editorial noted, "because the *Daily* had been 'discriminatory' in the past."

The *Daily* expressed its disappointment over this comment: "Such charges had never been made to the *Daily* editor this quarter. Anybody, regardless of race, may work for the *Daily*, and the fact that students run the *Daily* would suggest a paper more open-minded than others."

The *Daily* also took the protesters to task for being so arbitrary. "Blacks said reporters on the *Daily* could not understand their problems, but understanding is never accomplished by shutting a door in someone's face" (*Daily*, May 21, 1974).

Nor was the *Daily* as sanguine about the meeting's outcome as Wilbur Layton had been, pointing out that the vice president's positive comments had been made only a few hours after being hit on the head and requiring medical attention. "Under different circumstances, anyone hitting Layton over the head would probably be jailed for assault and battery."

On the other hand, the *Daily* displayed sympathy toward some of the Black students' concerns. "Hopefully," it wrote, "the Ames community will become more sympathetic to the needs of Blacks. But Blacks should realize they will make few friends if they threaten violence, and ask for more rights than those enjoyed by members of other races" (*Daily*, May 21, 1974).

It is impossible to know whether the exclusion of the *Daily* from this confrontation between blacks and administrators had any lasting effect on the student newspaper — especially in view of the transient nature of the reportorial staff. But it's not altogether implausible to suggest that it did. Many reporters, in this time of protest and pro-civil rights demonstrations, as well as the relaxation of rules for both women and men, liked to think of themselves as non-discriminatory, if not actively supportive of any struggle for equality. And several of the black concerns appeared to be well-founded, even if their demands were impractical.

Campus protest: Jack Trice

While this is only conjecture, it's not altogether impossible to assume that the *Daily* was still in some ways licking its wounds when it was presented with an opportunity in 1973 and 1974 to champion a cause that involved blacks. This involved the memory of Jack Trice — and the debate over naming the new football stadium in his honor.

Trice was Iowa State's first black football player. He died on Oct. 8, 1923, of injuries suffered in his first varsity football game at the University of Minnesota. After his death, someone found a note in his jacket pocket that said (in part):

"My thoughts just before the first real college game of my life:

"The honor of my race, family, and self is at stake. Every one is expecting me to do big things. I will. My whole body and soul are to be thrown recklessly about the field...." (The Jack Trice Scrapbook, October, 1974).

These words were inscribed on a plaque located in the southeast corner of the old State Gym. That was the only physical evidence on campus of Trice's sacrifice and it remained largely out of sight and forgotten until 1957 when the plaque led to a story in the Iowa State Scientist by journalism student Tom Emmerson. But that story produced no reaction. It wasn't until 1973 and 1974 that two ISU English teachers — Alan Beals and Charles Sohn — picked up the story, thanks to the efforts of their classes. Parks said Sohn made the campaign for Jack Trice Stadium part of his life's work.

A *Daily* article on Feb. 6, 1974 by Gerry Forge, an Iowa State football player and journalism major, summarizes the happenings nicely. "Naming the new $7 million football stadium is probably the last thought in the minds of Iowa State University Foundation and stadium officials right now, but that's not true for a small group of English 105 students.

"As a matter of fact, they've already organized a strong effort to get the stadium named after Jack Trice...the only athlete ever to be killed while participating in sports competition for Iowa State." Forge cited a story in Fall 1973 by *Daily* sports editor Jim Smith and Alan Beals, marking the 50th anniversary of Trice's death, as leading to the formation of the Jack Trice Stadium committee (*Daily*, Feb. 6, 1974).

A resolution introduced by the group to the GSB Senate regarding the stadium name was passed unanimously days before. About this same time, the *Daily* editorial staff unanimously endorsed the name; "and then thousands of petition-signers endorsed the name," according to the *Daily* (May 2, 1975).

Articles on the issue would run everywhere from the *Ames Tribune* to the *Chicago Tribune* to the *San Francisco Examiner* and *Sports Illustrated* (on June 10, 1974).

An editorial in the *Daily* on May 10, 1974, was headlined: "How about Jack Trice?" It began by observing that

> People often claim that big time intercollegiate athletics serve only one god — money. Money provides equipment and scholarships for athletes, provides salaries for coaches and builds football stadiums.
>
> Now that money is building a football stadium at Iowa State, money's pervasive role threatens to penetrate the one symbolic gesture — providing the stadium with a name.
>
> Tuesday night on a local radio station, Director of Athletics Lou McCullough said there is a 'good possibility' that the new football stadium will be named after the largest contributor to the stadium drive (*Daily*, May 10, 1974).

The editorial cited three alternatives in the naming process. First, it said, the stadium could be named after "the man who can afford to buy the honor." Or the university could decide that the stadium should be called something more generic, such as Cyclone Stadium.

The third option would be to choose someone making notable contributions to athletics at Iowa State, though not necessarily in the monetary sense. The person — Jack Trice — "made the ultimate contribution to Iowa State athletics — his life." The editors urged supporters to write President Parks and to sign petitions on behalf of Trice.

"The stadium can be more than cold cash and concrete. It can be an idea. One game was enough — let's hope the University recognizes this fact" (*Daily*, May 10, 1974).

Jack Trice was not exactly hot copy at this time, but the story and the cause never really got cold. In September 1974, under Editor Tom Quaife, the *Daily*

printed a transcript about Trice from William Thompson of Omaha, who was the only surviving member of Iowa State's 1923 coaching staff. The guest editorial was based on an interview with an unnamed person. In it, Thompson described Trice as "an outstanding man in any company.....one of those boys that always led; he was in there first" (*Daily*, Sept. 17, 1974).

Trice, he added, represented the spirit of Iowa State athletics because of his "complete dedication and courage, which is the ultimate virtue, because the other virtues don't mean anything if you don't have courage...."

Thompson's guest editorial concluded with a strong appeal for the university to do the right thing:

> Iowa State has an opportunity to do something from an idealistic standpoint, and if we need anything these days, it's ideals.
> The issue is simple: the spiritual part of the game. If you name it after someone who gives a lot of money, he was not the boy who was down there in the heat of battle. This Jack Trice thing is like holding a light, like carrying a torch, and if athletics means anything, that should be it.
> I think it would be great if Iowa State had the vision to put that light on the stadium (*Daily*, Sept. 17, 1974).

These were the reasons, according to the *Daily*, why the stadium should be named after Trice (*Daily*, Sept. 17, 1974).

But nothing continued to happen. In May 1975, a frustrated Alma Nieland lamented the foot-dragging and excuses being offered by those in decision-making positions. After citing six different quotes, she said, "Such comments sound hollow to those who respect the name of Jack Trice and the ideals it stands for."

> We now hope that the Naming Committee's philosophy does not emerge as materialism; that their established criteria (such as a 'major donor') can admit contributions like Trice's; that the name Clyde Williams will retire with honor; that our new stadium will not be a 'memorial' to a 'cyclone'; that students (who have already voiced their opinion) will have an impact; and that the time is here for this restatement of idealism for ISU athletics (*Daily*, May 2, 1975).

Editor Nieland returned to the charge in November 1975, reporting that GSB

President Jamie Contantine — a Trice supporter — had a major concern with the "unofficial naming" of the stadium (Nov. 12, 1975). Constantine was afraid the constant reference (in the media) to Cyclone Stadium would hurt the cause. Constantine was quoted as saying, "The university keeps saying that the stadium won't be named for at least two more years, but then it continues to let the media call it 'Cyclone' in news coverage." Nieland led off her article with "Cyclone stadium. Cyclone stadium. Cyclone stadium. It has a nice ring to it, doesn't it? Apparently the ISU administration thinks so, because it is....doing nothing to stop the use of that unofficial name for the new football facility in references by local media...." (*Daily*, Nov. 12, 1975).

Constantine specifically criticized Carl Hamilton, vice president for information, for perpetuating this false image. "Since Hamilton is in charge of information for this university...He should feel a responsibility to clarify this 'Cyclone' thing." Constantine also expressed fear that a GSB poll showing student preference for the name Jack Trice Stadium would get swept under the rug. In that referendum involving 2,767 voters, some 1,963 students (70.9 percent) went for Jack Trice, with 509 favoring Cyclone Stadium at Jack Trice Field. A total of 295 persons (10.7 percent) favored Cyclone Stadium as a stand-alone name (*Daily*, Nov. 12, 1975).

One year later, students again were asked to vote for a stadium name. This time some 3,796 voted and, while Jack Trice received 2,180 votes, that represented only 57.4 percent of expressed opinion — down considerably from 1975. Support for 'Cyclone Stadium' had risen to 30.1 percent, while others either had no opinion or wanted a different name (*Daily*, Nov. 5, 1976).

In the lexicon of presidential elections, a win by 57 percent would be judged a landslide. But, compared with 70.9 percent support, one could surmise that student support for Jack Trice was waning and that, in two or three more years, with a fresh student body, the way might be cleared for 'Cyclone Stadium.'

President W. Robert Parks acknowledged this, at least indirectly, in 1998 when he said, "The students, really, I congratulate them. They had more life to that idea of theirs than we had thought at the time. Because it resurfaced. It never went away. There was more life" (Parks interview).

Thanks, in part, to this sustained student effort, the Regents approved calling the

new stadium, 'Cyclone Stadium' and 'Jack Trice Field.' Parks, reflecting on the stadium naming controversy, acknowledged in 1998 that he "opted for probably a weak compromise." But, he explained, the Iowa State Foundation, before it had ever heard of Trice, had agreed it would not name the stadium for any one person. He added that there was no single large donor. "We built this stadium through private contributions from the very first." It was, he added, "one of the very few stadiums I know of in a public university that had no state funds, no federal funds" (Parks interview).

"That's the way it shaped up," he added. "Whether it was handled right or not I don't know." Parks added that he never sensed any racial prejudice over the stadium naming controversy. "Some people thoght it might be," he said. "But I was very sensitive to that. I grew up where it was real. I didn't think that." Parks said he was delighted when, in August 1997, the stadium was renamed in honor of Jack Trice. He said President Martin Jischke called him and wanted to know if he had any objections when the Trice name was being considered once again. "And of course I didn't. I thought it was a good idea."

Although the strongest initial effort on behalf of Jack Trice came from an English professor and his students, it is fair to say that the *Daily* championed the cause at an early stage and that a series of editors and reporters kept up the drumbeat over a quarter of a century. In some ways, the final outcome was a major triumph for the power of the press.

Campus protest: en loco parentis

The only other issue that could rival the Trice story for longevity in the pages of the *Daily* was the decades-long soap opera over dormitory hours for women — and eventually, the broader question of whether the University should or should not remain true to its decades-old support for 'en loco parentis' (serving as surrogate parents for all of its students).

"It was pretty doggone dumb to have those strict hours at that time on women," former President Parks said in 1998. "But it was not peculiar to Iowa State. It was true all around, I think." He said the thinking was, "If you sort of protect the women, things won't go bad" (Parks interview).

In 1955, for example, all freshmen women were required to live in dormitories and, on week nights, to be in their rooms by 8:45 p.m. On Fridays, they could be out until midnight and on Saturdays, it was 12:30. The curfew for Sundays was 10:30. For all other women at ISU (sororities and dormitories were the only choices) the week night hours were 10 p.m. Weekend hours were the same as for freshmen. These regulations, while grumbled about, were widely accepted and rigidly enforced throughout the 1950s (Linda Emmerson interview).

As the 1960s dawned and a new generation arrived on college campuses, agitation for relaxed — or even unrestricted — hours became a hot potato across the land.

The inexorable march toward greater freedom took a giant stride forward in November 1965 when the ISU Administrative Board approved giving women over 21 and senior women self-limited hours (*Daily*, Nov. 3, 1965). The new rules were scheduled to go into effect early in 1966. According to the *Daily*, some 500 of Iowa State's 3,200 undergraduate women would be affected by the rules that freed them from the current hours. Other female students were still required to be in their residence by 12 midnight on weeknights and Sunday and by 1 a.m. on Friday and Saturday nights.

By March 1967, the same no-hours rules were extended to sophomore and junior women — with the proviso that all women under 21 had to receive written parental permission before they could qualify for the no-hours policy. That left only freshmen women who were forced to abide by residence closing hours.

What appeared to be a big breakthrough in 1967 was already being considered as "too little and too late" by many students, including the editors of the *Daily*. (It is interesting to note that unrestricted hours for women were in place even before GSB candidate Don Smith made them an issue.)

In an editorial entitled "This is Freedom?" the *Daily* complained that the university was trying to restrict freedom by imposing a cumbersome card system that required women to sign out and sign back in (*Daily*, May 4, 1967). What the *Daily* editors wanted was something much less restrictive. They pointed to Grinnell College as a model. There, all hours regulations were to be abolished and coeds would only be encouraged to use sign-out forms for overnights in case they need to

be contacted in an emergency.

This, the *Daily* argued, was modern and enlightened posture. "The Grinnell policy at last recognizes women as adults, not wards of the state....the policy at Iowa State encourages everything but cooperation and trust. What good is freedom that is so involved in red tape that it becomes a breach of freedom to comply?"

On this particular issue, the *Daily* seemed to be riding the crest of the wave of public sentiment. Five years later, by 1972, the argument had shifted away from hours to whether dormitory residents should be allowed to have visitors 24 hours a day.

Again, the administration was the voice of conservatism against the *Daily* and students generally. Director of Residence Charles Fredericksen took the hard line. Fredericksen said he thought the present ISU open-hour policy was liberal enough as it stood. "If a student doesn't like the dormitories, other options such as fraternities, sororities, communes or off-campus living are his to select" (*Daily*, May 5, 1972).

Campus protest: gender equity

Whereas the movement for racial equality involved civil disobedience and even physical violence leading to mayhem and death, another, less violent, struggle was taking place concurrently. That was the drive for gender equity. Some called it "women's lib" and some referred to it as equality, but the goals were the same: women should be accorded equality in the work place, before the law and socially.

The movement was clearly advanced by the creation of Ms. magazine under Gloria Steinem. Some extremists allegedly burned their bras and demanded equality at every point on the compass. More moderate advocates urged fair play and equal opportunities, with or without the symbols that seem to have inflamed the extremists.

Given the male-dominance of Iowa State's administration, faculty and student body, it is not surprising that the University would be targeted by those women (and some men) who wanted a fair shake for females. Enrollment for 1970-71 was 23,284. Of these, two thirds (16,152) were men and one third (7,682) were women.

(Iowa State University General Catalog 1973-1975, Volume LXXI, No. 15, January 3, 1973, Ames, Iowa.)

The first report of friction between women and the administration occurred on May 25, 1971, when the *Daily* reported that the Ames Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) announced that it would be filing a gender discrimination suit against Iowa State. NOW members asserted that they had enough information to file a compliance charge with the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW). Unnamed women were quoted in the story. One said that NOW would be including statistics in the complaint to show that a number of women at different academic ranks received lower salaries than men of comparable rank. Another women said they had information that showed women were less represented on university councils and committees than the male-female faculty ratio for the university as a whole (*Daily*, May 25, 1971).

The *Daily* quoted NOW figures showing that men filled all departmental chairman's posts in five of Iowa State's seven colleges. The only exceptions were Home Economics and the College of Sciences and Humanities, where women held at least some chairmanships. Judy Ritts, acting president of the Ames chapter of NOW, noted that, outside the College of Home Economics, the Library, and the Department of Physical Education for Women, there were just three female professors and 540 male professors.

According to the *Daily*, NOW organizers also planned to argue that the university even lacked an affirmative action program to recruit women to the university (*Daily*, May 25, 1971).

The formal charge of sex discrimination against Iowa State was filed by NOW on June 7, 1971. Judy Ritts said that Iowa State University "clearly discriminates against women. The pattern of discrimination is evident in every aspect of university activity: recruitment, hiring, promotion, funding and salaries" (*Daily*, June 10, 1971).

Meanwhile, the NOW allegations had caught the attention of Beardshear. Shortly after NOW announced its intention of filing the sex discrimination complaint, the university issued a "white paper" on the status of women at Iowa State. It was largely defensive in tone. According to the June 10, 1971 *Daily*, the white paper

pointed out that no pattern of discrimination against women could be detected in graduate admissions procedures or aid granted to graduate students. It also noted that there are about four qualified male applicants for faculty positions to every qualified female applicant. The 'white paper' admitted that some sex discrimination may be evident, "but at worst it is suggested only in a few isolated situations."

Even so, the administration declared its commitment to the spirit and intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. The most direct declaration occurred in January 1972 when Warren Madden, assistant vice president for business and finance, declared that the Board of Regents and President W. Robert Parks were both committed to the spirit and the intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. "If there are any areas of discrimination, whether they are intentional or not," Madden declared, "we want to take steps to correct them" (*Daily*, Jan. 20, 1972).

Given President Parks's reputation as a humanitarian, it is not unreasonable to assume that NOW was satisfied with having simply put a bee in the administration's bonnet — which it did. In any case, the NOW suit never got anywhere and the university began a long, slow process of providing the equal opportunity the activists had demanded.

Shortly after Madden's statement of support, the administration created a new University Committee on Women. On Feb. 4, 1972, it was reported that this committee, comprised of 15 women and five men, representing both faculty and staff, would review university policies toward woman students, faculty and staff.

The existence of this committee did not assuage a group of Ames feminist activists, who believed the administration was dragging its feet on gender questions. They argued that little had been done to improve the conditions and treatment of women staff, faculty and students since 1965 and that women were still being routinely discriminated against at Iowa State.

In October 1972, they took their case directly to Dr. George Christensen, vice president for academic affairs. In a story (*Daily*, Oct. 11, 1972) headlined, "Women fear losing jobs if they complain," the *Daily* noted that this anxiety resulted in its own reporter being asked to leave the room because "matters of personnel" were going to be discussed. Even without a reporter on hand for the entire meeting, the *Daily* was able to report the gist of feminist concerns. Women, they argued, were

afraid to go to the administration with acts of discrimination for fear of losing their jobs if their immediate employer should learn they had complained. Issues involving gender imbalance in textbook and sexist situations in classrooms were also discussed with Christensen.

While the feminists were hammering home their points, the year-old Committee on Women issued a report that produced a remarkably understated *Daily* headline, "Women's Committee finds discrimination" (*Daily*, Feb. 12, 1973). However, readers of the paper were given the overall impression that such inequality was largely a function of ignorance, rather than any deliberate policy or behavior. This was the line taken Marguerite Scruggs, who was described by the *Daily* as the "chairman" of the Committee on Women. "The hardest thing to battle when you're dealing with discrimination is the area of the unaware," she explained.

"There are so many false assumptions that people operate on, and they may not do it consciously," she said. One such example Scruggs gave was the widely held notion that all women ought to get married and have children. "Our society says to young women, 'If you don't get married you're not much of a success,'" Scruggs said. "I'm convinced that the conditions at Iowa State, as a land-grant institution, are reflections of the society" (*Daily*, Feb. 12, 1973).

According to the *Daily*, one committee recommendation had already been implemented. Henceforth, Scruggs said, all Iowa State University publications would be revised to remove any sex-discriminating wording. In the past, she explained, all references in student publications have employed the masculine pronoun, 'he.' At the same time, all brochures in the College of Home Economics said, 'she.' Scruggs noted that there are men in home economics and certainly women in the university. "It's not deliberate," she said, but "the practice of using 'he' as the neuter gender is outdated and should change with the times" (*Daily*, Feb. 12, 1973).

Committee chair Scruggs also noted another gain for women during the previous year. Women had finally been allowed to be in the ISU marching band. She said her committee had recommended integration, but, in fact, it had already occurred that fall. "We can't take any credit for it," she added (*Daily*, Feb. 12, 1973).

Another small step toward equity occurred just one month before the Committee

on Women held its first meeting in early 1972. This involved the official elimination of gender discrimination in the press box for home basketball games (*Daily*, Jan. 20, 1972). In fact, the press boxes for football and basketball games had never actually been closed to women (at least in modern times). But, according to the *Daily*, press passes had carried the following restriction: 'Women not allowed in press box.' NOW spokeswoman Judy Ritts complained that the statement was a violation of the 1965 Civil Rights Act.

It doubtless was, but Sports Information Director Harry Burrell insisted that including the restriction on the basketball press passes was a clerical error. Burrell admitted the mistake, saying that the restriction should have been removed a year earlier when it was removed from football passes — also in response to a NOW complaint. Burrell acknowledged that the male-only restriction had been "a tradition in university athletics." But, he added, "no women with press passes have been barred from the press box at any Iowa State athletic event in the last 25 years." In any event, another restriction — be it implicit or explicit — had been removed (*Daily*, Jan. 20, 1972).

About the same time that women were being allowed into the marching band and press boxes at Iowa State, another small step toward equality was taken by the campus chapter of Women In Communication, Inc. (WICI), a national organization with its roots in the news media. After reflection, the group decided to admit men to the local chapter — though the name would not be changed to reflect the presence of both sexes. In fact, at least one male did join and that was Professor Bill Kunerth of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication.

The pressure exerted by NOW enjoyed support from the *Iowa State Daily* and, almost assuredly, from President Parks. The creation of the University Committee on Women was one concrete example of the administration's concern. But progress was slow and the gains were generally incremental, as evidenced by the removal of the press box restrictions and the decision to re-visit the pronouns employed in university publications.

On the larger questions of hiring women, promoting and tenuring them, as well as giving them equitable salary increases and other academic rewards, change was not immediately obvious during the late 1960s and early 1970s. These issues,

along with the treatment of female students, would come to fruition only about 20 years later. But the proverbial thin end of the wedge had been inserted in a largely male-dominated faculty and administration and changes, while slow protracted, have been steady.

Whatever strides or steps were being taken were not immediately obvious, but the agitation begun in the early 1970s helped eventually to produce a change in the campus attitude toward hiring, promoting and rewarding women on the faculty.

In reflecting on those stormy, sometimes violent years, President W. Robert Parks is sanguine and sympathetic toward the goals of the activists in the civil rights movement. "I thought (it) was very right," he reflected. "Although on campus that gave us some trouble. Black students were unhappy. They were asking for a lot of things. Some of the things they got; some they didn't. But (on) the general principles involved in the civil rights and also in the protest of the Vietnam War, wanting to bring it to a close, I was really sympathetic to the big things" (Parks interview).

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Not all of the issues that fractured the campus were rooted in Vietnam and the draft or racial and gender equity. One of the most inflammatory periods on campus involved what today might be described as "sex, drugs and rock 'n roll." While not a perfect description of Don Smith, the phrase captures the flavor of the challenge that Smith represented to the establishment when he was elected student body president in 1967 on a pledge to bring Iowa State University "kicking and screaming into the 20th century."

CHAPTER IV

THE *DAILY* AND STUDENT GOVERNMENT: THE DON SMITH PHENOMENON

"If I am elected, this University going to be dragged, kicking and screaming, into the twentieth century."
— Don Smith (Feb. 7, 1967)

Donald R. Smith's 40-day tenure as President of the Government of the Student Body at Iowa State in spring 1967 was described by former university president W. Robert Parks as one of the "biggest challenges" of his career in Ames. The *Daily* was right in the middle of the whole controversy. In fact, professor emeritus William F. Kunerth, who served as adviser to the *Daily* from 1957 - 1973, called Smith's candidacy and presidency "by far the most controversial" stories the *Daily* handled (Parks interview).

Smith left a lasting impression on many people, from administrators to faculty to students — and that was just on campus. His presence — his image — was felt throughout Ames, the state and among ISU alumni everywhere. The brief life of Don Smith as a campus political force can be split into four short chapters: his candidacy for GSB Presidency; his use of the office as a 'bully pulpit' from which he uttered pronouncements about the need to break out of the conservatism of the university; his alleged affairs with marijuana and possibly other drugs; and, finally, the impeachment proceedings that prompted Smith to resign and ride off into the sunset to California. Some might argue that there is a fifth phase, namely, the legacy of Don Smith. But this is difficult to assess and might be better handled by a researcher who studies the *Daily* beyond this time frame.

Although the stench of the Vietnam war was in the air in late 1966 and early 1967, so, too, were spring panty raids, football and other traditional campus activities. It was this new liberal-radical edge to campus activities, however, that was to turn the university on its head — at least for about four months.

The first real straw in the political winds of change occurred with the establishment of an Iowa State chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Don Smith, a senior in Engineering from Rockwell City, was a card-carrying member of this organization who was imbued with the general spirit of the radical group. Smith was not cut of the standard student-body president mold. Although he

was from a small town (pop. 2,300) that was “just as Republican as the very devil,” Smith was bearded, wore clothes sloppily and went sockless. Smith later recalled how amazed he was at “the ridiculous reactions” when he first grew his beard. “But then, beards were scarce here. Many of my friends even quit talking to me” (*Daily*, May 19, 1968). He also had long hair that he wore as it fell. He also rode a motorcycle and lived off campus on West Street (*Daily*, March 9, 1967, citing the Detroit News).

His then girlfriend, Mary Lou Lifka, a junior from suburban Chicago, was not a member of SDS, but she shared some, if not many, of the ideas of the organization. According to Lifka (in 1998), she and Smith and their liberal-radical friends spent a lot of time sitting around at the Union, talking about Universal truth and choices. Meanwhile, one of Smith's liberal-radical colleagues, John Grassidonio, hurled the first arrow at conventional campus politics by forming a GSB slate with Joe Franko.

Grassidonio and Franko launched their challenge against the conventional slate of Mark Sohn and Mick Guttau, both of whom were typical products of the GSB environment. Both slates had emerged from the GSB Nominational Convention on Jan. 14 (*Daily*, Jan. 27, 1967). They had worked within the system and, by the standards of previous decades, were logical successors to Jerry Bierbaum as president.

Most minority parties will do almost anything to avoid splitting their own vote. In fact, it is more traditional historically that leftist and rightist extremists will do their bloodletting before nominations and then either support the party's choice or else keep quiet. Not so this time. Shortly after the Sohn-Guttau and Grassidonio-Franko slates were announced, Smith and Lifka got serious about student politics. Lifka (now Lifka Atkinson) recalled in 1998 that she and Smith wanted to give voters a real choice.

Smith recalled that some friends had started a petition drive to place him on the ballot before he ever agreed. But agree he did. And campaign he did. Hard and effectively. He picked another anti-war activist as his running mate, but astutely and perhaps, intentionally, rocked the boat by aligning himself with Lifka, a Home Economics journalism major and possibly the first woman to campaign for either of GSB's top offices. As journalism professor Tom Emmerson recalled, "Mary Lou was radical, but not *that* radical. She brought credibility and even respectability to the Smith-Lifka ticket" (Emmerson interview).

Lifka (now Lifka Atkinson) remembers it differently. She said she believes it was Smith's idea to run, along with the group's. She was Smith's girlfriend at the time and said she would be his running mate (Lifka Atkinson interview).

On January 20, 1967, the Iowa State *Daily* announced that Smith and Lifka had decided to run as write-in candidates, making it a three-way race. In his first public statement, Smith declared that, if elected, there would either be "some drastic changes here, or I'm going to be expelled trying to bring them about. I see no other alternative." Lifka was not quoted directly in the *Daily* story, though they were both paraphrased as saying that no students should vote for them who were not willing to discuss, petition, sit in, strike, or do whatever is necessary to change the student's position at Iowa State (*Daily*, Jan. 20, 1967).

It took Smith and Lifka less than one week to generate the required 1,154 signatures needed to place their names on the ballot (*Daily*, Jan. 25 and 27, 1967).

Smith and Grassidonio were, in many ways, peas out of the same pod. Of the two, Grassidonio had a reputation for being even more radical and outspoken, especially on Vietnam and the draft. Grassidonio urged that all platforms be combined and then, if he were elected, he would "not hesitate to use force to get some changes made" because, in his opinion, "the exploitation of student freedom has gone far enough" (*Daily*, Feb. 8, 1967).

The presence of two SDS members in the GSB presidential race caused no little consternation — and brought no small amount of publicity — to SDS, whose members on campus probably ranged from 35 to 50 (at the outside) (*Daily*, Jan. 21, 1967). For his part, Grassidonio attacked Smith immediately and directly, claiming that his radical colleague was both very irrational and wanted only certain freedoms that wouldn't benefit the University (*Daily*, Jan. 25, 1967). Referring to a piece that Smith had written in a liberal campus publication called The Liberator, Grassidonio declared that Smith's "methods will lead Dean of Students Millard Kratochvil to bolt his door and force the University and the administration to create stronger rules which will enslave students forever."

Grassidonio admitted that he and Smith agreed in some principles, but not on method. For his part, Grassidonio promised that he would first try to work rationally with the Parks administration, but if that failed, he added, "I then propose using Smith's methods of sit-ins and demonstrations" (*Daily*, Jan. 25, 1967).

At this time — some two weeks before the ballot — the *Daily* reported that at least five other students had expressed an interest in being petitioned onto the ballot. They included one woman (Sue Saylor, H. Ec. 2), Bob Bonnewell (Sc. & H. 3) and a student from Greece, Eleftherios Papageorgiou, Sc.& H.4. who was perhaps the most outspoken and politically effective of all SDS members at this time. Papageorgiou was particularly dissatisfied with the candidates' platforms.

Of these, the Grassidonio-Franko and Smith-Lifka programs were easily the most far reaching. Grassidonio called for construction of a student building, no classes during dead week, no hours for all women and compulsory voting in all-University elections. Sohn's "New Deal - 1967" urged student participation in administration and the awareness for the needs in change. Sohn saw GSB as "the mediator between the students and administration."

Smith and his running mate produced a Student Bill of Rights containing four major points. The first plank in the Smith-Lifka platform called for the abolition of all university regulation of student life outside the classroom. One main target were women's dormitory hours — something Smith and Lifka wanted eliminated altogether. Related to this was the assertion that the ISU administration did not have the right to tell dormitory residents whom they should have in their rooms. They also demanded the termination of all residence committee rules except those created by state law or approved by a majority of the students in a specific house. The platform also declared that fraternities and sororities should not be told who they pledge and off-campus students should not be told how to act (*Daily*, Jan. 25, 27, Feb. 8, March 9, 29, 1967).

The duo also called for elimination of the ISU administration's student conduct committee. They also demanded that the university cease cooperating completely with all Selective Service offices with regard to the draft for Vietnam — except that specifically authorized by the individual student.

The third plank called for the formation of a student federation to apply pressure on the City of Ames to "end its financial exploitation of and moral paternalism toward the University student." In particular, Smith and Lifka wanted to enfranchise students 21 years old or older. At that time, the Ames had stringent criteria for determining whether a student was eligible to vote in the city. Most were not, even if they were of legal age. As far as Smith and Lifka were concerned, this was wrong.

Students of age, they argued, should be allowed to vote in elections for Ames City Council members, as "these people pass regulations concerning us."

Finally, the Smith-Lifka platform called for the establishment of a student-owned cooperative book store "as exists at many other universities." At this time, Iowa State was running its own book store and the Student Supply Store was operating in campustown. Both were profit-making operations. Smith wanted to eliminate profits and return the savings to student customers.

The platform concluded by saying, "If we are elected we will interpret this as a go-ahead from the student body to implement these four points. We hope the Administration will cooperate." Then, the pair added the following admonition to the electorate NOT to vote for Smith and Lifka "unless you are willing to discuss, to petition, to sit-in, or strike if necessary to change the student from a subject to a citizen" (*Daily*, Jan. 25, 27, Feb. 8, March 9, 29, 1967).

Perhaps Smith's most famous campaign promise was not even part of his platform. On February 7, Smith declared, "If I am elected, this University going to be dragged, kicking and screaming, into the twentieth century." Smith added that "It's none of the University's business what we do outside the classroom."

Smith promised that he would do his best to represent students "to people pretending to protect you while they are really exploiting you." Such exploitation, he said, included enforcing rules that students had no say in making. Smith further declared that students could find out what freedoms they were being denied by electing him GSB president (*Daily* Feb. 8, 1967).

These statements apparently alarmed Grassidonio's running mate, Joe Franko, who accused Smith of being "basically negative in his outlook." Franko also charged that Smith was "already using threats if the administration doesn't do what he wants." He added that Smith's approach "would close more doors than it would open." Franko's observation was to prove prophetic (*Daily*, Feb. 8, 1967).

Judging from the final balloting, Don Smith would have faded back into semi-obscurity if it had not been for the decision by another GSB senator to run for president — and thus split Sohn's support. This occurred when Bob Bonnewell, a senator "from south of Lincoln Way," and Jim Hradsky, petitioned on to the ballot about 10-12 days before the election. Bonnewell's two main ideas were "providing a means to get any goals accomplished" and "presenting issues to the GSB senate that concern every student on the campus" — such as minimum student wages and

extension of the women's no-hours policy (*Daily* Feb. 8, 1967). He described his goals as being "somewhere between Sohn and Smith."

The effect of Bonnewell's entry was to prove most beneficial to Smith and Lifka. And surprising. That's because they actually neither expected nor even wanted to be elected. As Lifka Atkinson put it in 1998, "we certainly never expected to win. All we wanted to do was to shake people up and show them the possibilities that things didn't have to be the way they've always been" (Lifka Atkinson interview).

Although the addition of Bonnewell and Hradsky to the ballot was decisive in splitting the traditional or conservative vote, the *Daily* gave lots more attention to the newsworthy and more exciting split within SDS over who to endorse. The debate was candid, open and typically disruptive for SDS. Both Smith and Grassidonio fielded questions.

In a front page, above the flag, story on January 27 by Holly Hansel, Smith was quoted as describing students as "second-class citizens" who should be allowed to make all their own decisions outside the classroom. "We should have to give up our easy college womb and grow up four years earlier," he declared. Regarding dormitory regulations, Smith said the University should "throw away the rules they have and start over." Student Steve Ferguson (Sc. & H. 2) asked, "What if I wanted to live with a girl?" Smith answered, "That'd be all right with me. I think dorms should be run like apartment houses for college students."

Later, with both candidates out of the room, the membership faced a motion to support the Smith-Lifka ticket. One of Grassidonio's strongest supporters was Don Siano, a graduate student, who strongly opposed Smith because the candidate was "outside the existing structures. He has no realistic idea of the government structure." Nevertheless, SDS members voted 12-8 to support Smith and Lifka and their platform. From then on, Grassidonio's hopes were dashed and the race narrowed to a three horse race, with none of the other potential candidates (other than Bonnewell) joining the fray.

Meanwhile, the *Daily* opened its space to as many letters as it received and, while Sohn and Bonnewell were the supported by some writers, Don Smith (and Mary Lou Lifka) were far and away the lightning rods. Writers either liked them or hated them (*Daily*, January 25, February 8, 9, 1967).

For their parts, editor Eric Abbott and associate editor Chuck Bullard took no stance until the eleventh hour. On February 8, just two days before the election,

Bullard penned a long editorial under the title, "The Decision," in which he analyzed each candidate's platform. In Bullard's view, Grassidonio had the least to offer because his platform was "vague, unattainable and a little childish to boot." He also described Grassidonio as "an impulsive idealist who doesn't understand the mechanics of what it takes to make ideas work" (*Daily*, Feb. 8, 1967). The associate editor also concluded that the difference in candidates "lies not so much in their platforms but in their methods for putting their platforms into effect." Here he separated the four candidates into two camps. As far as the *Daily* associate editor was concerned, the pressure, demonstrations and picketing advocated by Grassidonio and Smith were much less likely to succeed with the administration or earn the respect from the people and lawmakers of Iowa. Yet, Bullard felt Smith should "not be laughed off." His ideas, the editor added, could never stick, "here or at any other school." Bullard concluded that "Iowa State needs its Don Smiths — but not as president of the student body."

That left Sohn and Bonnewell. In one short paragraph, the associate editor dealt with Bonnewell as a "hazy quantity" and added that the presence of Grassidonio and Smith had made the campaign "the best thing that ever happened to GSB." Then he endorsed Sohn — not so much because he had excited the *Daily*'s fervid support, but primarily (or so it seemed) because he was the least objectionable candidate — as can be seen in the editorial's last sentence, "We'll be voting for Mark Sohn."

Normally, one editorial of endorsement is all that the *Daily* proffered — if it voiced a preference at all — in this decade. But the next morning, the paper returned to the issue with a piece written by Editor Eric Abbott, dealing exclusively with the Don Smith phenomenon. None of the other three candidates were even mentioned in an editorial entitled "Voting for a Rebel," which took on the tone of a cautionary tale. Abbott's main theme was: Don't vote for a rebel "just to be different, or just to see what would happen, or just as a joke on a pathetic GSB" (*Daily*, Feb. 9, 1967).

Smith and Lifka, he noted, had said they would attempt to implement change through "regular channels," but Abbott doubted this, adding that they seemed more disposed to protest methods. "And protest methods, to be successful, necessitate much student action, thought, and support. This support has always been lacking,"

he observed, “and there is considerable doubt that election of Smith or anyone else would change that” (*Daily*, Feb. 9, 1967).

Abbott cautioned that a vote for Smith "just for the hell of it, without really intending to back him, would only make Smith look foolish in office." And, he added, it would make GSB even more ineffective than it has been. Better, he added, to vote for candidates "who know the workings of GSB" and who could "enlarge the potential” of student government through convential means.

It would be interesting to see how often the *Daily* has backed the winner in GSB presidential elections. In this case, they came up short — but, then again, most of the student body and campus community were taken by at least some measure of surprise (or even shock) by the results. In a record turnout — with 7,014 of the University’s 15,000 students voting — the tally was: Grassidonio and Franko — 118 (1.7 percent); Bonnewell and Hradsky — 1,165 (16.6 percent); Sohn and Guttau — 2,439 (34.8 percent); Smith and Lifka — 3,292 (46.9 percent).

Had Bonnewell not petitioned on to the ballot, it's at least conceivable that the lion's share of his votes would have gone to Sohn and this thesis would be a lot less interesting. As it was, 46.9 percent voted for Smith and Lifka. Another 1.7 percent went for Grassidonio, which meant that 51.4 percent of those who voted went for the traditional, GSB-generated candidates, while 48.6 percent went for something more radical.

Smith, who was soon to learn that the media are a two-edged sword, attributed his election to the *Daily*, noting that “they plastered my picture all over when they found out I was running and when they tried to do me in editorially, it was too late” (*Daily*, March 9, 1967 as quoted in the Detroit News).

But the fact remained that Don Smith and Mary Lou Lifka were elected, in spite of their own unpreparedness. As Lifka recalls, "I remember when we sort of looked at each other and said, 'What now'?" Their problems were compounded by several factors, including absence of any follow-through plans. “We never expected it would go beyond what it did.” “All we wanted to do was to open a few eyes and a few minds.” But, instead they won and were immediately faced with implementation problems, which were compounded, Lifka says, by the platform they had run on. “Our point was to get attention to these issues so naturally we overstated them” (Lifka Atkinson interview).

To compound matters even further Smith quickly became an even greater center of public attention, especially after people such as State Rep. Ray Cunningham (R-Ames) described Smith's election as the "worst blow to the good image of Iowa State in 40 years" (*Daily*, March 9, 1967). As a speaker, Smith was in demand, partly because of his notoriety, partly because of his candor and partly because of his ideas. Almost as quickly, this democratically elected, bearded, hippie president of the student body at Iowa State became a media star on a national stage that included The New York Times, the Detroit News, Life Magazine, Newsweek and network radio and television news.

Don Smith was unable to accomplish much during his 40 days in office as far as legislation was concerned. None of the planks in his platform was ever put to a vote while he was president. What did occur by way of routine business was handled by Lifka, who as vice-president, presided over the Senate. She also later recalled the pressure created by Smith's whirlwind romance with the media. "I felt that people had put some sort of faith in us for whatever reasons, whether they voted for us as a joke or because they really wanted something different. Once we had the position, we had the responsibility to act" (Lifka Atkinson interview).

But action proved difficult, if not impossible, according to *Daily* stories. The first few GSB meetings played to packed houses and featured a great deal of sparring between Smith and his SDS supporters on the one hand, and the GSB establishment, led by Senator Roger Christensen (representing Interfraternity Council), on the other (*Daily*, March 22, 1967).

Meanwhile, President Smith was being fought over by national journalists. Their stories all focused on how the "Sockless Radical Takes on Entrenched ISU." The stories, at least during the honeymoon period of March, took one of two tacks.

The first involved the contrast between Moo U and its newly elected President, with strong emphasis on the implausibility of small town boy being such a radical liberal. They were, generally, not negative. For example, the *Daily* of March 8, 1967, reprinted a story from the *Chicago Tribune* that juxtaposed the so-called radical and member of SDS against the facts that he was also an honor roll student in engineering whose mother hoped he wouldn't do anything too drastic because the folks in his home town "would get excited" (*Daily*, March 8, 1967). It seemed to focus more on the vague possibility that Smith represented some kind of stirring in the heartland. It even alluded to him as Sockless Jerry Simpson, the old-time

Populist congressman from Kansas, dubbed by William Allen White "the sockless Socrates" (*Daily*, March 8, 1967).

But that was as kind as it got. Other papers, notably, the *Detroit News* and the *New York Times*, both presented a more disorienting (if not disturbing) portrait that focused more on off-campus reaction to Smith's election (*Daily*, March 8, 9, 1967). Here's how *The Times* story started:

> Iowa State University, a hotbed of moderacy for generations, has elected a bearded disciple of the New Left as president of the student body.
> The outcome of the voting on the campus where the loudest stir has often been the windstrummed needles of aged pines, left many Iowans aghast.

The *Detroit News* story began in the same vein:

> Last month the placid campus of the Iowa State University here was rocked by a 'bomb.'
> A bearded rebel was elected president of the student body on a platform of sweeping iconoclasm, triggering indignation beneath the golden dome of the state capitol in nearby Des Moines.

Elsewhere in the Detroit News story, a Democratic senator was quoted as saying that the three college presidents were "going to be talked to like children" as soon as they got into the appropriations committee room. Both papers quoted State Senator William J. Reichardt, a Des Moines haberdasher. In the News, he declared, "We're going to nip this radical thing in the bud here in Iowa" (*Daily*, March 9, 1967). In The Times he denounced the ISU election, the refusal of an anti-war Marxist professor to grade his students at the University of Iowa and a recent talk at Drake University by the leader of the American Nazi party, George Lincoln Rockwell. To this litany of sins, State Senator Gene Condon, Democrat - Waterloo, chimed in that he was just as "concerned and nauseated" by a forum on homosexuality at the State College of Iowa in Cedar Falls (*Daily*, March 8, 9, 1967). The Times also quoted a letter to the editor in the *Des Moines Register* from a man in Mount Vernon, who declared that he was "sick and tired" of the leftist minority telling the state how to run its tax-supported colleges and universities. "I'm for forming a Shape Up or Ship Out Club," he added. Universities should "make students conform with the rules or expel them" (*Daily*, March 8, 1967).

Nonwithstanding the sharp words from legislators and others, these stories, at least read in retrospect, were not as harsh or as unbalanced as they are presented here. Smith himself seemed more to intrigue than alarm the writers and Iowa State itself was not subjected to harsh review. But, in the 1960s, apparently, this was precisely the sort of story that seemed to calculated to arouse the ire of ISU parents, alumni and citizens of the state.

The Iowa State *Daily*, on the other hand, took an editorial stand in support of giving Smith and Lifka a chance. On March 10, 1967, new Associate Editor Greg Lauser complained that "practically everyone" had seen fit "to pass judgment on Smith's qualifications before they have actually been tested." Lauser noted that Smith was not alone in possessing a beard. Moses and Lincoln wore them, too. And, he added, they, too, had advocated more freedom for individuals.

The editor also took State Rep. Ray Cunningham (R-Ames) to task to his statements about Smith's election, adding that the least the legislator could have done while he was on campus was to "attempt to find out what Smith's views are."

In conclusion, Lauser observed that Smith had expressed his ideas in a winning platform. "The students of Iowa State are awaiting his actions -- quietly. Don Smith deserves the chance to enact his platform ideas without being prejudged by the more 'mature' residents of society" (*Daily*, March 10, 1967).

But this plea to give Smith time proved evanescent. Within three or four weeks, bigger problems would surface that would end the *Daily*'s patience and bring the campus to a virtual standstill.

Smith's comments, dress and assertions made good copy for the *Daily*, which could count on their GSB president for a lively, if not major, story almost every issue, particularly after he and Lifka refined further their Student Bill of Rights. And even more particularly when opposition GSB senators were allegedly alerted by Dean of Students Millard Kratochvil that there already existed an older version of a Bill of Rights. This information was used by Senator Christensen and his supporters to force Smith's measure to be tabled — much to the consternation of Smith supporters.

Almost overnight, the *Daily* became the battleground for the pro- and anti-Smith forces, each using letters to the editor to point the finger at the other group's indiscretions and inconsistencies. On March 29, for example, the *Daily* carried letters from Tom Slockett and Efstathious Papageorgiou, two mainline Smith

supporters, and Senate Vice Chairman Roger Christensen, all taking shots, not at Don Smith, but at those who were involved in the Senate scuffle over the Bill.

That same day, Editor Chuck Bullard again sought to find some middle ground and a way that would allow at least some of the Smith-Lifka Bill of Rights see daylight. Bullard spoke of three power groups on campus — each sharing some of the blame for the early stalemate over the Bill of Rights. These included the Smith supporters, a group of moderate GSB senators and the administration in the shape of President W. Robert Parks.

In a rare instance of direct criticism of Parks by any *Daily* editor, Bullard wrote that Parks's disapproval of the Student Bill of Rights was "too sweeping." Bullard accused the President of rebuffing one of Smith's projects "without being willing to compromise." Parts of the Bill were unsound in Bullard's eyes, but he nevertheless felt "Parks should have offered to discuss the areas of the Bill of Rights that did have merit and there were some." Bullard suggested that some of Smith's foes in GSB had engaged in "hanky-panky" but also chastised Smith's supporters for using language like "activities jocks" when referring to opposing senators. Instead of sniping at one another, Bullard argued, Parks and GSB senators "ought to sit down with Smith and say, 'All right, we don't like the Bill of Rights as a whole, but parts of it do have merit. Let's discuss it.'" This, Bullard added, would give Smith the chance to do "what students are expecting to do — bring rational change" (*Daily*, March 29, 1967).

In spite of the *Daily* editors' quasi-defense of Smith and their desire to give him a chance to see what changes he could make "without threatening the University of coercion," he soon became apparent that the President and the Press were on a collision course.

As might be anticipated, the problem had little to do with Smith's platform or the proposed Bill of Rights; it had to do with Smith's personal behavior as president of the student body. It began with his use of language in public that was considered either too gross or profane for the period. It later mushroomed when Smith started talking about (and even demonstrating) drugs such as marijuana and other hallucinogens.

One of the first inklings of serious media trouble for Smith was recollected by former *Daily* adviser Bill Kunerth. He describes how then temporary instructor Tom Emmerson was looking at notes taken by reporter Helen Randall, who had covered

a Smith speech and was busy typing her story. Randall's story was pretty mild, Kunerth says, but her notes were "just full of obscenities." Kunerth recalls that Emmerson asked Randall why she wasn't including some of those words. "She said, 'I can't use that kind of language.' But Emmerson suggested that, in order to get an accurate report that caught the flavor of what Don Smith was saying in public, at least some of the words should be included." Kunerth recalled that Emmerson told Randall, "'You've got to tell a story about Don Smith and if he's that obscene in his vocabulary, you can't leave that out'." He was, after all, the student body president (Kunerth interview).

Emmerson recalls that Smith would talk to just about any group and, apparently, didn't change his approach to accommodate his audience's tastes. For example, Emmerson said, "We were being told that Don would show up for talks to church groups wearing buttons that said '69' or 'Fellatio Is Fun.'"

Ultimately, it was decided to include a single phrase that would convey to student readers the nature of Smith's language. Rather than a news story, the offensive word would appear in a feature about how Smith's life had changed since he had been elected GSB President. Helen Randall was the author because, while just a freshman, she had been covering GSB and Smith almost since she arrived at Iowa State.

Some 21 inches into the front page feature on Wednesday, April 5, 1967 appeared the phrase "moral shit." It was part of a paragraph in which Smith discussed his religious upbringing. This, in turn, followed a question asking what Smith's parents in Rockwell City thought about his lifestyle and all the publicity surrounding his election. Smith noted that his parents appeared to be changing their attitude and only wrote letters when they were mad. Then he added that "People have been writing them insulting letters about how terrible I am and they blame me" for that.

Randall explained that Don had attended the Catholic church for 17 years, he said, and religion had become an issue between his parents and himself. He said that he and his father had gotten along badly even before the election. "Primarily it is because my dad is such a staunch Catholic," he explained. "I don't go along with all that moral shit." The story went on to explain that Smith attended no church and considered himself an agnostic. Randall then swung the story over to other topics, but the damning phrase was out of the bag.

Schwartz said he personally received no reaction on the story, other than some "joshing at a department heads meeting."

Interestingly, both Kunerth and Emmerson believe that the original version of Smith's quotation was something like, "I'm tired of this religious shit." Both think that the *Daily* editors may have altered the phrase because of the overpoweringly negative connotation of juxtaposing those two words (Interviews with Kunerth and Emmerson).

Needless to say, in spite of the fact that he was uttering such expressions in public, Smith and his supporters were extremely unhappy to see these words attributed to him in the Iowa State *Daily*. As Kunerth remembers, Smith went on a "major media trip. He unloaded his guts. . . claimed the media was invading his privacy" (Kunerth interview).

The *Daily* editors were not done with the profanity issue. Partly based on discussions with Randall, Kunerth and Emmerson, the editors concluded that they should write an editorial, putting Smith's behavior on record by spelling out several of the things he had said, worn and done in public. According to Kunerth, the editorial, in essence, would explain to readers that the *Daily* had let Smith off easily because the level of his grossness was so great that the paper had not had nerve enough to include them in stories. "It basically said, 'Here are the things you've said, Don, so let's hear no more about the press destroying your reputation'" (Kunerth interview).

After the editorial was written and before it was published, Editor Bullard (at Kunerth's suggestion) phoned Smith and read it to him, both to alert him as to what was coming and, more importantly, in order to give him an opportunity to comment. Kunerth says Smith hung up the phone. After that conversation, however, the *Daily* editors had second thoughts and after intensive discussions, decided to pull the editorial — without bothering to notify Smith (Davenport, 22).

Later that night three or four of Smith's closest friends turned up at the Press Building so they could grab copies of the paper, presumably to survey the damage (Davenport, 22). It was also surmised that pro-Smith forces might try to destroy copies of the *Daily*, so orders had been given to the printer (in Jefferson) to deliver only a few copies to the newsroom and then to sit with the remaining issues in an unspecified location for several hours (Schwartz interview). Since the controversial editorial had been pulled, the precaution proved unnecessary. One can only

imagine the reaction or relief of the Smith supporters when they saw the editorial page that night.

Even so, the *Daily* had thrown down the gauntlet to Don Smith and his friends, putting them on notice, essentially, that one more profane public outburst would bring the self-same editorial back into play. By now, however, Smith had crossed the Rubicon insofar as he had tasted the fruits of publicity and public attention (or outrage) and he, apparently, was willing, if not anxious, to go even further.

Easily the most controversial event of the short-lived Don Smith presidency occurred during the first week of April 1967 when a photographer and a reporter from *Life* magazine arrived in Ames to do a story on the "liberal revolution" that was occurring at the cow college that had elected a hippie as its student body president (*Daily*, April 9, 1967). At least that was the widespread perception of the appearance on campus for four days of Robert Bradford and Lee Balterman.

In fact, there was some post-facto question as to whether the pair were really employees of *Life* or perhaps just freelancers looking to sell a story to *Life*, or even impostors, as Smith is inclined today to suspect. In 1998 he referred to them as "mystery photographers," adding that he thought they were "definitely not" with *Life*. He says he believes they were either freelancers or "just bullshit artists who wanted to hang around hippie girls" (Smith interview). Efforts to track the two men in 1998 have shown inconclusive results, but it is known that Balterman had other photos published in *Life* and these are listed in the magazine's reference library. The odds, therefore, are that they were on some kind of assignment and were entitled to use *Life's* name in their approaches.

Bradford and Balterman arrived on about April 3 and followed Smith around campus on his "routine" week's activity (*Daily*, April 9, 1967). No one knows for sure what happened next, but Kunerth and others speculate that the pair were somewhat disappointed by what they were seeing and encouraged Smith by suggesting that, surely, there must be more to the story. (Implicit in such a statement, if true, is the suggestion that the story so far would not be interesting enough for *Life's* editors.) One school of thought suggests that Smith responded by telling them that he was having a marijuana party that night and that he invited them to tag along. Another theory is that Smith organized the party spontaneously to accommodate Bradford and Balterman's desire for a meatier story about a hippie-conservative

confrontation. In either case, it seems agreed that this was not Smith's first bout with marijuana — just the first time he had smoked a joint "in public."

Rumors of the pending "event" on Tuesday night, April 4, percolated across campus and into the offices of the *Daily*. It was quite possible that news of the party arrived from several sources, including reporter Helen Randall, who, while only a freshman, had managed to gain a foothold on the paper and had been given the prestigious and demanding assignment of covering the Government of the Student Body. She recalls being called by *Daily* adviser, Professor Bill Kunerth, and asked to go to Smith's residence to report on the upcoming "party" that night. This, she planned to do, even though, as she related, she was a conservative at that time who would never try drugs herself — the more so, she added, because "I was naive" (Randall interview).

Randall intended to go to Smith's, but she got ambushed by a "lock-in" at her dormitory as a result of rumors of a panty raid that evening. The raid did occur and Randall spent the evening fuming in her room a mile or so away from the biggest event in Don Smith's short reign.

The next day, the rumors were, if anything, even more intense about Smith, marijuana and *Life* magazine photographers (who may or may not have smoked pot at the party). Randall had missed the event itself, but the *Daily* persisted. This time, it was Eric Abbott who made the running. Abbott, a senior, had just completed his term as editor in March with the end of winter quarter. He was still in school, carrying 24 credits and not officially involved with the *Daily*. But Abbott wanted the story, so he approached Randall. She said Smith had talked "off the record" about his marijuana use. Abbott then persuaded Randall that they, jointly, should talk to Smith. The went to his apartment together. What happened next is the subject of some controversy. Abbott said he asked Smith directly — and for the record — if he had ever used marijuana. He recalls that Smith answered in the affirmative (Abbott interview).

On Thursday, April 6, almost the entire front page was devoted to the story under the headline, "Smith Admits Attending Local 'Marijuana Party.'" The article, by Abbott, reported:

> Don Smith, student body president, admitted yesterday that he attended a marijuana party Tuesday night. Smith's statement to reporters followed rumors to that effect which had circulated during the day on campus.

> Smith said if taken to court he would deny making the statement, and asked a reporter to leave after he said he would print Smith's name.
>
> It had been rumored that two reporters from Life Magazine had attended the party. The Life employees, a reporter and a photographer, have been on campus for several days to do a story on Smith.
>
> They could not be reached last night for comment.
>
> Smith said the Life people were following him around to get a story when he 'decided to have a party.' 'We don't plan these things,' he said. When asked why he allowed them to attend the party and take pictures, Smith said 'Life can't show us doing anything except us smoking.'

Smith also was quoted by the *Daily* acknowledging that he had invited the photographer to the party, but he denied that it was held in his own apartment (*Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

There are different interpretations of what happened at that meeting. Smith felt he had been set-up and said to Randall, "You betrayed me." "She said, 'No, I said I wouldn't (report your marijuana usage), he (Abbott) didn't'" (Smith interview).

Randall said, "I was along and didn't break a confidence" (Randall interview).

Smith said he thought Abbott was in on the agreement (Smith interview). Randall had shadowed Smith in her reporting duties and recalls, "He (Smith) would say, 'You can't write any of this'" when the subject of marijuana or other touchy subjects would come up.

"I still don't think he was part of the story," Randall concludes (Randall interview).

Even in 1997 Smith recalls how surprised he was when the story was printed. Randall still believes that "Abbott was wrong" to play the story the way he did. "It was not really a story," she said in 1997. For one thing, she added, it was probably not a 'party.' She said "having people over" would have been more accurate than 'marijuana party.'

But print it, the *Daily* did. The effect was electric. Smith had publically admitted attending a marijuana party and, by implication, he'd also admitted smoking pot. To paraphrase from Watergate, the President's opponents had found a "smoking pipe." Abbott later called his story on April 6, 1967 "a key turning point in the life of Don Smith" (Davenport, 22). That was certainly true, judging from the *Daily* and other media. Its impact might also be measured by the fact that Abbott said that, shortly after the story appeared, he found a threat of physical harm stuck to his apartment door (Davenport, 22).

For her part, reporter Randall said in 1997 that Abbott's story "did make me angry." Randall, in retrospect, felt that the bigger picture, involving student rights, was submerged in all the backlash from the 'marijuana story.' "Abbott's story was an accurate story," she added. "But we lost the news." Looking back, she said the larger, more acceptable story should have been one about drug usage on campus — not just Don Smith's pot party. She agreed, too, that Smith's penchant for shocking language also got him into hot water, but she ascribed much of this to his naiveté.

Randall said in 1997 that Smith was "not wary or cautious enough." "You could see how it was breaking him....He lost his sense of security in what he was doing. He was wavering some."

"He was not a giant," she added. "He was making his own way and he paid a great price." Mary Lou Lifka Atkinson supported Randall's assessment in 1998. "We didn't believe in lies and I think that's why he was so open about that." She said that she and Smith were "offering people something different" and "weren't going to be like Nixon later on in covering things up." Lifka Atkinson added that Smith "didn't pretend to be what he wasn't."

As for *Life* magazine, no story or photos ever appeared in the publication, but the genie was out of the bottle. Randall recalled that the controversy that followed the *Daily*'s story not only wore heavily on Smith, but was almost fatally damaging to his presidency because his admitted use of marijuana proved to be the event that triggered the drive for his impeachment.

Meanwhile, fallout from the alleged pot party continued when an ISU student complained the next day that her picture had been taken without her permission by a Life magazine photographer at the affair. An *Ames Daily Tribune* story, which was reprinted in the *Daily*, reported that "parents of the student then complained to University officials." Furthermore, the *Tribune* reported, Story County Attorney Charles Vanderbur, while making no comment of his own, indicated that he had been in contact with narcotics agents about the party (*Ames Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

Smith, meanwhile, wasn't helping his own cause. He gave an interview to the *Tribune*'s reporter, Jerry Knight, in early April about the hallucinogenic effects of smoking banana peels. Retired journalism professor Bill Kunerth says, in retrospect, that he thinks the story was "a total and complete hoax. I think Smith was leading Knight on" (Kunerth interview). In any case, Knight took the bait and included in his

pot-party repercussions story a significant segment quoting Smith on the effects of banana peels.

The page one *Tribune* story, which was reprinted in the *Daily* on page one on April 7, began with the statement that "Marijuana, smoldering in the Iowa State University underground for weeks, suddenly burst into flames Wednesday." Knight disclosed that reporters had been offered opportunities in the past to attend pot parties, "provided they agreed not to reveal any names or other details to authorities." None of these offers had been accepted, Knight said, "until the *Life* team attended a party Tuesday."

Knight wrote that it was impossible to obtain accurate estimates of the extent of marijuana use in Ames, but "it is believed at least two separate groups of students are involved." One of these elements, he said, included the so-called hippies who were "evolutionary successors to the beat generation." Knight reported that these students had experimented "with marijuana along with LSD, morning glory seeds, banana peels and other drug sources." (The other element was vaguely defined by Knight as "a separate student subculture" that was less well known, but which, reading between the lines, may have been involved in drug traffic) (*Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

The *Tribune* story then turned to drug use specifics among the hippies. One nameless student told Knight that marijuana and other drugs were "all but invisible" on the ISU campus "except among the 'in groups.'" Recently, though, even the users had become more secretive. One student explained to Knight, "Things were too casual; some people were too careless." As an example, the *Tribune* story related how one student had walked into the Memorial Union "and within hearing of dozens of persons loudly asked two other students, 'Who smoked my pot?'" (*Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

Smith himself told the reporter that one of his roommates once kept marijuana "in a little white jar with 'pot' written on it. But there's nothing here now." Knight added that pipes reportedly had replaced roll-your-own cigarettes for smoking marijuana, "because the fine leaves of the drug burn better and with less waste in the pipe."

Smith was quoted as saying marijuana was "cheaper than beer" at a going rate of $10 per ounce, "enough for 20-40 'highs.'" Smith explained that the price was low because "the drug comes from 'a sort of student co-op.'" In other words, he added,

"somebody goes and picks some up and sells it for what it costs them, without any profit" (*Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

Then, if Kunerth's theory is true, Smith carried the interview into the realm of the absurd. As Knight reported it, Smith then produced a large plate of peeled bananas and a one-pound coffee can half-full of dried banana peels.

> 'I'm not a banana head,' he said, 'I've only tried 'em once.'
> He said he and his two roommates bought a dollar's worth of bananas, peeled them and dried the skins in the oven, then smoked them in clay pipes. 'It's a mild high, vaguely like pot.' . . .Like beer drinking for more conventional students, marijuana or banana peel smoking or taking morning glory seeds is a social experience for 'hippies' looking for kicks.
> 'We'd eat anything if we thought get high on it,' Smith quipped (*Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

One of the "anythings" some students have tried, Knight reported, was morning glory seeds. "Some varieties can produce a prolonged psychedelic effect, according to one student who wandered into Smith's apartment from the floor below." After explaining how to properly prepare them, he said his high lasted for three days. "You come down a little after a while, but stay mildly high" (*Tribune*, April 6, 1967).

Whether or not this was eyewash, as Kunerth believes, the Ames reading public (as well as state legislative and law enforcement officials) appeared prepared by now to believe the worst about Smith — and about drug-usage on the Iowa State campus. Several conservative legislators demanded that President Robert Parks expel Smith (Kunerth interview).

Everything then moved at a lightning pace with administrators, students, townspeople, legislators and the school paper turning decisively against the student body president. Even Smith's supporters were concerned, if not alarmed, by what they saw as the *Life*-induced pot party and the GSB president's apparent willingness to play to the galleries.

On Thursday night (April 6), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held an emergency meeting to consider a motion to censure Smith for his marijuana party activities. SDS was organized so anyone could attend its meetings and all those present could vote, regardless of whether they were SDS members or not.

The debate that ensued followed three threads. There was an argument over whether only SDS members should be allowed to vote on the censure motion; there were heated words aimed at the *Life* photographer and reporter, who were covering the meeting; and there was the main issue, namely, whether Smith should be censured for his actions.

On the question of who could vote, a motion to restrict the ballot only to members of SDS failed, thus opening the possibility that all of the approximately 50 persons in the gallery, as well as SDS members, could participate in the censure motion. *Daily* reporter Ed Stiles said that, initially, it appeared as if most of those present favored the motion to censure Smith. The President's strongest supporter at the meeting was John Grassidonio, who argued that Smith was acting in the "highest ideals" of the new left movement by speaking out in favor of what he believed on issues ranging from marijuana smoking to opposition to the draft and the war in Vietnam.

Among those opposing Smith was Efstathios Papageorgiou, who argued that the President's actions with the *Life* photographers and the pot party reflected adversely "on what the activists are trying to do on this campus." Another opponent, Jim Holmes, Engr. 2, said he supported the goals of both Smith and SDS, but argued that Smith "should have 'limited his freedom of action' when he took an office in which he acts for the student body, not just for himself." Even Grassidonio, however, acknowledged that he had been "appalled by the stupidity" of some of Smith's recent actions (*Tribune*, April 7, 1967).

After a heated debate, the first censure vote was 8 to 8. A recount was demanded from the floor and the final vote was 12-10 against the censure motion. After the meeting, Papageorgiou and at least 12 other leaders of the ISU liberal movement drew up their own letter of censure, condemning Smith's actions (*Daily*, April 8, 1967). Signed by Papageorgiou and three others the letter criticized Smith for placing "his personal pleasures before his commitments to GSB." As a result, they wrote, they could "no longer identify ourselves with Don Smith as a leader" (*Tribune*, April 8, 1967).

As for the role and performance of *Life* magazine's Bradford and Balterman, SDS spokesperson Don Siano had only scathing words. Balterman may have shot "well over" 100 photos of the SDS meeting. Afterwards, Don Siano of SDS gave them a "severe tongue lashing" that included "a barrage of profanity and caustic

comments." He accused the *Life* pair of "exaggerating and inflaming" the Smith situation by precipitating the alleged marijuana party. "You got your little finger in there and stirred it around," he said. "You guys haven't just observed," he added. "By your presence, you made it [the party] happen. I know you guys encouraged the party." Siano also accused Bradford and Balterman of "building up Smith's ego" in order to get a better story (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

Bradford insisted that he had done nothing improper. "Nothing was staged by *Life*. The idea is absurd." As for whether he had egged Smith into having the party, Bradford replied, "I've no comment. He can accuse as long as he wants to. I'm fulfilling my job as an observer," he said.

Shortly after this meeting, Bradford and Balterman apparently decided to cut short their campus stay, leaving town early on Friday, April 7. Just before their departure, one of the pair phoned University Relations Director Carl Hamilton to cancel an appointment they had scheduled that morning with ISU President W. Robert Parks. Hamilton told the *Daily* that Bradford and Balterman had asked him only the previous day to set up the meeting with Parks.

According to the *Daily* (April 8), Hamilton reported that neither Bradford nor Balterman knew when or if the story would appear in *Life*. Bradford did say that he would probably write the story "in three to four days." A *Daily* reporter phoned *Life* officials at their New York headquarters, but was told that the magazine never revealed story publication dates. Although there is no direct confirmation of this, Kunerth says sources close to Hamilton say he leaned heavily on Balterman and Bradford in an effort to kill a story that was being widely perceived by ISU administration as potentially very damaging to the University's image (Kunerth interview).

In all probability, the *Life* pair left because they were being made to feel increasingly uncomfortable. Retired journalism professor Bill Kunerth says he believes that "Hamilton got that reporter and photographer in his office and just 'beat the shit' out of them" (Kunerth interview). That, however, is conjecture. In any case, if they were they pulled out of Ames without seeing or taking any photographs of the effigy. Nor were they apparently aware of the petitions circulating on campus calling for Smith's impeachment.

The effigy was a life-size, long-haired and bearded dummy being suspended by a rope from the east columns of Beardshear Hall. It was outfitted in a sweatshirt,

blue jeans and wing-tip shoes with no laces. Beside the effigy was suspended separately a sign that said "BETRAYER." On the sweatshirt were the words, "Our Leader." The effigy was cut down by a crew from the Physical Plant shortly after students with 8 o'clock classes had reached their desks. Someone obviously had also alerted the *Daily* because it managed to get a photo, which it carried as a two-column, page one picture in Saturday's paper (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

Although Smith was still being supported by his vice-president and a few other leftists, he now faced the wrath of just about everyone else, including the Iowa State *Daily*. Editor Chuck Bullard condemned Smith on Friday morning, April 7, charging that he "was consciously seeking the type of publicity that would disgrace the students of ISU." It is apparent, Bullard added, that "the value of your diploma from ISU has dropped quite a bit since yesterday morning. And the chances of ISU being given back any of the cuts made in the Board of Regents budget recommendations are fading with every story written about Smith's actions Tuesday night" (*Daily*, April 7, 1967).

The editor quoted an unnamed ISU professor close to the activist pulse as saying that "Don Smith has sold the whole liberal movement off to the outside (*Life Magazine*). What I thought was a fresh breeze on campus has more of the odor of a dead carcass. Smith is not an activist. An activist stays clean. Pot and politics just don't mix. . . . I think the real liberals on campus feel they've been sold down the river. I'm deeply disturbed about this obvious attempt to embarrass the university" (*Daily*, April 7, 1967).

Bullard also questioned Smith's motives in making frequent statements to reporters about marijuana. Bullard quoted the same liberal professor as saying, "I think Smith is being used by *Life* to get a sensational story and Smith is using Life to accomplish his selfish purposes."

Bullard acknowledged that Wednesday's *Daily* story about Smith smoking pot had caused "a good many students" to assume that the *Daily* was out to get Smith. But, the editor added, other stories were published that caused student opinion leaders to "realize just how serious Smith's actions were. And that wasn't just a matter of the *Daily* trying to do Smith in." In conclusion, Bullard stopped short of calling for Smith's resignation, but the die was cast:

The stench from this is tremendous and will continue to grow. How bad depends on what Don Smith's next action will be. But whatever his motives are they don't include any thought about more freedom for ISU students.

It is evident Smith does not intend to help provide reform or progress on this campus. Smith's motives may be unknown now, but it is clear that they are not the motives of a person who sincerely wants change. Smith is working toward some other goal. Being GSB president is only incidental to those efforts.

It's too bad that people around the nation won't know there are still 15,000 students at ISU attending classes and drinking milk. Because they won't know (*Daily*, April 7, 1967).

CHAPTER V

THE *DAILY* AND STUDENT GOVERNMENT: SMITH'S BUBBLE BURSTS

'In the past two weeks, your successes could be gauged only by the standards of a journalist with the Peking Wall Poster Daily.'
— Letter to the editor, April

It only takes one person to hang up an effigy, but it took 750 students in 1967 to force GSB to bring impeachment proceedings to the student senate. That same Friday, petitions were being circulated in numbers. Two of the instigators were Dave Schworm, Sc. & H. 3, and Bob Arceri, a graduate student from Grand Junction, Colorado. Schworm, who was from Ames, told the *Daily* that he headed a group of "interested students." He said some 800 copies of the impeachment petition had been printed. By late Friday afternoon, Schworm added, his group had "run out of petitions already" (*Tribune*, April 8, 1967).

The petitions read, in part, "We feel that he has shown lack of responsibility in fulfilling his duties as president of GSB and feel that his actions are no longer representative of the student body." In calling for Smith's ouster, the petitions cited his use of drugs, his conduct with news media and his derogatory comments about the Iowa Legislature (*Tribune*, April 12, 1967).

Schworm was quoted as saying that Smith "doesn't care what happens because of his actions; he is not concerned with the University. He is using GSB more as a mockery.'" The story noted that it would take a two-thirds vote of the senate to remove Smith from office. The same story quoted GSB Vice President Mary Lou Lifka as saying that she "rather suspected that he would be impeached. There have been rumors of impeachment since the day of our election" (*Tribune*, April 8, 1967).

In a letter to the editor published that same day, Schworm and Arceri declared that they were not asking for a referendum "to help guide Mr. Smith's dressing habits; rather we are asking for his impeachment and subsequent removal from office." They accused the GSB president of "gross misconduct in representing us as a student body" and of "malfeasance of his duties as president."

"If Mr. Smith's conception of the 20th century is a pot party, then he should be informed that we do not wish to accompany him. We will gladly settle for the mediocrity of cheap beer and the realization that Iowa State is already where Mr.

Smith wishes to drag it." Whatever the University's problems, they added, "we most vehemently believe that Don Smith is not the one to rectify these faults" (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

To make matters worse for Smith — and for ISU President W. Robert Parks — several Iowa legislators said they were considering an investigation of marijuana use by college students, not only as ISU, but also at the State College and the State University of Iowa. Leading the charge was State Rep. Tom Renda, D-Des Moines, who said his group were aware marijuana was around even before the reports about Smith. But, he added ominously, "When you start talking about 100 or 200 kids, people start to wonder, should I send my son or daughter there?" (*Tribune*, April 8, 1967). Apparently Smith had told reporters at one time that at least 100 students had experimented with marijuana. Others claimed the number of regular pot users were closer to a dozen or 15.

The *Daily*, too, had had enough. In a blistering editorial under the title "End It Now" on Saturday, April 8, Chuck Bullard reiterated his conviction that Don Smith "has caused irreparable harm to the University. " He cited all the wire service, newspaper, radio and television stories "about his activities." In addition, he added, the Iowa Legislature would be considering ISU appropriations and long-range financing of academic buildings any day.

In short, according to the editor,

> The time has come. If you are concerned. If you ever wanted to do anything for Iowa State. If Iowa State ever needed help more, now is the time for student leaders to speak out. Every extra day of bad publicity is costing Iowa State not only in dollars but in prestige and dignity.
>
> A group of concerned student leaders could bring this mess to an end. For Iowa State's sake and every student here, the sooner the better (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

That day's *Daily* also carried a reprint from the text of an editorial broadcast on April 7 on campus radio station KIFC, which declared that Don Smith was not fulfilling his responsibility to the students of Iowa State and which called for "those people who opposed Don Smith during his election to crawl out of the woodwork and take a stand" (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

Also juxtaposed against these editorials was a letter from four campus liberals (including Efstathious and Eleftherious Papageorgiou) stating that they can no

longer support Don Smith because, "When anything takes priority over and interferes with a primary responsibility to the students, a leader can no longer lead." (On the other hand, Mary Lou Lifka and two others declared that they stood firmly behind the Smith-Lifka platform and refused to allow his personal life to change their position.)

Meanwhile Smith launched his own counterattack to defend himself and, possibly, preserve his presidency — though there are those who wondered just how determined he was to keep the job in face of mounting opposition. The *Daily* of Saturday, April 8 carried a rebuttal statement that Smith had been circulating on campus, denouncing reporters Abbott and Randall for their story about the marijuana party. It said, in part:

> One of the central goals of my life has always been honesty. During my campaign for president of the student body, I answered all questions directed at me as best I could. My refusal to lie or avoid questions was an important factor in my election.
>
> The betrayal of trust by certain reporters and the following sensational journalism has brought to life the fact that I have smoked marijuana. I do not deny this. I do deny that this limits my effectiveness as president of the student body (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

Smith also took an unprecedented step by reserving Curtiss Auditorium late Friday for a mass meeting on Saturday, April 8, at 7.30 p.m. so he could present his views to the student body. “I plan to defend myself to the students,” Smith explained. He further stated that the meeting would be an effort to decide “what we want to do.” Smith said students would be able to question him about his views, platform and plans for government of the student body (*Daily*, April 8, 1967).

Somewhere between 1,000-1,200 students and faculty tried to cram the 650-seat Curtiss Auditorium on Saturday to hear Don Smith defend himself against charges that he had smoked marijuana and was unfit to represent the student body. Those who couldn't find standing room waited outside, where Smith later answered more questions on the east steps of Curtiss. Sporting a button that said "Let the People Decide," Smith went on the offensive from the start, asserting that he had no intention of resigning. He acknowledged smoking marijuana, but insisted that this had not hampered his role as student body president. He then spent more than an hour answering questions from the floor. He was roundly booed when he insisted

that he had not invited *Life* reporters to the marijuana party in order to deliberately embarrass the University. In reply, Smith said, "You can boo me if you want for being truthful, but that's all I've ever been" (*Tribune*, April 10, 1967).

Smith defended his use of marijuana on the grounds that "there are times when the laws are wrong and should be violated." He also insisted that his old enemies were behind the impeachment effort. This was probably a reference to Roger Christensen, a fraternity senator, who was vice-chairman of the GSB senate and now had been Smith's chief opponent in that body. In supporting Smith, vice president Lifka declared at the Saturday meeting that she would resign if impeachment efforts succeeded. That would mean, she declared, that Christensen would be in line for the presidency. Students should decide, she declared, whether they wanted Smith or Christensen. When Smith offered to let Christensen speak to the crowd outside Curtiss, he said that he would resign, along with Lifka, so that students could see "the issue is Don Smith" (*Tribune*, April 10, 1967).

Smith's efforts on Saturday to staunch the political hemorrhaging were to little avail. The anti-Smith movement, which had been organized by students, had spread to faculty and townspeople. The Ames *Tribune* did not take any editorial stand on Smith until after his resignation, but coverage showed distinct signs of bias. For example, the paper used at least three headlines referring to 'Smith Ouster' before any such thing had occurred. On another occasion, its headline on the SDS meeting said 'Students turn on Smith,' even though some had defended him. Almost certainly, the local paper was reflecting the overwhelming sentiment of the Ames Chamber of Commerce, as well as most Ames residents (*Tribune*, April 7, 8, 10, 12, 1967).

A bit of conjecture about timing is required at this point. But it would not require much imagination to presume that ISU's Carl Hamilton and Robert Parks were busy over the weekend fielding calls from members of the Regents, legislature and even the governor himself. If so, it is also likely that Parks and Hamilton already had their game plan in effect and were confident enough of the anti-Smith student movement that they could assure their callers that Smith's reign was coming to an early end. At least they had every reason to hope so. But, even with Smith out of the picture, University administrators still had to deal with the 'bombshell' about drug use on campus.

On Monday, April 10, the United Press International carried a report from Des Moines that focused almost entirely on the drug question. Gov. Harold E. Hughes was quoted prominently as saying that reports of marijuana use at ISU "have been harmful, not only in Iowa, but across the nation." Whether true or false, he added, the school's image had been damaged. He added that state narcotics agents and college authorities were investigating the drug reports.

On the other hand, the Democratic governor said he was cool to the idea of a legislative investigation of drug use on campus. Some legislators had already suggested an investigation by the General Assembly of drug use at Iowa State. Hughes' general position was supported by the chairman of the House Higher Education Committee, Rep. Marvin Smith, R-Paulina. He said his committee would monitor the ISU situation until school was over before deciding its next step. He predicted that the most likely action, if any, would not be a House investigation, but a resolution asking the State Board of Regents to investigate the ISU marijuana problem.

Meanwhile, Rep. Marvin Smith, himself an ISU graduate, expressed the view that the "best cure of all" would be to let the students deal with Don Smith. In this statement was the implication (whether intended or not) that the marijuana problem would disappear if Smith did. The extent of the anti-Smith sentiment in Des Moines can be measured by the response of legislative leaders to a phone call that came from the GSB President on April 11. Smith rang the state house switchboard and asked to talk to the leaders. He explained that he wanted to come to Des Moines "to explain what's happening at Iowa State." He told the *Ames Tribune* that he "just offered to talk to them or any separate legislators if they desired, to try to clarify things and clear up some of the misunderstandings" (*Ames Tribune*, April 11, 1967).

But the House leadership stopped him cold, on the grounds that speaking before the legislature was a privilege very rarely accorded to even notable visitors. House Speaker Maurice Baringer, R-Oelwein, made it clear that he did not consider Smith a "notable visitor." Lt. Gov. Robert Fulton, presiding officer of the Senate, agreed, saying "The legislature is very capable of indicating to me who they want to appear before them. . . I haven't heard anything from them" (*Ames Tribune*, April 11, 1967).

Another matter of great concern (real or imagined) involved the pending appropriations measure for the three Regents institutions. One rumor reported by the *Daily* was that Regents had told President Parks to get rid of Smith or suffer a cut

in appropriations, but Regents chairman Stanley Redeker said nothing of the sort had been discussed with Parks (*Daily*, April 11, 1967).

The *Daily* also checked with Story County's legislative delegation. Rep. Ray Cunningham (Rep.-Ames) refused to go "out on a limb" concerning the possible effect of Smith on state appropriations, but added "All that is going on isn't helping any. I hope it will cool off and quiet down so it (the situation) doesn't have any effect on appropriations" (*Daily*, April 11, 1967). Rep. Rudy Van Drie (Rep.-Ames) did not refer directly to appropriations, but warned that most representatives "do not condone Smith in his use of marijuana or LSD in any form." He said Iowa State's image was being hurt and that most of his constituents were "very, very unhappy about some of the things that are taking place up there."

The only ray of hope from the legislative trio came from former Ames mayor, Sen. Pearle DeHart (Rep.-Ames), who was a member of the Senate Appropriations Sub-committee. He reported that his senate colleagues in Des Moines felt that the students "will be able to take care of the situation." The vast majority of students, he added, "are clear thinkers." DeHart added that Smith "might have done some good in some ways." As far as appropriations were concerned, he added, "I'm going to vote as I would have had none of this ever happened" (*Daily* April 11, 1967).

Although Parks had thus far remained silent in public, the University was building its own momentum among alumni and friends. At least that's how it appeared when former President James H. Hilton was quoted in the *Ames Tribune* (April 11) and the *Daily* (April 12) as saying that Don Smith's election and subsequent events had "definitely hurt" Iowa State University — in the pocketbook. Dr. Hilton, who was then serving as director of development for ISU, said in an interview the *Daily*, "I've seen a lot of things going on here, but this is the most serious threat to the image and prestige of Iowa State." *The Ames Tribune* quoted him as saying, "Anybody who doesn't think this is hurting Iowa State has another guess coming" (*Tribune*, April 11, 1967).

Hilton's observations were based on his fundraising efforts for the proposed Iowa State Center and his experience with the Alumni Achievement Fund, which was a major source of scholarship funding. Hilton told the *Daily* that his efforts to raise money to finish the Iowa State Center "are much more difficult since the election." The same story quoted another alumni fundraiser as saying: "There will be absolutely no money for the Iowa State Center until 'that bunch' [Don Smith and

his followers] are cleaned up" (*Daily*, April 12, 1967). The *Tribune* story also reported that one alumnus, who had discussed a $10,000 gift ,"mailed in a check Monday for only half that amount."

In addition to the effect on fund raising, Hamilton expressed concern over the effect of Smith's presence on enrollment at ISU. He quoted directly from an ISU alumnus who swore that none of his five children would attend ISU "if the place is taken over by a bunch of far-out kooks." A second letter, read to reporters by Hamilton, told about parents of an ISU freshman who promised that he "would look elsewhere for her second year" if Smith's "demand of no rules are met, or even considered" (*Tribune*, April 11, 1967).

The final word in this 18-inch, front page *Tribune* story belonged to Bob Crom, who was field secretary for the ISU alumni association. He recounted how one alumnus had returned his donation envelope empty, except for a crumpled clipping about Smith (*Tribune*, April 11, 1967).

Meanwhile, petitions calling for Smith's impeachment were to be submitted to GSB vice president Mary Lou Lifka sometime on Monday afternoon, April 10. Organizer Dave Schworm said his group already had verified at least 750 names, but he intended to keep the petitions circulating in order to capture as much anti-Smith sentiment as possible. In the end, the petitions that were submitted contained 1,925 names (*Tribune*, April 10, 1967).

In those days, the *Daily* was a Tuesday through Saturday publication, so the first opportunity the editors had to respond to Smith's Saturday night defense appeared on April 11. In an editorial that covered 60 percent of the editorial page, Bullard acknowledged Smith's "natural ability to charm an audience." The editor presumed that Smith had "seemed to sway many of those who were undecided." But, he added, a certain amount of reflection raised further serious questions and doubts about Smith's performance. Still, it is apparent from reading the editorial that Bullard was not unimpressed by Smith's ability to lead students. But, he added, Smith had not demonstrated that he could work with faculty or the administration. Smith was also chastised for not having fought for his bill of rights when they were introduced and when President Parks criticized the ideas contained therein.

The Saturday meeting, Bullard wrote, had its tenseness and dramatic moments. "But when it was all over many students realized that Smith hadn't really said too much. He failed to answer too many questions directly. He turned too many inquires

into laughs" (*Daily*, April 11, 1967). Whereas three days earlier, Bullard wanted to "End It Now," he stopped short of that in Tuesday's editorial. Instead, he urged GSB to approve a binding referendum on the question of "whether Don Smith should represent us" (*Daily*, April 11, 1967).

In a piece of enterprise reporting, the *Daily* conducted two opinion polls on Monday, April 10, to see what students were thinking after Smith's weekend defense (*Daily*, April 11, 1967). The news was predictably not good for the GSB leader. In a copyrighted story, Holly Hansel reported that 1,200 students polled favored a special referendum by a 4-1 majority. She also wrote that a second, more in depth, survey of 143 students, showed students were 2-1 against Smith.

Closer analysis was slightly less unfavorable for Smith. Of the 1,200 students surveyed, 49.6 percent thought Smith should be impeached, while 42.3 percent said no, with 8.1 percent undecided. When asked their stance as of Monday, 24.5 percent said they were pro-Smith, while 51.3 percent were anti-Smith. Another 19.1 percent called themselves neutral and 5.1 percent said they didn't know how they felt. The greatest anti-Smith stronghold was the College of Veterinary Medicine, where 80 percent of the 300 majors had signed impeachment petitions. The same percentage in the *Daily* poll said they were anti-Smith.

By now the letters to the editor columns were overflowing with letters about ISU's errant student body president. Most were negative or highly critical, but Smith still had his supporters, including Bob Melville, Sc. & H. 2, and three other students, whose letter began by quoting Don Marquis, creator of Archie and Mehitabel,

"There is bound to be a certain amount of trouble running any. . . (government); if you are president the trouble happens to you but if you are a tyrant you can arrange things so that most of the trouble happens to other people." The authors traced Smith's problems to the Abbott-Randall story about his use of marijuana. They also claimed that, "With help from the *Daily*, and several 'Campus Leaders', Don Smith's image was demolished in short order." In asking why the current situation had been blown "so far out of proportion," Melville and friends suggested, in part, that "certain people in high places, people who had already decided to 'get Smith', suddenly found an opportunity, by using the *Daily*, to demolish Smith" (*Daily*, April 11, 1967).

No one can say for certain, but retired journalism professor Bill Kunerth opined in 1997 that Carl Hamilton was involved in encouraging these anti-Smith activities. The group, according to Kunerth, ran several large-space ads in the *Daily* carrying

headlines like: 'Had Enough of Don Smith?' In fact, two full-page ads appeared — on April 12 and April 13 — which were sponsored by the "Had Enough of Don Smith?" Committee (Dave Schworm, Chairman).

The first was titled, **"Here's How Don Smith Really Represents I.S.U."** It featured two excerpts from the Waterloo Courier. The first was a quote of a speech in Cedar Falls on March 16. The story began as follows:

> CEDAR FALLS — "I notice one of your candidates wants to hand out contraceptives," Iowa State University student body president Don Smith told a meeting of State College of Iowa Students Thursday.
>
> "But if they do, I don't know where they'll get all the bastards for the (state) Legislature..."

The same advertisement included editorial comment by Waterloo Courier columnist Bill Severin. It said, in part:

> Sockless Smith, the bearded president of the Iowa State University student body, exhibited incredibly bad taste in questioning the parentage of members of the Iowa General Assembly when he spoke on the State College of Iowa campus last week. But even worse, he exhibited extremely bad judgment.
>
> His insulting remark about members of the legislature came at a time when these same legislators are pondering the appropriations for the Board of Regents institutions. His 'funny' could well cost these schools several millions of dollars before the appropriations for the next biennium are finally approved. . . .
>
> Unfortunately, if any financial penalty is exacted by justifiably angry legislators, Smith, a senior, will not suffer. The victims will be the thousands of students anxious to attend the schools to learn and who would happily leave the teaching to the faculty and the administration to the administrators.

"This is not Don Smith's 'personal life'!," the advertisement continued. **"This is the way he speaks and acts as President of the I.S.U. Student Body"**

The advertisement concluded by admonishing students to Vote 'No' in the proposed referendum on Smith's future as GSB president.

The second full-page advertisement (*Daily*, April 13, 1967), under the headline **WHO SAID THAT?** compiled ten quotes from Don Smith. These were excerpted from publications as diverse as *The Liberator* and *The New York Times Magazine*, which had done a profile on Smith on April 9, 1967. Four of these quotes dealt with anarchy. Three others involved morality or social behavior and included promises

by Smith to work for sale of alcoholic beverages on or near the campus and the sale of contraceptives at the college health center. He was also quoted as saying that people ought to be able to live together without getting married and that dormitories should be integrated sexually. The advertisement also contained the comment about the bastards in the state Legislature and Smith's *Daily* comment that "I don't go along with all that moral - - - -."

Given the pressure being applied by legislators, press, Regents, alumni and friends it would be surprising if the ISU administration had not provided some covert leadership and guidance to Schworm and others. But there is no concrete evidence of this. Besides, the bandwagon against Smith was gathering momentum *Daily*.

In any case, W. Robert Parks was maintaining his silence. Both the *Daily* and the *Ames Tribune* carried a statement from the ISU President on Wednesday, April 12, in which he announced his intention of making no official pronouncements on the President of the Student Body during the next few days. Parks declared that his own silence during the past week "in face of all the pressures upon me to speak out has been by far the most difficult, and perhaps the strongest thing which I have done since I have been President of Iowa State University."

"My silence," he added, "is my way of expressing my confidence in the ability of the students of Iowa State to deal with a situation which, to say the least, is unprecedented in the history of the school" (*Daily* and Ames *Tribune*, April 12, 1967).

In an article headlined "Parks Comments on University Procedures," it read:

"First, there are, and there must continue to be, rules of conduct at Iowa State University. This is inherent in the fact that some 15,000 students must live together and work together toward a common educational goal in a fixed and rather limited geographical area.

"Second — and let there be no mistake about this — Iowa State University regards the possession and use of illegal narcotics as a serious offense actionable under state and federal laws and University regulations."

Because of newspaper deadlines, it is logical to assume that Dr. Parks' statement was written before 19 GSB senators convened in the South Ball Room of the Memorial Union on Tuesday April 11 before a record-breaking crowd of 500 persons to talk about their President's fate. Included in the audience were newsmen from CBS in Chicago, as well as Des Moines and Ames media (*Daily*, April 13,

1967). Those who had arrived to see an impeachment were disappointed. The measure, as presented by Inter-Fraternity Council senator Roger Christensen, described Smith as someone in a position of "public trust and public responsibility" whose actions had tended to reflect "great discredit upon the student body and Iowa State."

Smith was on his feet for more than an hour, during which time he:

* challenged the legality of his impeachment;

* denounced the Iowa Legislature for attempting to influence GSB; and

* promised not to use marijuana while student body president or until legalized (*Daily*, April 12, 1967).

Smith also argued that opposition to his presidency by Iowa legislators had been voiced immediately after his election. Some, he said, had proclaimed that they had been "nauseated" by his victory. Hence, he believed, their opposition had little to do with what he had said or done since he took office (*Daily*, April 12, 1967). Smith argued that the impeachment effort was grounded on criticism of his personal life, not neglect of his duties. "My responsibility is to try to carry out the platform I ran on and was elected on. My responsibility," he added, "is to work through normal channels for the things the students elected me for" (*Tribune*, April 12, 1967).

"I feel the university is not the place to train students to do things in a certain way," he added, and this was what the legislature was trying to do. "The purpose of a university," he argued, was "to get together in a group and search for truth" (*Daily* April 12, 1967). (In this he had a sympathizer in W. Robert Parks.)

The *Tribune* story noted that the South Ballroom went quiet when Smith had this exchange with Christensen, a junior from Kimballton.

Christensen: "Have you admitted to the usage of narcotic drugs?"

Smith: "If you mean marijuana, yes, I have admitted to that usage."

Christensen: "Were there reporters present?

Smith: "I have no further comment on that incident."

Christensen: "Will you do so again?"

Smith: "As long as I am president of the student body and until marijuana is made legal, I will say 'No'."

According to the *Tribune*, that response brought Smith the longest ovation of the night.

The only greater applause occurred after Senator Skip Spensley read aloud President Parks' statement that he would remain silent because the students "should decide for themselves" how to handle the Smith situation (*Tribune* and *Daily*, April 12, 1967).

In spite of the petitions and the criticism of Smith from legislators, alumni and townspeople, GSB senators were reluctant that night to deal with the impeachment motion (Senate bill #13). Instead, they voted to delay action for a week — and, instead, to hold a special student referendum on Friday, April 14, in which only one question would be asked:

'Should Don Smith be removed from office? Yes or No' (*Tribune*, April 12, 1967).

As the GSB meeting adjourned, opponents of the GSB president said they expected the poll on Friday would show repudiation of Smith by the students. His backers, on the other hand, said they expected the vote would be close, but predicted that Smith would win by a slight margin (*Tribune*, April 12, 1967). According to the *Daily* story by Helen Randall and Ed Stiles, the GSB president also said he would consider resigning if a student referendum showed something like 60 percent against him (*Daily*, April 12, 1967).

The *Daily* editors were making no predictions, but they were more determined than ever, after the GSB meeting, to see Smith removed from office. In the lead editorial on April 13, Chuck Bullard chided Smith for not realizing that every public official loses his private life once elected. But the editorial's main thrust was whether Don Smith "has acted in the best interests of the student body." Bullard again lamented that Smith had not fought for his own bill of rights. "Does this show leadership? Stathis Papageorgiou has pressed more for Smith's ideas than Smith himself." In the end, Bullard, concluded, Smith had "lessened the chance of his ideas becoming reality by his public and private actions." He had proven himself "an ineffectual leader because his actions hurt the very cause he is advocating — change. . . . Another man could carry out the reforms, without misrepresenting Iowa State" (*Daily*, April 13, 1967).

A second editorial that day dealt with the relationship between Don Smith and the *Daily*, which some were describing as a "public feud." The *Daily*'s Holly Hansel addressed Smith's public allegations that his problems, beginning with the marijuana incident, were caused by the *Daily* because it first printed the story and,

in his words, "invaded my private life." Hansel cited an excerpt at Tuesday's GSB meeting in which Smith acknowledged that he had no agreement beforehand with the *Life* reporters that they would not use his name in connection with the marijuana party. "By admitting that he had taken no precaution to keep this incident out of *Life* magazine," Hansel argued, "Smith has shifted all responsibility for his crisis from the *Daily* to himself." Smith himself, Hansel argued, had "got himself into this mess. It is now up to the student body to decide how to best handle this unfortunate situation. This is your University and your responsibility. Let your decision be based on the actions of President Smith and on what you sincerely believe is best for Iowa State" (*Daily*, April 13, 1967).

Hansel's editorial also reflects a defensiveness by the *Daily* that was generated, not only by criticism from Smith, but also from comments in news columns and in letters to the editor. Sometimes these authors did not name the *Daily* directly, but they criticized in more general terms the arguments that the editors were using against Smith. In other instances, the press generally was tarred for a variety of reasons. "They sensationalize, inflate every trivial aspect of Don," wrote August Braaksma, Sc. & H. 1. "They leave only the important things about Don alone" (*Daily*, April 12, 1967).

Referring to the full-page advertisements in the *Daily*, Thomas Peterson, Engr. 2, wrote that David Schworm had "boldly followed in the journalistic footsteps of the *Daily* in grossly misrepresenting the 'facts' about Don Smith" (*Daily*, April 15, 1967).

In other instances, they attacked the *Daily* directly, as with Roger Bower, Sc. & H. 2, who argued that the *Daily*'s use of the term "moral shit" had "set a new low standard in journalism." Of course, Bower did not actually repeat the language, preferring instead to refer to it as "an obviously vulgar word." He added, that "the printing was offensive and over stepped the boundaries of decency." Randall's feature on Smith was also attacked by Sarah E. Hunter (Sc. & H. 1), who called it "the most biased, unfair attack on Smith to appear in the *Daily*." Hunter explained that "The fact that the *Daily* staff allowed this propaganda in the paper is not the most disturbing aspect, however; the sad fact is that you did not place it where it belonged — under the letters to the editor, with other personal opinion" (*Daily*, April 15, 1967).

In the *Daily*'s poll on Smith of April 10, several students took the opportunity to blame the *Daily* for the controversy. One called Smith the victim of a vengeful

student press, while another student said, "I want the *Daily* to become objective and unopinionated in all of its contents except editorials and Bullard to resign as editor" (*Daily*, April 11, 1967).

Far more penetrating was a letter by Gene Erb, Sc. & H. 4, who launched a full frontal assault on the *Daily*'s performance. Erb claimed that the newspaper "has acted irresponsibly in the past week. It has been indiscreet, distorted and misleading" — all "apparently in an attempt to discredit Don Smith." Erb denigrated the *Daily* for using the "moral shit" phrase. But this, he argued, was only a "small thing, perhaps an oversight," compared to the *Daily* story on Smith and marijuana. This, Erb insisted, "was a violation of journalistic responsibility and a deliberate attempt to discredit Smith." The writer argued that the *Daily* had promised Smith that names would not be used and then had broken that promise.

"Smith was tricked. As a consequence the *Daily* has made Smith look bad. Worse, it has done damage to the reputation of journalism as well as the University. Who will trust a reporter any more? Who will give a reporter information in confidence? I would think twice. Wouldn't you?"

And that wasn't all, according to Erb. The *Daily* was now attempting to mislead the students in its editorials:

> "It would have you believe that Smith has deliberately revealed his connection with marijuana in order to embarrass the University and discredit GSB. It would have you believe that Smith has not been responsible to students or the University. In short, it has shifted the blame from itself to Smith.
>
> The *Daily* articles and editorials sprung the leak. Because of the *Daily*, not Smith, papers and radio stations in the state are carrying stories about the 'pot party.' KIFC has jumped at the opportunity to discredit Smith, not even questioning the *Daily*'s accuracy.
>
> I say too: 'End It Now.' Stop the impeachment of Don Smith. Obviously, Smith is not to be held accountable for all of the damage done to Iowa State and the students. Perhaps a censure of the *Daily* is in order (*Daily*, April 12, 1967).

Meanwhile, not every writer was deadly serious or utterly humorless in the midst of the Don Smith crisis. One of the better efforts came from James R. Runyon, a graduate student, whose letter to the editor was addressed to Mr. Smith:

> I too have a beard and a motorcycle. After your election I was full of joy when people nodded at me in deference. Professors opened doors for me. Girls raised their (would you believe) skirts to me.
>
> This week there as been a drastic change. Now as I ride by little kids who used to salute, throw stones at me. I even had one professor in biology threaten to flunk me with every intent of sending me to war!

After a few lines about the GSB presidential office being a public trust, Runyon named a couple of Smith's goals that he agreed with and concluded by saying, "Personally I don't care about your obscenities. But I don't like little kids throwing stones at me!" (*Daily*, April 12, 1967).

Emmerson also recalls the *Daily* receiving a letter protesting against Don Smith's public aspersions of Iowa-grown marijuana as being an inferior grade. It was sent on paper that had been specially designed for this one occasion. The letterhead said "Iowa Marijuana Growers' Association." But the letter was not signed and did not run (Emmerson interview).

Within 36 hours of Tuesday's GSB Senate meeting, the proposed 'Yes or No' referendum was scuttled by the Student Supreme Court, which held that it would prejudice the impeachment trial. The decision, written by student chief justice William Anderson, a senior from Ames (and signed by four other justices) said, in part: "Impeachments are a judicial process, to be decided solely on the basis of the facts and evidence presented at the trial. . . regardless of the opinions of the individual senators' constituents" (*Tribune*, April 13, 1967).

Smith, who said he was informed of the decision by special delivery letter, was quoted as saying, "This came as as much of a surprise to me as to anybody else." He emphasized to reporters that he did not appoint any of the members of the supreme court. Smith also said he agreed with the decision, even though he had not spoken against it at the GSB meeting. His silence then, he explained, was because "I felt that I would win" and because he did not want to give the appearance of being against student opinion" (*Tribune*, April 13, 1967).

In fact, a referendum might have been a close call in spite of the uproar about Smith's use of marijuana and his abuse of the language. Retired professor Bill Kunerth recalled that, "For two weeks, the *Daily* ran two or more pages of letters-to-the-editor — about half chastising Smith and half praising him (Kunerth interview).

Even more revealing were the results of a poll directed by Political Science professors Don Hadwiger and Charles Wiggins. The survey embraced 1,500

students and was conducted over the days of April 17-19, though its results were onlly published on May 20 (*Daily*, May 20, 1967). It should be noted, however, that those three days encompassed the day Smith resigned and the succeeding two days, so there almost certainly must have been some backlash in his favor.

In any case, the poll indicated that, had the vote for impeachment come before the students, some 47.3 percent of those responding would have voted against removing Smith, while 43.3 percent favored impeachment, with 9.4 percent undecided. In other words, as Wiggins explained, almost everyone who had not made up their minds would have had to vote to oust Smith for the resolution to have passed (*Daily*, May 20, 1967).

Doubtless several factors were involved in shaping the support for Smith, but one of them appears to have been support for at least some of his ideas. The Hadwiger-Wiggins poll showed 60 and 70 percent support, respectively, for a cooperative bookstore and GSB becoming more involved in alleviating "high student rents for off-campus housing and high prices charged by Ames merchants." Another 72 percent agreed with Smith that "ISU students should have more freedom in determining how they conduct their own personal lives." They also believed, by a majority of 54 percent to 30 percent, that they should be allowed to make their own rules regarding student conduct in dormitories (*Daily*, May 20, 1967). All of these ideas fit the Smith pattern.

Another possible factor at work in Smith's favor at this time may have been general student frustration or even anger at GSB, both generally and in senators' treatment of Smith and Lifka. Only 7.7 percent of those polled thought GSB had been effective in solving student problems — and only nine percent thought it could in the future become "an effective instrument for solving student problems."

Although the Hadwiger-Wiggins poll indicated that students did not apparently favor impeaching Smith and liked several of his proposals, they were much less satisfied with his image. A whopping 68.3 percent said they did not like Smith's image, while just over 19 percent did like it (with 12 percent undecided). On the other hand, almost half of those questioned said Smith possessed many "desirable human qualities." And 72 percent of those surveyed said they opposed any attempt on the part of the University administration to discipline Smith (*Daily*, May 20, 1967).

But, from the administration's point of view, any result other than an overwhelming vote of rejection could have presented a first-class political dilemma

for the University leadership — one that might have forced Parks to intervene personally "for the good of Iowa State." Thus, it is at least conceivable that the administration was relieved that the size of the arena had been reduced, once again, to 19 GSB senators.

The impeachment charges now facing Don Smith involved four points (*Daily*, April 11). These included (1) his admitted use of narcotic drugs and the fact (2) that he condoned the use by others of narcotic drugs. The next charge was that Smith, as President of GSB, (3) had made public statements "in gross derogation of the Iowa General Assembly and tending to impugn the standing of members thereof and to hold the members thereof up to public ignominy." Finally, he was accused of (4) pursuing a course of conduct with news media that was "seriously competitive and disruptive of preservation of an appropriate atmosphere of learning and adverse to common and accepted standards of conduct and behavior."

As for the first charge on the impeachment sheet, the *Daily* drove another nail into Smith's political coffin on April 15, when it reprinted a story on the editorial page that made it clear the student body president hadn't been exactly tight-lipped about his habits. The *Daily* picked up a story from the Davenport Sunday Times-Democrat in which reporter Roger Yockey wrote that the "bearded, LSD using, non-believing" Smith had freely admitted to using marijuana and the psychedelic LSD. According to Yockey, Smith not only described the "trip" on LSD as "beautiful," he also estimated that 100 students at ISU had used LSD. He also put the number of pot smokers at 300 to 400. The *Daily* reprinted this story with an accompanying editor's note that pointed out that the Yockey-Smith interview took place on the afternoon of April 4 — just a couple of hours before the GSB president was photographed at a marijuana party by *Life* (April 15). Doubtless the *Daily* was interested in presenting as many facts or perspectives as possible about Don Smith, but it was also probable that the editors were also interested in blunting the sting of some fairly heavy criticism they had received about using some reportorial trickery to get Smith to admit using drugs. Opposite the editorial page on Saturday, April 15, the *Daily* carried the only cartoon to appear during the entire Smith affair. It was unsigned, so there is no way of knowing whether it was staff- or reader-generated. It showed Charlie Brown (of Peanuts fame) — bearded with a cigarette.

It was surprising the *Daily* ran the cartoon without a credit line, since their policy usually required it.

The caption said: 'Happiness is smoking pot and telling everyone about it!' (Figure 2).

At this time, going into the final chapter of this saga, it is interesting to observe that the *Daily*'s letters to the editor were running, if anything, in favor of Smith — or at least against the idea that legislators, alumni or the media (*Daily* or otherwise) should interfere with the students' right to decide their own presidential matters. Indeed, the *Daily*'s editorial columnist, John Kobliska, came out unambiguously on Saturday against impeaching Don Smith.

Figure 2. The only *Daily* cartoon on Smith. April 15, 1967 *Daily*. Reprinted with permission of *Iowa State Daily*.

Calling impeachment a "gross miscarriage of justice," Kobliska admitted that Smith had blundered by talking about his private life, but added that whether or not he smoked marijuana was part of his private life, and did not have any constitutional bearing on Don Smith's competency to hold the office. "You do not impeach a man from office because you disagree with his personal or political views," Kobliska wrote. In no way yet, he added, had Smith shown himself to be incompetent. "The farcical, ambiguous, blown-up charges" against Smith, he concluded, were merely "trumped up excuses" to unjustly unseat the duly elected president (*Daily*, April 15, 1967).

What happened to Smith between cancellation of the referendum on Thursday, April 13 and Monday, April 17, may never be fully known. It is doubtful that Smith's weekend was uneventful and it's possible that his parents even got involved. In retrospect, he himself said that the situation was tough on them in Rockwell City (Smith interview).

But that is speculation. What's undisputed is the fact that Don Smith resigned as GSB president and dropped out of school. Smith left a short paragraph note of resignation posted on the door of the GSB office in the Union. It basically addressed two general points. The first involved the campaign against him and the other was what he saw as his accomplishments in his 40 days as president.

As for the effort to remove him from office, Smith said:

> The upcoming impeachment is turning into a smear campaign against me and my friends. A thorough search has been made into my past life and one student has told me of a bribe offered for any information that could be used against me. The unjust damage done to the reputations of others in such a "trial" could be tremendous.
>
> When elected, I expected criticism. I was unprepared however, for the amount of personal abuse directed at me, my friends and my family. I can no longer take part in a society that condemns a man for having unpopular personal beliefs, yet accepts an organized campaign to destroy a man's reputation for the personal gain of others.

With regard to his legacy, he wrote:

> I am bitter, yes, but I have faith that others more suited to lead than I will take advantage of the present situation, to build a strong and meaningful student government.
>
> If exposure to my ideas has broadened one person's mind, or my example has made one person aware of the danger to free speech in this country, then it has not been in vain" (*Daily*, April 18, 1967).

Smith told the *Ames Tribune* on Monday, April 17, that he planned to load up his Volkswagen bus and leave Iowa. His plans, he said, were indefinite (*Tribune*, April 17, 1967). A day or so later, he left Ames on his motorcyle for Berkeley. He returned in mid-May to pick up the bus, "just mess around for a few days," and then return to California, where he said he had established residence (*Daily*, May 16, 1967).

The vacated presidency was filled immediately by Mary Lou Lifka, who promised that she would "continue to work for the things we described in our platform." Then she added, "I hope there will be some cooperation" (*Tribune*, April 17 and *Daily*, April 18, 1967). The *Daily* story contained an extra insight about Lifka's parents. Writer Sharon Novotne said Lifka's parents wanted her to become the next GSB president because they feel she could do a better job in office than Smith. At the

end of the story, Novotne wrote that Lifka's parents were proud she was elected, "but held prejudice against Don Smith" (*Daily*, April 18, 1967).

On Tuesday, April 18 — the same day the *Daily* carried the news of Smith's resignation — the newspaper gave top play to a formal statement from President W. Robert Parks dealing with a Smith-less university, but one that still had to mollify a lot of alumni and some legislators. First, he stressed, "there are, and there must continue to be, rules of conduct at Iowa State University." This, he said, was is inherent in the fact that some 15,000 students live together and work together in a rather limited geographical area. Then turning to the most pressing political issue of the moment, Parks declared, "let there be no mistake about this — Iowa State University regards the possession and use of illegal narcotics as a serious offense actionable under state and federal laws and University regulations."

To this end, Parks said that Iowa State was asking federal and state narcotics authorities and agents "to continue and to intensify their investigation of the possession and use of narcotics among students." This was necessary for two reasons, he explained. First, it was important to identify drug users, but it was also "the only way in which a correct picture of the extremely limited extent of student use of narcotics can be revealed to the University community and to the people of the state."

Parks also stressed that the University would use its own established procedures and processes for investigation to determine, on the basis of the evidence, whether those allegedly connected with drugs should be allowed to remain or be dismissed from school.

Parks also re-explained why he had refrained from expressing his views on Smith's conduct — conduct which he believed had created a "grossly unfair and distorted picture of the Iowa State student body." It was a student matter, he declared, and "I felt that it was only through their action that the true quality and integrity of the Iowa State student body could be clearly revealed" (*Daily*, April 18, 1967).

Smith's sudden departure produced two mild and restrained editorials from the *Daily*. The first, on April 18, looked more like a bereavement notice, except that the borders surrounding the box were hatched instead of bold black. Surrounded by lots of white space, the words inside the box said only, "We've all learned something in the last few days. Now let us look to tomorrow."

The next day's editorial, by Chuck Bullard, carefully avoided any suggestion of Schadenfreude, though the editor did refer to “the sigh of relief” on campus. The main focus, in fact, was to identify Don Smith’s legacy — without ever actually mentioning his name. Bullard accomplished this by reporting that a change had taken place in the attitudes of Iowa State students. “They’ve come to want reform and change” (*Daily*, April 19, 1967).

Furthermore, Bullard believed, President Parks was an agent for change. Under his administration “students have had a significant say in the development of rules governing themselves. Pres. Parks has actively encouraged students to take part in shaping their own rules.” As evidence, the editorial cited the fact that ISU has the most liberal hours policy in the Big Eight. Thus, the *Daily* argued, “Now is the time for students to use this climate of change for their collective good. The administration is willing to let students work for reform. Students want reform and cooperation will bring it about.” If Mary Lou Lifka and the GSB senate can work together and start a dialogue with the administration, the editors concluded, then change can occur. “Cooperation,” Bullard concluded, “will do more to further the student desire for change than any amount of brick dust from a head hitting the wall” (*Daily*, April 19, 1967).

Not everyone, however, was so content with the outcome. Most letters to the editor after April 18 expressed sympathy and support for Smith, who was seen as an honest person who had endured the slings and arrows of all and sundry and who was still in possession of his integrity (*Daily*, April 19, 1967).

Indeed, whereas Smith's name was rapidly replaced in news stories by Lifka and others, and while other campus issues finally re-surfaced, the letters to the editor of the *Daily* were dominated for another ten days by the departed student leader. At least a dozen more missives were printed — almost all lamenting Smith's departure or the manner by which it was accomplished. Anti-Smith supporters were described as "witch-hunters" (April 20), blackmail artists (April 22), "vigilantes," "the Inquisition " or those who perpetrated the Salem Witch trials (April 26).

Against that, Smith himself was almost martyred for his honesty and integrity. He was described as having been "crucified" and "drawn and quartered" (April 22). He was also portrayed as a new Phoenix that has risen from the ashes (April 24). He was even compared by one writer to Jesus Christ (April 24). No fewer than four poems were penned (all by men) and published in honor of the fallen leader. They

were titled, "Son of Man," "And Now He's Gone," "Time Hurries On" and, from a Drake University student, "To the New Moo U" (*Daily*, April 22, 25, 27, 1967).

Meanwhile, the *Daily*, seeking to re-direct the train of thought, produced an editorial about campus beauty whose opening could only have brought great chortles to those who weren't busy drinking milk. It began:

> *"It's spring — time for young men to contemplate what cows have been thinking about all winter — grass" (Daily, April 21, 1967).*

A few days later, a full-scale, sustained religious debate over the New Testament broke out in the letters columns and things began to settle down to something resembling normal.

What the *Daily* did not attempt at this time was a retrospective analysis of its own performance in the Don Smith affair. This would have been a useful exercise, especially in view of the results of the Hadwiger-Wiggins poll of April 17-19. Of the 1,500 students questioned, only 18.3 percent felt the paper had treated Smith fairly, while 66.3 percent disagreed and 15.4 percent were undecided (*Daily*, May 20, 1967).

Among the *Daily*'s critics were those — including Smith and his supporters — who believed the paper had invaded his privacy and intruded into his personal affairs. One of the strongest attacks against the *Daily* occurred on the same day as Bullard's call for cooperation (*Daily*, April 19, 1967). Written by Stephen Armstrong and James Crain, both Sc. & H. 3, it is worth some attention, if only because it reflects attitudes that still persist today toward the news media in controversy.

"Our warmest congratulations go to the excellent staff of the Iowa State *Daily*," it began.

> In the past two weeks, your successes could be gauged only by the standards of a journalist with the Peking Wall Poster *Daily*.
>
> An intelligent student who did not confirm to the *Daily*'s image of a typical Pre-Vet. major has been forced by your actions and the mud-slinging of 18th century student conservatives to drop out of school. You are not guilty of participating directly in a slander campaign against Mr. Smith, but your knowledge of this campaign and your complacency about it would make William Randolph Hearst envious.
>
> The *Daily* has shown by its own actions that it values the freedom of the press, even when abused, above the freedom of one individual to think and live as he chooses. The gross invasion of Don Smith's privacy by the *Daily*

> and the betrayal of confidential information given by Mr. Smith should warn all students that the Iowa State *Daily* cannot be trusted. . . .
>
> Does the *Daily* feel that it must act as conscience and moral guardian for every student on the Iowa State campus? It is already doing so. Remember its editorials and Bullard's sagacious "we told you so" Tuesday morning. . . (*Daily*, April 19, 1967)

Such attacks on the *Daily* did not always go unanswered. For example, in the case of the Peking Wall Poster *Daily*, two journalism majors produced a letter of "support" laced with sarcasm and humor, à la Jonathan Swift. Mike Deupree, a junior, and Gary L. Vincent, a sophomore, penned their own "protest" against the *Daily*'s style of yellow journalism (*Daily*, April 21, 1967). Their alleged concern was the previous day's page one Weather forecast. It was, they contended "an excellent example of the careless and ruthless manner in which the *Daily* seeks to 'blow up' items to unreasonable propositions." Indeed, they suggested, "The very wording of the last sentence in the story shows a lack of basis in fact, 'chances of occasional showers....' This is obviously merely rumor."

Deupree and Vincent condemned the story because it implied weather in Iowa is rainy, "and this violates the basic journalistic principle of protecting rather than reporting. The *Daily* should realize that some things should not be printed if they reflect badly on a person or group, regardless of whether those things are true, important, and newsworthy" (*Daily*, April 21, 1967).

Interestingly, some of the key participants in the Don Smith drama did not criticize coverage or blame the *Daily* for what happened. Helen Randall still believes that Abbott wasn't totally square with Smith. But Mary Lou Lifka Atkinson, who is still a journalist today, says (1998) that she didn't remember being angry at the way the *Daily* handled anything, "so I have to believe that I saw their coverage as fair. I think if I had been upset about it, I would have a stronger memory of it" (Lifka Atkinson interview, 1998). As for President Parks, he recalls that the *Daily* was "a pretty straight paper in those days" and was "pretty shocked" by Smith generally and, specifically, by his alleged use of marijuana. In spite of this, Parks believes in retrospect that the *Daily* had little to do with Smith's sudden departure. Instead, he thinks the GSB President left because "he never really attracted a big troop."

Not surprisingly, many of the circumstances surrounding Smith's resignation and sudden departure intrigued students in 1967 to the extent that the rumor mill was

working overtime a full month later. *Daily* reporter Ed Stiles tried to sort out fact from fiction in a story, but was mainly able to catalog the various stories and innuendoes that were circulating (*Daily*, May 12, 1967). One rumor, according to Stiles, was that students had been bribed for information concurring Smith's personal life. Another had Smith being threatened and, thus, forced to resign as GSB President. A third story circulating was that a prominent Iowa political figure had donated $1,000 to students who were leading the dump Smith movement.

Stiles talked with both pro- and anti-Smith forces and came away almost empty-handed. The closest he came to any facts (and this was still conjecture) was that anti-Smith students entered Smith's GSB office on the night of April 16, hoping to find "personally incriminating evidence" that could be used against him. Stiles' source did not know whether the intruders found the "personally embarrassing evidence that Smith said, in his statement of resignation, would do 'unjust damage to the reputation of others.'"

Stiles reported, too, that sources close to Smith said he was not directly contacted by the people who had "incriminating information." Reportedly, Smith's political enemies "let leak strategically into the campus grapevine" their information and that's how Smith reportedly found out about what his foes knew about his personal life. Even more intriguing is the comment from a Smith supporter who said, "So few people know about this information that the people who talked to Don must have had good sources of information" (*Daily*, May 12, 1967).

One week later, the campus radio station, KIFC, speculated in an on-air editorial that "a smear campaign was used against Smith to drive him from office" and, it added, "this campaign might have been sponsored by the University administration and some members of the Iowa legislature" (*Daily*, May 19, 1967). The editorial called for an investigation into the case to determine the truth concerning Smith's departure. Several KIFC staff members, who refused to be quoted, said they had "considerable evidence to support their allegations" and had gone with the editorial after consulting lawyers "to determine their legal position."

The KIFC editorial, which was also printed in the station's internal news sheet (790 Press), was summarily dismissed by Carl Hamilton, director of University relations. "The parts that have been read to me which make reference in various ways to the administration," he declared, were "so completely false as to be unworthy of comment" (*Daily*, May 19, 1967).

Probably no one today will know what pressures were brought to bear on Smith and by whom — unless Smith or Mary Lou Lifka Atkinson or Bill Kunerth decide to talk. They appear to be the three main living players in this drama who know what happened. For their parts, Smith and Lifka Atkinson shed some light on these events during interviews. Kunerth says he knows what happened, but has been pledged to secrecy (Kunerth interview).

Smith left for a lot of reasons. Both the Smith and Lifka families were uncomfortable with the attention (Smith and Lifka Atkinson interviews). Smith even said he was. He said he couldn't even walk into a pizza place without getting a crowd reaction. Smith (in 1997) described a time when "we once went into a pizza place in Ames and...half of the people applauded and half booed. We left." He also recalled that a 15-year-old girl came to campus one day and asked if she could have a lock of his hair (Smith interview).

The media spotlight was intense. Lifka Atkinson in 1998 said reporters wouldn't leave Smith alone to conduct his presidency and their ticket had become "bigger than us, because of all the national media that immediately descended on campus." Smith said one of the leaders of the SDS movement on campus, Efstathios Papageorgiou, even told him to quit because he was "hurting the movement."

Smith had been surprised and disappointed with the marijuana story in the *Daily*.

Lifka said, "There is no mystery. No conspiracy."

"There were lots of reasons," she pointed out. "The decisions were his."

To borrow from the gridiron lexicon, Smith's team of rag-tag players had taken the kickoff and come close to scoring a touchdown against the varsity. The defensive line of students buckled, then held. With fourth down and goal, the university coaching staff produced a powerful formation from the playbook, causing the collapse of the upstarts. Now the administration was launching a strong drive of its own to score as quickly as possible – so people would forget about the nightmare that almost happened.

Parks, Hamilton, Hilton and Crom had their work cut out for them to bring things back to the status quo ante (if that would ever be possible). But the storm (or tempest) had been weathered.

Don Smith took his motorcycle west to California, but he didn't stay for long. He returned to Iowa State the following fall and graduated as an mechanical

engineering major in spring quarter, 1968. He was the subject of a front-page *Daily* interview on May 18th, where he described his main accomplishment in politics as bringing the students, faculty and administration and related community to a sudden realization of the necessary future direction of university policy. He did not elaborate on that statement (*Daily*, May 18, 1967). But former *Daily* reporter Helen Randall may have summed it up when she pointed out that the Smith era also was a precursor to protests over the Vietnam conflict; SDS's role in the 60's and 70's; and debate over drugs that were to follow (Randall interview).

Although the following does not directly relate to the *Daily* (and the primary purpose of this thesis), it seems important to point out that the person who emerged from the entire Don Smith affair with his reputation enhanced from all quarters was President Parks. Students appear overwhelmingly to have been supportive of the President, at least generally. The Wiggins-Hadwiger survey on April 17-19 of 1,500 students did not ask, specifically, what students thought about the administration's handling of the Don Smith affair. But the results did show that more than 75 percent of those polled thought the University leadership had shown interest in student problems, while 61 pecent felt the Parks administration had treated students in "a fair and reasonable manner." Students also supported, by a slimmer margin, the notion that the administration should be able to discipline students for what they do outside the classroom (*Daily*, May 20, 1967).

The *Daily*, too, was laudatory of Parks and, specifically, his handling of the Smith situation. Editors, apart from one criticism of his reaction to the Smith-Lifka Bill of Rights, expressed admiration and respect for his even-handed treatment and open-minded administration.

Don Smith himself praised Parks for his handling of the situation, particularly his refusal to get involved in order to let students resolve the problem (Smith interview). Smith's respect was manifested in his recollection of a meeting in Parks's office, when he said to the University President, "'We can shut this place down!' and wondering why I was sitting there yelling at this guy...this university administrator who had nothing to do with the Vietnam War" (Smith interview).

For her part, Lifka Atkinson also provided a respectful retrospective view. In 1998, she recalled that it would have been impossible for Parks and Smith-Lifka to see eye to eye because he had the university as a whole to consider and they had their own agenda. "We would never all be one big happy family," she added, "But I

think he was as fair and as open-minded as he could be under the circumstances." And, she added, "He was not an autocratic administrator."

Others who retrospectively praised Parks' handling of the Smith affair included former *Daily* reporter Helen Randall. She said (in 1998) that Parks did a "great job of handling the situation. I was proud of him. He was intelligent and was for personal freedoms." Retired professor Bill Kunerth — a man with a reputation for being tough on ISU administrators — echoed Randall's sentiments about Parks's ability to remain calm under intense pressure. "I don't think anybody realized the kind of heat he got, internally and externally. It was a calculated risk for him" (not to react before letting the students have their say).

For his part, Parks, in a 1998 interview, called Smith's presidency "a nervous time." "He shouldn't have existed, in a way, at Iowa State," Parks said. "Because he was an engineering student from Iowa. There were only two GSB presidents who belonged to SDS in the country, one was Iowa State and the other was at Stanford University."

Parks said his contacts with Smith were "not as numerous as one would expect." He recalls seeing him in a face to face situation only three times. First was just after he was elected, when Smith and Mary Lou Lifka paid him a courtesy visit in Beardshear to tell him what they intended to do. Parks said "It shocked the heck out of my secretary to see how they were dressed. It wouldn't shock anybody so much today, [but] they sort of flaunted that, you know. And this is what he said, it was sort of a simplistic way of looking at things: 'As far as academics, you're in charge; as far as student life, that's their own business.'"

The next encounter occurred when the President was invited to attend the first GSB meeting after Smith and Lifka were elected. This was the session when Smith put forth his student bill of rights and Parks reacted to them. The only other time, Parks said, was after Smith had come back to Iowa State to complete his degree. "I handed him his degree and we sort of smiled at each other" (Parks interview).

In retrospect, Parks described Smith as someone whose bark was worse than his bite. "You know, Don did a lot of talking," he explained, but "he never did much in an overt way. . . there was very little action." Parks noted that there was "never a sit-down or sit-in" and never a takeover. Former *Daily* reporter Helen Randall agreed, noting in 1997 that Smith "did not have a mean bone in his body." She added that he was "not a problem to the (Iowa) legislature...or Iowa State."

Parks observed in 1997 that Smith, in spite of his rhetoric, was actually pretty satisfied with things at Iowa State. "Some thought he was sort of euphoric. People were listening to him and he was talking [a lot], but he wasn't really unhappy." On the other hand, Parks acknowledged that the student leader left his mark on Iowa State. "I wouldn't say he didn't have an impact," he added.

Parks described his own contribution to the situation as being "the fact I stayed cool." He admitted being "scared" about what Smith might do as President. But, Parks added, nothing really ever got out of control. "I never felt really that we couldn't handle anything that would happen internally," he explained. His primary concern, he said, was less with on-campus activities as with perceptions off campus. "What you had to worry about was outside impressions." Outside people loved to talk about him, not wearing socks, and having a long beard. "You know," he added, "I never disliked Don. In fact I really liked the guy and Mary Lou, too. She was interesting, too."

Perhaps the most immediate legacy of the Don Smith era at Iowa State occurred 18 months after his departure when a Story County grand jury launched an investigation in September 1968 of "moral pollution" at Iowa State University. According to a *Daily* interview with two of the grand jurors (Kenneth Peterson of Story City and LaVern Horner of Colo), the inquiry was begun after a Story County woman wrote, requesting an investigation of "the things going on" at Iowa State (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969). The investigation, according to Horner, was an outgrowth of the murder the previous winter of ISU student Sheila Collins (a crime that is still unsolved in 1998). Her body was found along railroad tracks. She had found a ride to her hometown of Chicago through a Memorial Union bulletin board (Davenport).

Foreman of the grand jury was David Norris, an Ames insurance man, who been in the headlines throughout the 1960s because of his advocacy of right wing, John Birch-type conservative values. Under his direction, the grand jury met eight or nine times and talked to a half-dozen witnesses. In addition, Horner said, University officials were contacted by telephone. At the end, Norris prepared a report, dated Dec. 23, 1968, and arranged for Milton Sigler, owner of Sigler Printing, of Ames, to print 1,000 copies.

The report took a very dim view of the "moral pollution" that had occurred on campus, before, during and even after Don Smith's regime had ended. The grand jury found that "student radicals and other activities [were] using campus media to

pulpiteer, sensationalize and otherwise promote illicit sex, drug use, draft evasion and defamation of our country" (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969).

Articles from newspapers, including the *Daily*, were cited as evidence of activities about the New Left, Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Student Organization and even a series of lectures on sex that had been sponsored by the YMCA. The grand jurors also did not approve of a story in the *Daily* about Bernard Jaffe, an American citizen who moved to Canada after receiving a notice for induction from his draft board. They were also highly critical of the ISU Lectures Progam which, under the direction of Prof. James Lowrie, had brought to campus — in their opinion — far too many liberals and radicals (such as comedian Dick Gregory) and which had not also engaged more conservative speakers (such as one-time Communist infiltrator Herb Philbrick).

The report also singled out for special criticism the activities of former ISU history professor Gregory Calvert, who had subsequently left campus to become national executive secretary for SDS. Calvert, an assistant professor, was viewed as particularly nefarious because of his ability to shape young minds. As evidence, the grand jury report cited an excerpt from the New York Times in which an ISU student was asked where he had "picked up his radical ideas." The student referred specifically to Calvert, whom he had in a course in Ideas of Western Civilization. "That got me started," the student said.

The grand jury attributed the loss of confidence of the young in the wisdom embedded in their heritage to "carelessness in their morals, proneness to anarchy and the so-called generation gap." In addition, four characteristics of the "radical phenomenon" were identified by the jurors as follows: (1) destroy the present system; (2) take control by tactics based in (3) dishonesty in various forms and (4) militant aggressiveness (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969).

The grand jurors concluded from this that "some teachers are guilty of using their status to effectively subvert or undermine the morals and allegiance of some students." They called for "corrective measures" in the Humanities curriculum, which was seen as the home of "the militant radical activist, both teacher and student" (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969). "The Radicals' aggressiveness raises this question," the report stated. "Shall the Humanities serve as an outlet for a small group of Radicals to impose their propaganda in a war-like atmosphere on the campus or should there

be a peaceful atmosphere with a genuine respect for reason by all Faculty members?" (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969).

In the grand jury's view, fundamental changes were required immediately. It proposed that policy changes at the Regents' level that would "sufficiently define and implement the elimination of moral pollution by faculty and paid speakers and will by all suitable means encourage moral improvement." The grand jury also included some words and phrases indicating frustration over the Parks administration's lack of cooperation — its alleged "pressure to cover up trouble" (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969).

To put it mildly, the grand jury's activities did not please the *Daily* editors or the ISU administration. Both landed hard on the report. Associate Editor Kent Baker produced an editorial on January 7, headlined "Sweet Blindness," that minced no words. He denounced the grand jury's report as "undistinguished, short-sighted, irrelevant and completely archaic." The *Daily* also rejected the grand jury's charge that Iowa State had been "morally polluted" by radical influences. On the contrary, the editors declared, the campus "is more seriously threatened by its own conservatism and apathy." The grand jury's report, the editors declared, "would have us end the advancement that has marked the Parks term with distinction, and lead us back to the 'dark ages' of the 'cow college' era of Iowa State's history" (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969). "It is our hope," the editor concluded, "that the report is buried deep in the files of the Story County courthouse for future generations to rediscover and laugh at" (*Daily*, Jan. 7, 1969).

Grand Jury foreman Norris issued a detailed news release the next day in which he reaffirmed his conviction that most people "want moral pollution by teachers and paid speakers stopped" (*Daily*, Jan. 8, 1969). What the Ames insurance representative was doubtless not prepared for was the counter-attack launched by President Parks, who had been out of state when the report was released and who only now had an opportunity to respond.

According to the *Daily*, Parks described as "deeply disturbing" the grand jury's attempt "to dictate the educational function and educational policy of a state university." Parks characterized the report as expressing "little more than the personally-held educational philosophy of the members of the particular jury" (*Daily*, Jan. 8, 1969).

The President also castigated the grand jury for its sloppy, haphazard methods. “In the true and fair sense of the word, that document represents no ‘investigation’ at all,” he wrote. Parks was particularly upset because the grand jury had made no attempt to call or interview the Dean of the College of Sciences and Humanities or any professors in the humanities. In fact, Parks continued, no record existed of any sworn witnesses making official appearances before the jury. Nor could he find any transcript made of any ‘interviews’ that the grand jury said it carried out (*Daily*, Jan. 8, 1969).

In short, Parks added, the report was “merely a collection of highly-selected newspaper clippings plus a presentation of the jury’s views on educational philosophy, which have been bound together and marketed for eighty cents a copy.”

“No amount of vague wording or roundabout phraseology,” Parks concluded in a burst of indignation, “can cloud the fact that the main thrust of the grand jury report is a demand for censorship, restrictions on freedom to speak and freedom to listen, and rigid restrictions upon freedom of inquiry in our state university” (*Daily*, Jan. 8, 1969).

Parks warned, too, "how dangerous to a free society the imposition of such controls can be — far more dangerous than permitting ideas to be heard with which we may not agree." The Board of Regents, he concluded, should be commended, rather than criticized for permitting "the expression and critical examination of a wide range of controversial viewpoints on the campuses of Iowa's three universities" (*Daily*, Jan. 8, 1969).

The next day the *Daily* carried, inside a box that was about 5 inches by 5 inches, the following editorial statement: "We agree with and support the statement of Pres. Robert Parks regarding the special report of the Story County Grand Jury" (*Daily*, Jan. 8, 1969).

Norris put up a spirited, albeit short-lived, defense — or explanation — of the grand jury's report. He answered several questions posed by the *Daily* and, in a speech to the Lions Club in Nevada compared his report to the Telstar satellite. Both, he explained, were in orbit. He noted that President Parks had put his opinions in orbit, too, and he supposed the Regents would do the same (*Daily*, Jan. 10, 1969). Rather surprisingly, in spite of editorial criticism, Norris told the Nevada Lions that the press had done a good job in handling the grand jury report and related stories. "In short, gentlemen," he said to journalists in the room, "Iowa State

University's image was not hurt because you did a good job in evaluating the jury's report" (*Daily*, Jan. 10, 1969).

With that, the grand jury's report was pretty much condemned, as the *Daily* had hoped, to the courthouse archives. President Parks, with the help of the media and some outraged faculty, had prevailed again.

If anything, President Parks' esteem was now even greater than it had been a year ago. He had handled the Don Smith affair deftly; he had kept legislative critics at bay; he had demonstrated that he was accessible to students; he had defended his faculty; and he had emerged as a champion of freedom of speech and thought. And he enjoyed unprecedented respect from the Iowa State *Daily*. But all was not skittles and beer for the President and the press. The Vietnam war cast a long shadow over all campuses, but there was not a whole lot that either Parks or the *Daily* could do to shape policy or bring home the boys.

*****

On the home front, though, the *Daily* was in a position to do more than serve simply as a gatekeeper of information and conveyor belt of ideas, as the Founding Fathers had suggested some 190 years earlier. The paper was expected, at least by some, to serve as a "Fourth Branch of Government" by shining a spotlight in places where darkness might be hiding secrets or activities that were not necessarily in the best interests of the public. How well did the newspaper perform this function in the decade under review? As the next chapter will suggest, the *Daily* scored two notable successes and, at least, one moderate failure.

CHAPTER VI

THE *DAILY* AS WATCHDOG: THE ATHLETIC COUNCIL AND CAMPUS ALLIANCE

"The Daily went to the mat with the Athletic Council."
— Bill Kunerth

"Terry was asked if 'dishonest' was too strong a term. And he said, 'No, they were dishonest.' I think that's what won the trial for them."
— Bill Kunerth

The Iowa State *Daily* may have served as an agenda setter and opinion leader with respect to issues like Vietnam and Watergate and Don Smith. But it actually took a major step further into the realm of pro-active journalism during the decade embraced by this study. William Randolph Hearst, in the years between 1895-1900, described a kind of "new journalism" that involved going beyond efforts to shape opinion through news coverage and editorials.

In those early days of the New York Journal, Hearst and his editors went to court to thwart what they thought was an illegal or abusive deal being cut between city officials and a gas company. The Journal secured injunctions from the courts that stopped these actions cold. Hearst couldn't resist patting himself on the back by writing: "Journalism that Acts; Men of Action in All Walks of Life Heartily Endorse the Journal's Fight in Behalf of the People." Hearst not only took credit for the innovation, but predicted that this "novel concept" would become an "accepted part of the function of the newspapers of this country" (Emery and Emery, 197-98).

The Iowa State *Daily* took a leaf out of the Hearst playbook in its relations with the Iowa State University Athletic Council. The *Daily* issued a challenge and then a suit against the proclivity of the ISU sports governing body to go into executive session — in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the state open meetings law. At the same time, some aggressive — perhaps too aggressive — reporting brought the *Daily* into court as the defendant in a suit filed by students who thought their business effort had been defamed and dishonored by *Daily* coverage.

These two cases illustrate, perhaps more vividly than any other episodes, the watchdog function of the student newspaper in monitoring activities that could adversely affect students and citizens of the campus community.

This concept of the newspaper as a watchdog can be traced back to the Founding Fathers, who, ultimately, agreed to include a First Amendment that guaranteed freedom of speech and of the press. Some journalism scholars like to point out that the Press is the only business that enjoys any protection in the Constitution. In addressing the question 'why,' one good source is found in a speech by former Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart in a speech at Yale University's Law school in 1974. The primary purpose of this Constitutional guarantee of a free press, he said, was

> to create a fourth institution outside the Government as an additional check on the three official branches. . . .The British Crown knew that a free press was not just a neutral vehicle for the balanced discussion of diverse ideas. Instead, the free press meant organized, expert scrutiny of government. The press was a conspiracy of the intellect, with the courage of numbers. This formidable check on official power was what the British Crown had feared — and what the American Founders decided to risk. (ANPA, Nov. 2, 1974.)

Throughout its history, the Iowa State *Daily* has fulfilled its watchdog function in a variety of ways and with varying success. But in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the paper was more than willing to fulfill its obligation as the eyes and ears of the public when it came to activities that were either illegal or, at least, not in the best interests of the public.

The inspiration for this pro-active posture doubtless came from a certain amount of classroom instruction; but it was almost certainly also inspired by the consumer movement that had been spearheaded in the late 60s and early 70s by Ralph Nader, as well as the environmental movement that was partly precipitated by Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring*, published in 1962. Whether the spark was provided by teachers in JIMC classes or by these external influences, the fact was that the *Daily* was encouraged to take a hard look at anything aimed at consumers that involved students. That was, in fact, precisely why the *Daily* decided to take a cold, hard look at an organization called Campus Alliance that offered discounts to students.

In both cases, the *Daily* wound up in court. With regard to the Athletic Council, the paper was the challenger, whereas the Campus Alliance case was the first time that the newspaper had been sued for libel. In both cases, the newspaper prevailed.

Iowa State *Daily* vs. Iowa State Athletic Council

The first episode involved athletics. During the decade embraced by this study, the Iowa State *Daily* devoted yards and yards of space to Cyclone athletics. In addition to the normal pre-game and game stories, there were photos galore and lots of stories touting the latest success in recruiting under coaches Clay Stapleton, Johnny Majors and Earle Bruce. But *Daily* editors (and their advisers) thought the paper should be able to report more thoroughly on the governance of varsity athletics at Iowa State. In short, they wanted the Athletic Council meetings to be held in the open.

The first fusillade was fired as early as Jan. 4, 1962, when associate editor Jim Stephens wrote an editorial about the Athletic Council on what ended up being a common theme for more than a decade. Stephens noted that the Athletic Council usually met once a month and that meetings were closed to the public. In fact, he said, the only non-members of the Athletic Council who were allowed to observe these meetings were representatives of student government, known then as Cardinal Guild. (Presumably they were allowed to attend because of student allocations to support athletics.) The reason why meetings were held in almost total privacy, according to Stephens, was that "personalities of job applicants are frequently discussed" (*Daily*, April 4, 1962).

Editor Stephens thought it made sense to hold closed meetings for that reason. But, he called on the Athletic Council to "exert more of an effort than it does at present to make known its operations." This wasn't the kind of firebrand editorial that was to send athletic officials scurrying for cover, but it set the stage for a kind of guerrilla warfare waged by the *Daily* for openness that ultimately resulted in a victory of sorts in 1977.

Eight years later, in April 1970, the *Daily*, under editor Terry Gogerty, decided to challenge the Athletic Council's penchant for secrecy. The reasons for this challenge were at least two-fold. First, the *Daily* resented the fact that student fees were arbitrarily allocated to the Athletic Council by the ISU administration without any student input — in stark contrast to the months-long GSB budgetary process. The second reason focused on the attitude of Athletic Council members (and the Athletic Director) on the question of secrecy vs. the public's right to know. In addition, the *Daily* and others wanted to know how the Athletic Council did its business.

In April 1970, while the *Daily* and a host of other campus organizations were going through the GSB allocations meat-grinder, the Athletic Council was receiving $163,000 of student money — some $10.50 per year from every student at Iowa State. This, the *Daily*, declared, was yet another instance of "taxation without fair representation" (*Daily*, April 17, 1970). The editorial then asked students if they knew where that money was going — and then it answered its own question with a resounding, "Of course you don't!"

> But how could you know? Athletic Council meetings are closed to the public. In fact reporters are not even allowed to attend. And one of the student 'representatives' on the council last week said, 'the council's budget should not be seen by students because they would want to cut it.'
>
> As far as the editors were concerned, this problem could be rectified by opening council meetings to the public and then letting the students decide either through EBC [GSB's Executive Budgetary Commission] or a student referendum just how much money should go to athletics. Or responsible student representatives (and more of them) should be placed on the council.
>
> Only then will students be taxed with fair representation (*Daily*, April 17, 1970).

The *Daily* wasn't the only organization that was upset over the Athletic Council's refusal to disclose how it spent its portion of student fees (which amounted to 13.6 percent of its budget in 1970. Three days later GSB debated, but tabled, a resolution requesting a referendum seeking student opinion on mandatory activity fee payments to the Athletic Council. President Jerry Schnoor said he had investigated, but could not discover when the council first began receiving the quarterly allocation from students.

Meanwhile, the Athletic Council, under the leadership of Robert Fellinger, refused to budge on any of these counts. This, in turn, so infuriated the *Daily* that the editors called for his resignation as chairman on the grounds that his "neglect for his responsibilities indicate that he is not capable to act as Council Chairman." In an editorial on April 30, 1970, Fellinger was described as having "abused his rule and degraded the entire Council's procedures in the process." Fellinger, the editorial continued, should have realized that open meetings were in the best public interest. But the chairman had refused and now, the editorial added, "the entire matter will have to be decided legally."

The Athletic Council, it continued, is "not just the . . . lady's aid or an advisory group as some would have students believe." On the contrary, the editors argued, it

spends student fees which had been legally interpreted as public funds. Thus, the editorial continued, the Athletic Council is not merely an advisory group, as some (included President Parks and Carl Hamilton) contended. On the contrary, the editors quoted from Athletic Council documents to show that: 'Iowa State University has delegated to the Athletic Council authority and responsibility for the management and control of the intercollegiate athletic program of the University.' This, they argued, showed that the Council had administrative powers (*Daily*, April 30, 1970).

With this, the *Daily* had thrown down a gauntlet that would take almost seven years to resolve. Editor Gogerty's next step was to request an opinion from the state attorney general's office regarding the legality of the Athletic Council's proclivity for secrecy through closed meetings.

This occurred at a time when the State's policy toward public meetings was that they should be generally held in public. But these were mainly just guidelines. And, as Herb Strentz, long-time executive secretary of the Iowa Freedom of Information Council put it, "the rule was widely interpreted as meaning, 'always hold open meetings unless there was a reason not to'" (Strentz interview).

The *Daily* request proved fruitless when, in September 1970, Assistant State Attorney Elizabeth Nolan submitted an opinion that the Athletic Council was not a public body and, therefore, could hold closed meetings. Against this opinion was the general philosophy of openness espoused by President W. Robert Parks, so the Athletic Council came up with something of a compromise. It announced that it would hold open meetings with the exception of matters relating to the budget or personnel. The problem was that some Athletic Council members chose to consider "personalities" as a suitable synonym for "personnel."

The *Daily* staff and members of the Journalism and Mass Communication faculty were not satisfied with the Council's decision or the Attorney General office's pronouncement. Professor Emeritus Edmund Blinn explained in 1998 that Nolan's opinion was simply advisory, not the law (Blinn interview). So the *Daily* decided to pursue the matter.

Two actions ultimately triggered the next confrontation between the *Daily* and the Athletic Council. One was a proposal to build a new football stadium in conjunction with the Iowa State Center. This structure would replace Clyde Williams Field, seat 48,000 people and be paid for, in part, by student funds. Because of the proposed (and inevitable) financial commitment, the GSB

representative on the Athletic Council, Randy Kehrli, introduced a motion at a meeting on Nov. 15, 1972, calling for the Iowa state Foundation Board of Governors to seek "written reports" from campus organizations on their suggestions for a proposed football stadium. Presumably, these would be made public.

The second event that led to the next challenge of secrecy began in the spring of 1972 when Political Science Professor Don Hadwiger was elected by faculty of the College of Sciences and Humanities as its representative on the Athletic Council. Traditionally, Athletic Council members had been appointed out of the President's office, in close consultation with the Athletic Department leadership. The switch to college-wide votes was new and, to some extent, represented frustration among some faculty over the fact that the Athletic Council seemed all too eager to do the bidding of its Athletic Director without regard for academic affairs.

Don Hadwiger was different. He wasn't a particularly enthusiastic sports fan, but he was not anti-athletics, as some were later to suggest. What he did do at Athletic Council meetings, beginning in the Fall of 1972, was to ask "why" certain policies and practices were being pursued. On one occasion he even arranged for a meeting between a basketball player who had lost his scholarship and the coach to ask why the original four-year commitment was being terminated. Hadwiger didn't understand how this could be in the spirit of the original offer, with the result that the player's scholarship was restored.

But Hadwiger was making enemies within the Athletic establishment because of such activities. On November 10, the sports section of the *Des Moines Tribune* carried a feature story on Hadwiger. The article described him as the "Monkey wrench" of the Iowa State athletic department. It reported that Hadwiger had been called "anti-athletics" by Athletic Director Lou McCullough. This probably referred, at least in part, to a comment Hadwiger made when the Council was discussing all the benefits of the proposed new stadium. Hadwiger was raising questions about the plan, according to Bill Kunerth (Kunerth interview, April 18,1998) and at one point said something along these lines: "Well, I hope Iowa State never becomes a Nebraska." That was apparently the last straw for head football coach Johnny Majors, who was now convinced that Hadwiger was the bete noir of his existence and gridiron success.

On Saturday, November 11, the Majors-led Cyclone football squad clashed with heavily favored Nebraska at Clyde Williams Field. It turned out to be a classic David vs. Goliath confrontation in which Iowa State almost pulled the upset of the

decade when an extra point attempt failed with seconds remaining when the ball sailed wide. The final score was 23-23, which could be accurately described as a great moral victory for Iowa State. In the locker room afterwards, Majors declared, according to Sunday's Des Moines *Register*, "I wish he [Hadwiger] was right here so I could punch him in the mouth." Shortly thereafter the Iowa State Faculty Council voted, 14-8, to censure Coach Majors.

This set the stage for the November 15 meeting of the Athletic Council, where it was an almost certainty that the group would go into closed session because "personalities" were going to be discussed. GSB representative Randy Kehrli triggered action, by citing a "growing polarization" between "anti-athletic and pro-athletic" forces on campus and specifically referred to the dispute between Majors and Hadwiger. At this point, the Council voted, 7-3, to go into executive session because they were going to discuss "personalities." Those dissenting, according to the *Daily*, were Kehrli, Hadwiger and the other Cardinal Guild appointee, student Anne Willemssen.

A reporter for the *Des Moines Register*, Chuck Bullard, a former *Daily* editor, spoke up to inform the Council that the Iowa Open Meetings Law "does not include a discussion of personalities" as being sufficient grounds for a closed session. Bullard added that the law, in this regard, only specifically authorized closed sessions for the hiring and firing of personnel. This point was reiterated by Journalism professor Ed Blinn, who was also at the meeting. But Council Chairman John Mahlstede, a professor of horticulture, asserted that the body was not bound by the Open Meetings Law because the Iowa Attorney General's office had issued that opinion in 1970, saying the Athletic Council was not a public body.

About one month later (after quarter break) the *Daily* reported that there was "little doubt as to the general nature of the discussion" that occurred during the Athletic Council's closed session on November 15 (*Daily*, Dec. 12, 1972). Three days later, it was reported that the *Daily* Publications Board was considering suing the Iowa State Athletic Council in order to open the council's meetings in accordance with state law. But it decided to delay that action and, instead, sent a letter to President W. Robert Parks requesting him to require all university policy-making agencies to adhere to the Iowa Open Meetings Law.

In January 1973, President Parks was reported as having denied this request. Parks said at the time that, "given the make-up of these groups, plus the willingness of individual members to publicize their views," restrictions of the Open Meetings

Law were not necessary to insure the public welfare." He also asserted that the open meeting "requirement" would constitute a "serious error" because it would "impose a restrictive procedural conformity on Iowa State's Committees and councils" (*Daily*, Jan. 12, 26, 1973).

At some point (presumably early in 1973) former *Daily* Editor Roger Green, along with reporter David Younie and past GSB Vice President Dan Koestner, were told to leave a finance meeting of the Athletic Council. The students said the meeting should be open since student funds were being spent.

Meanwhile, the Daily's argument in favor of openness had been strengthened on January 1, 1973 when Iowa's first Open Meetings and Open Records law came into force. This act required that advance notice of all meetings be given to the media and that minutes be kept (that were also open to public inspection). It stipulated that bodies could go into closed meetings for one of three reasons. The first was to avoid harm to a person whose employment or discharge was being considered. The second aimed to prevent disclosure of information on real estate purchases. And the third exception allowed closed sessions "for some other exceptional reason so compelling as to override the general public policy in favor of open meetings." This latter exception was exercised so often that the law was amended in 1979 (Strentz interview, Memo for *Des Moines Register* reporters by Barbara Mack on Open Meetings, 1978; and *Daily* Jan. 26, 1973).

As a result of Parks' pronouncement and the exclusion of Green, Younie and Koestner, members of the *Daily* Publications Board re-visited the possibility of suing the Athletic Council and, on Jan. 25, 1973, voted to research the "applicability of the Iowa Open Meetings Law to university boards, councils and committees." It was also reported that the board had engaged Ames attorney Frank Johnston for a fee of $600 to research the possibility of taking the open meetings matter to court. Johnston's report was expected in three weeks.

By May 1973, the Daily's case against the Athletic Council was ready to move forward. The paper of May 19 reported that the Board's legal challenge would determine whether Iowa's open meetings law applied to the Athletic Council. To that end the Board had voted to reimburse 1972 editor Roger Green or "other named parties" up to $5,000 in legal fees and expenses. The *Daily* reported that at least five individuals had been asked to leave Athletic Council meetings for reasons that the paper believed were not part of the exclusions of the law. Green, who had just been succeeded by William Bray as editor, said that he was basing

his case on the Nov. 15, 1972 meeting at which he was told to leave while the Council went into executive session to discuss “personalities.” For his part, Editor Bray said he wanted open meetings of the council's finance committee and various subcommittees, as well as the council itself (*Daily*, May 18, 1973).

Green was named the plaintiff in the suit rather than the Publications Board for tactical reasons, according to former board member James W. Schwartz. The concern, he explained, was that the Publications Board could be regarded as a state agency because it operated with some state money (namely, funds allocated to the *Daily* from the Government of the Student Body). The problem was that state agencies could not sue each other.

Schwartz still expressed some concern because the Board was going to use some state money to reimburse Green. Schwartz, who was also head of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, said that Iowa Attorney General Richard Turner “will be in it with both feet." He explained that, while he felt "very strongly that the issue should be settled," he did not want it to "flounder on a technicality, such as the illegal use of state money" (*Daily*, May 18, 1973).

Bray suggested to board members that only advertising revenues be used to support the suit, but Schwartz said all *Daily* money "goes into one pot" and, therefore, it would be impossible to determine which portion is "state money" and which is from ad revenues. The record isn’t clear here, but it appears that the case proceeded without Turner’s direct involvement. Also, it should be noted that the list of plaintiffs was subsequently expanded by two with Dave Younie (Dist. St. 3) and Dan Koestner (Engl. 4). Younie, a *Daily* reporter, and Koestner, a GSB official, had both been told to leave Athletic Council sessions that were being closed (*Daily*, July 12, 1973).

It was a full 15 months before a judicial decision was handed down — and it did not bode well for the *Daily*. On August 8, 1974, the paper reported on page one that District Court Judge Edward J. Kelley had determined that the Athletic Council was not subject to the Iowa Open Meetings law because it was a "Council of the President of the University.” In other words, Kelley accepted the Iowa Attorney General’s Office lawyers’ contention that the Athletic Council was immune from the open meeting law because it had been established by administrative action, rather than by law.

The *Daily* did not accept this decision placidly. Its editorial that same day declared that "The old-fashioned concept of participatory democracy took a back

seat again last week" with Judge Kelley's decision (Aug. 8, 1974). The editors intimated that further appeals were likely, but, meantime, they urged President Parks "to immediately draft a memorandum stating that the Athletic Council abide by the requirements of the open meetings law." Not only does he have the authority to do this, the *Daily* argued, but, "More importantly, we feel President Parks has the moral obligation to do so.

"Such an action," it continued, "could only have a healthy, ventilating effect on administrative procedures at ISU." In an unwritten reference to Watergate, the editors added that

> The entire nation has seen the consequences of rampant and unnecessary secrecy in government, and the university should take the initiative in eliminating unwarranted secrecy on the local level.
>
> The responsibility rests with President Parks, and any lethargy on his part will appear quite indefensible. We hope some positive, forceful response will be forthcoming in the very immediate future (*Daily*, Aug. 8, 1974).

The *Daily* appealed and the case ultimately reached the Iowa Supreme Court. Some 30 months after the Daily's suit was filed the Supreme Court rendered a final decision in favor of openness by a vote of 5-3 (*Daily*, March 17, 1977). The Athletic Council, it said, was subject to the Iowa Open Meetings law. The majority opinion, written by Justice Mark McCormick, said the controlling issue "is whether the Athletic Council is a council authorized by the laws of the state." The record shows, he said, that it was "an entity established by administrative officials of Iowa State University" to control athletics. "In directing the intercollegiate athletic program of the University," McCormick wrote," the athletic council exercises powers of the Board of Regents." On the other hand, he added, the council could not lawfully exercise its powers if it were not a body authorized by the Regents to do so (*Daily*, March 17, 1977).

The Supreme Court decision sided with the *Daily* by pointing out that the Council was a public entity because, among other things, it handled $2 million in 1973. In addition, the majority decision noted that "Open meetings statutes are enacted for the public benefit and are to be construed most favorable to the public (*Daily*, March 17, 1977)."

As former professor Ed Blinn recalled in 1998, the Supreme Court decision still gave the Council the right to go into closed sessions and to withhold its records from public scrutiny. But, he said, the Court decision "clearly questioned the

desirability of the law in that regard." The result, Blinn added, was that the Iowa legislature passed — and the Governor signed — statutory provisions strengthening the public's right to know (Blinn, interview). Former *Daily* Adviser Bill Kunerth put it more succinctly. "The *Daily* went to the mat with the Athletic Council," he said, and the results are now written into the Iowa open records law (Kunerth interview).

As for President Parks, he took the setback in stride. After the legislature's action concerning the Athletic Council meetings, Parks said he "immediately, on my own volition, declared all committees on campus open." Reflecting back on the dispute between the newspaper and the Athletic Council, Parks added, "There was that friction and the *Daily*, like any good journalists, wanted everything to be open" (Parks interview).

For his part, Vice President for Information and Development Carl Hamilton, gave the decision the most positive spin possible, telling the *Daily* on March 17 that the Supreme Court decision would have no impact on the Athletic Council. That's because the Council had been holding open meetings for the past 3 or 4 years. But the decision was likely to have a greater effect on the University of Iowa because, according to Hamilton, its Board of Control of Athletics had been holding closed meetings regularly (*Daily*, March 17, 1977).

Campus Alliance, Inc. vs. Iowa State *Daily*

The *Daily*'s second major foray into the court room was not initiated in a Hearst style injunction to stop action, but the outcome was similar. In this case, the *Daily* was sued in 1970 because of what many would describe as good, aggressive, watchdog style journalism.

The affair involved a student-operated agency that was selling "membership" cards that entitled the bearer to receive discounts from a variety of merchants in Ames. The organization, begun in October 1969, was called Campus Alliance, Inc., which actually began its existence as a cooperative, non-profit corporation as a service arm of the Government of the Student Body. At that time it was simply called Campus Alliance. The original organization worked like this. Students could buy memberships in Campus Alliance for anywhere from 75 cents to $3. In return, they could receive discounts from certain Ames merchants. GSB even provided a $950 allocation and office space in the Memorial Union to Campus Alliance.

However, during the summer of 1970, the main organizers of Campus Alliance decided to cut ties with GSB and go it alone. This they did and, in the process, they incorporated, thus becoming Campus Alliance, Inc. The officers of the corporation were students Terry Svejda, president, and Steve Michalicek, treasurer. There were reportedly four major stockholders, but CAI officials declined to give their names. Svejda and Michalicek gave as the main reason for private incorporation the need for efficient management. Svejda noted that businessmen had expressed fear of a "lack of continuity" in the student run organization (*Daily*, Sept. 12, 1970).

By September, the *Daily* began carrying stories that indicated all was not well with Campus Alliance, Inc. Former editor Terry Gogerty recalled in 1998 how the story had practically come to the *Daily*. "When we found out they had taken it private, that raised a few eyebrows on our staff as far as how they were doing it." Then, he added, "we started hearing more and more complaints from students who'd paid for cards and weren't getting services" or whose cards weren't being delivered. "The more we saw, every part of this, was just showing up as as a scam" (Gogerty interview).

In fact, according to former adviser Bill Kunerth and others, the *Daily* was even being alerted to possible problems by some in higher administration. The first whiff of problems appeared in a story by Kevin Kirlin on Sept. 12, 1970. It reported that the ISU student organization's auditor, Forrest Dubberke, had refused a request to release Campus Alliance funds from its university account. The request, from Svedja, would allow the newly incorporated CAI to take the money off campus for its own purposes. But Dubberke said he would not close the account until all bills were received and paid (*Daily*, Sept. 12, 1970).

Dubberke told the *Daily* that he was unhappy the long wait required to obtain records necessary for him to audit Campus Alliance from Oct. 1, 1969 to June 26, 1970. Dubberke set up a caution flag when he added that his office had "nothing in writing as to their operating procedures." Dubberke also complained that Campus Alliance has provided no paid invoices, receipts or a classification of income and expenses. Dubberke articulated other problems with the organization's statement of purpose and nature of operations to cause him to freeze existing funds (*Daily*, Sept. 12, 1970).

Following publication of this story, representatives of Campus Alliance came to the *Daily* office to discuss their business. The results of this meeting were outlined in a page one story on Sept. 15, 1970 that shed more light on both the operations

of CAI and its officers' desires to become disaffiliated from Iowa State University. On the latter point, CAI officer Steve Mehlberg told GSB President Jerry Schnorr that university recognition (as a student organization) had "slowed the process of this organization and been deleterious to our effort to help the students" by offering this discount service. Mehlberg also said that the Incorporated version of Campus Alliance "will allow bargaining power that GSB could not have by itself" (*Daily*, Sept. 15, 1970).

This *Daily* story contained no new information on Auditor Dubberke's concerns, but it did provide insights on how Campus Alliance, Inc., was operating and it brought to light some questions and concerns from local merchants. Another CAI spokesperson, Ron Holmes, told the *Daily* that the organization had sold 600 to 700 membership cards "in a four-day membership drive" that had been target at the Greek system. Holmes was one of five persons who had been engaged as independent contractors to sell the discount cards. Holmes explained that the $3 paid by members was broken down as follows: $1.20 for immediate expenses (such as printing the card, booklets and distribution costs); and $1.80 for staff salaries, office rent and supplies and legal fees.

Card sales were only one source of revenue and were far less controversial than the arrangements that Campus Alliance Inc. were making with participating local merchants. Svedja reported on Sept. 12 that CAI had "about a 63 product area" with 50 merchants in Ames (*Daily*, Sept. 12, 1970). According to Kirlin's story on Sept. 15, there was not one single set rebate arrangement for all participating merchants. CAI President Svejda said some businesses paid nothing, while others paid as much as five percent of total sales. Affiliated car dealers were paying CAI a flat $30 fee for each car sold. Other merchants, such as Henry's Drive-In on Lincoln Way were charged $10 per week for fall quarter to cover costs described by CAI as "progressive advertising expense." Kirlin also reported that some merchants were paying no rebates to CAI and this had raised the eyebrows of some participants. The manager of Henry's Drive-In was quoted as saying, "I thought that everyone was paying. If this is true, we'll just break our contract with them" (*Daily*, Sept. 15, 1970).

Things started to unravel for Campus Alliance, Inc. after that. Kirlin's story on Sept. 16 told about a unanimous vote by GSB to disassociate itself from CAI. The resolution, as amended by a 15-5 vote, simply stated that no relation existed between GSB and Campus Alliance. The first measure "plainly questioned the

business ethics of the organizers," according to Kirlin, who did not include the language of the original resolution. Campus Alliance president Terry Svedja was quoted as saying that the original motion implied that "GSB is kicking us out, and we're sort of a crooked organization" (*Daily*,Sept. 16, 1970).

Kirlin also reported that the GSB senator who sponsored the bill had brought a local barber to the meeting to talk about his negotiations with Campus Alliance, Inc., "as an example of misrepresentation by the organization." He was Wayne Peterson, who claimed that his name had been used falsely in advertisements by CAI in the *Daily* listing merchants who were members of the Alliance (*Daily*, Sept. 16, 1970).

According to former adviser Bill Kunerth, the Daily's stories were being encouraged by ISU Vice President Carl Hamilton (Kunerth interview). This was confirmed later in court when Hamilton testified that his office had received inquiries concerning the operation of Campus Alliance Inc., and "requested that the *Daily* investigate the organization and perhaps run a series of news articles as to its structure and mode of operation" (Campus Alliance, Inc., vs. Iowa State *Daily* Publications Board, Civil No. 26553, May 26, 1971).

One can only speculate as to Hamilton's motives, but one good guess is that he was concerned that the organization's practices might somehow redound on the University's reputation. In the subsequent trial, Hamilton was called to testify on behalf of the *Daily*.

Whatever the degree of encouragement or motives, the *Daily* did take on Campus Alliance, Inc., on Sept. 16, 1970. Terry Gogerty's editorial applauded the idea of student discounts, but then raised concerns about how Campus Alliance Inc. was doing business. For example, Gogerty wrote, the representatives declared at the beginning of their meeting that CAI only received income from sales of the $3 discount cards. Later in the meeting, though, they admitted they were receiving money from participating merchants for a "progressive advertising plan." This plan, Gogerty asserted, "amounts to little more than kickbacks or rebates."

"Such dishonesty," he added, "has led us to doubt the professionalism and business ethics of CA."

Gogerty recounted Auditor Dubberke's frustrations with CA's books and added that "Such a slipshod organization could easily lead itself to financial problems which would ultimately reflect upon students' investments." The editorial concluded with this paragraph:

> We believe in a student discount system. But we don't want to see students taken in by a 'promising' operation whose business approaches are questionable. We believe that CA's only success and service to students will be its failure (*Daily*, Sept. 16, 1970).

The *Daily* editorial produced two results. First was a letter to the editor from a sociology major named Joe Manley, who challenged both the logic and language of the editorial and concluded by saying "The editor undoubtedly should have consulted the *Daily* lawyer on the liability aspects of such accusations. Issues regarding Campus politics are one thing. People's living derived from a private corporation is another" (*Daily*, Sept. 18, 1970).

The second result was a lawsuit, filed against the *Daily* by Campus Alliance, Inc. Named in the $150,000 suit were the Publications Board, editor Gogerty and reporter Kirlin. The suit claimed that news articles and an editorial were libelous and malicious. The petition asked for $100,000 in compensatory damages and an additional $50,000 for exemplary damages and costs of the court action (*Ames Tribune*, Oct. 10, 1970).

The case was heard before Judge Edward Flattery in Story County District Court on May 4 and 5, 1971. CAI president Svejda testified that *Daily* coverage had "destroyed" Campus Alliance, Inc. He said that sales of the discount cards "dropped sharply" after the *Daily* stories which, he claimed, had given "a false impression about the credibility of Campus Alliance, Inc. and its relationship to the student government" (*Daily*, May 5, 1971).

One of the key issues involved use of the word "rebate," which Svejda agreed were part of the CAI contracts. But, he added, "the term was misunderstood when used by The *Daily*." Svejda also testified that other aspects of *Daily* coverage had presented a distorted picture of Campus Alliance, Inc.

The Daily's defense, orchestrated by Ames attorney James Brewer, concentrated on concerns the newspaper had about the honesty and integrity of Campus Alliance, Inc. Under oath, editor Gogerty said he felt members of CAI had been "dishonest" in their dealings with the *Daily*. Gogerty focused on the meeting at the *Daily* with Svejda and Steve Michalicek in which the pair had said initially that their only source of revenue was from sales of the discount cards to students. About 20 minutes into the session, however, they acknowledged that they had a

second source of income, namely renumeration from merchants in the form of an advertising fee.

On the other hand, one of CAI's independent contractors, Craig Bek, testified that the *Daily* staff had treated Campus Alliance, Inc. representatives "like 'common criminals' not like private businessmen" and economics professor Robert Holdren, faculty adviser to Campus Alliance, told how Kirlin had "appeared highly biased" against CAI during an interview (*Daily*, May 6, 1970).

Three weeks later Judge Flattery rejected the libel case against the *Daily*, while assessing court costs to the plaintiff (Campus Alliance, Inc., vs. Iowa State *Daily* Publications Board, Civil No. 26553, May 26, 1971). In his ruling, the judge said Campus Alliance, Inc., its origin, and its methods of operation were all matters of interest to the students, faculty and staff of Iowa State University. He ruled the defendants had established their defense of qualified privilege, the right to make fair comment about matters affecting the interest of the general public.

Flattery pointed out that qualified privilege would be forfeited if a publication acted maliciously. But, in this case, he wrote, he was satisfied that the defendants "were not motivated by malice." The Daily's stories and editorial, he concluded, were "inspired for the purpose of disclosing to its readers the nature and operation of plaintiff's company and that defendants' motives were not due to ill will or spite."

The judge acknowledged that the Daily's use of the words "dishonest" and "slipshod organization" were rather "strong and offensive language." But, he added, these words are not evidence of malice "if the speaker thinks the language is justified." Furthermore, he added, "there is a presumption that these publications were made in good faith." That is, Flattery explained, "the articles were inspired for the purpose of disclosing to its readers the nature and operation of plaintiff's company and that defendants' motives were not due to ill will or spite and therefore privileged under the law" (Campus Alliance, Inc., vs. Iowa State *Daily* Publications Board, Civil No. 26553, May 26, 1971).

Former adviser Kunerth felt the judge's decision hinged on Gogerty's response to a question while he was on the witness stand. "Terry was asked if 'dishonest' was too strong a term. And he said, 'No, they were dishonest.' I think that's what won the trial for them" (Kunerth interview).

Reflecting on the events of 1970-71, Gogerty offered a somewhat less harsh assessment of the people behind Campus Alliance and Campus Alliance Inc. "I don't think there was a deliberate effort to defraud people," he said. "There might

have been, but I think it was poorly run and poorly managed and as a result it wasn't working for people the way that they had promised and they weren't delivering and they weren't willing to refund money to anybody. I think they just got caught in a big cash flow crunch and were in way over their heads and not able to provide the services they had promised." As for the suit itself, Gogerty said his first reaction was “a combination of fear, because I'd never been sued before, and especially (because of) the amount of money they were asking for.” But, he added, "Once we talked to the attorneys, they were very confident that we were going to win the case" (Gogerty interview).

The Campus Alliance, Inc. suit had an afterlife of its own within the Department. For at least a decade afterwards, students in advanced reporting were given the entire file of stories, plus the judge’s decision, and told to write news stories in class (Emmerson, April 20, 1998). Both Bill Kunerth and law professor Ed Blinn used this as the springboard for a discussion on the importance of solid reporting. Kunerth called it “a great teaching tool. If your reporting is accurate, and you document your information, you'll probably win the suit" (Kunerth interview). For his part, Blinn noted that the case was important because it showed the importance of having “no substantive errors of fact in news stories and in the...editorial,” which kept the *Daily* “within the realm of fair comment” (Blinn interview).

A Vote on the Football Coach

The *Daily* has traditionally played somewhat of a watchdog role over athletics — at least insofar as athletes and coaches behaved. In at least two instances during this period, the paper found itself involved in controversies over coaches. One involved head football coach Clay Stapleton in 1966 and the other contributed to the departure of basketball coach Glen Anderson in 1971. In neither case did it provide much leadership.

The first involved Stapleton, who arrived in 1958 and had compiled a 40-45-4 record and was coming off a 2-6-2 mark in 1966. In addition, he was addicted to the conservative split-wing offense, saw advantages in punting on third down (the element of surprise) and saw disadvantages in the forward pass (Bomb, 1966, 179). He used to assert that three things could happen on a pass play (reception, incompletion, interception) and two of these were bad. However, his team had gone 5-4-1 in 1965 under signal caller Tim Van Galder with more passing. So 1966 was a big disappointment.

Student unrest over the quality (and entertainment value) of Cyclone football reached a point that GSB decided to conduct a student referendum on whether Stapleton should continue as head coach or should surrender the reins to another.

Daily editor Eric Abbott took no stand on the basic question of whether Stapleton should continue as head coach. But he was vitally concerned that students take this "rare opportunity" to express their collective opinion on the matter. Abbott recognized that student opinion had no more value than that of, say, the Des Moines Cyclone Club, but he equally believed that students had a right to be heard. "The more student who vote," he added, "the more interest the Regents will probably take in the outcome" (*Daily*, Dec. 2, 1966).

Meanwhile, in an unusual outburst of electoral generosity, the faculty had been given the same opportunity on the Stapleton question and had voted 2 to 1 or 233-104 in favor of keeping him as coach.

So when the GSB opinion election came back with 1,725 against Stapleton and 563 in favor, the results, while 3 to 1 against Stapleton, had been pretty effectively neutralized by the faculty vote. Thus, it couldn't have come as much of a surprise when the chairman of the Athletic Council, W.H. Thompson, sent a letter to the *Daily* pointing out that, with only about 15 percent of the student body voting, the results were "hardly conclusive in forming a judgment on the question of retaining Mr. Stapleton as head football coach" (*Daily*, Dec. 6, 1966).

While the *Daily* offered no editorial reaction, the student poll proved rather prophetic. Before the 1967 season, he agreed to coach one more year and then move into the athletic director's position. Stapleton went 2-8 that last coaching year.

Basketball Controversy

The two examples of the Daily's dealings with Campus Alliance, Inc. and the Athletic Council are excellent instances where the *Daily* fulfilled its watchdog function on behalf of its readers and the community. But the paper hasn't always been successful. For example, it wasn't able to piece together what really happened in Don Smith's last days as GSB president. And there have been stories that the paper appears to have just plain missed, in spite of some pretty obvious indications of trouble. A good example ot his occurred with the Iowa State basketball team in 1968-71.

The problems involving head men's basketball coach Glen Anderson pre-dated 1968, but that was the year that things first broke into the open. That's when black activists accused Anderson of prejudice and miscommunication. Other problems subsequently surfaced that appear to have led to a power-play by an assistant coach to expedite his ouster (though this remains in the realm of hearsay and conjecture).

Anderson had been head coach at Iowa State since 1960 and had compiled a record of 137-140 (or .495 percent) in his 12 years when he was terminated by the Athletic Council on Feb. 17, 1971. He would go on to finish that season (*Des Moines Register*, Feb. 18, 1971 and *Daily*, Feb. 18, 1971).

The coach's problems began in May 1968 when the Black Student Organization (BSO) filed a list of grievances with the university administration about intercollegiate athletics at Iowa State (*Daily*, Sept. 9, 1968). In addition to calling for a black coach in each major sport, the BSO said that Anderson "should be forced to change his despotism and prejudices toward Black athletes." The BSO said that Anderson "should open this door of opportunity or relinquish his position to one who will" (*Daily*, Sept. 9, 1968).

According to former ISU basketball player and assistant coach Arnie Gaarde, these charges "precipitated a lot of things" relating to the turmoil caused by militancy among blacks (Gaarde interview). The four blacks on the basketball team were not a problem, Gaarde said, but they were under a lot of pressure from other campus militants in the movement. One result of these attacks, according to Gaarde, was that Anderson's pipeline to New York City black basketball talent dried up in short order. All of which, according to Gaarde, was most unfortunate because, in his opinion, Anderson never displayed any negative reaction to blacks. "Coaches alway have their favorites," he said, "but they are usually those who play hardest and do the best job." In any case, Gaarde added, "Andy was working his way through the turmoil" (Gaarde interview).

Another problem for Anderson, according to Gaarde, was that the junior-laden Cyclones in 1969 beat everyone in the Big Eight at least once and there were higher expectations for 1970. But things didn't jell and and the team in 1970 was more disappointing to fans, players and coaches.

Things came to a head publicly, beginning in January, when two letters appeared in the *Daily* that were critical of the head coach. One, by Amelia Parker (JIMC 6), criticized Anderson for deriving "delight in persecuting some very fine

athletes." In particular, she said, his "favorite scapegoat" was senior Dave Collins (a black). She was, she wrote, "appalled at the ineptness with which Coach Glen Anderson attempts to guide his Cyclones" (*Daily*, Jan. 9, 1970).

An even more devastating letter appeared that same day from Paul Miller (Farm Op. 4). He referred to rumors of "quite a bit of static and fighting (not physical) between the white and black players on the team." He then asked whether there was a double standard in operation. According to Miller's hearsay, black players were avoiding being disciplined for actions that would have brought penalties to whites. Among other charges, he alleged that a black stole $25 from a white player's locker "and Anderson said he would pay the white player back instead of the black player paying him back" (*Daily*, Jan. 9, 1970).

Miller chastised Anderson for allegedly playing black players ahead of better white athletes. "Anderson, are you afraid the black players will burn your house down if you discipline them?" In a sense, Gaarde suggested, Miller was right because the Black Power movement had created a "really frustrating time, especially for Anderson, whose heart was bigger than his head" (Gaarde interview).

These types of letters brought two fast replies against criticism of Anderson, but neither defended him as a coach (*Daily*, Jan. 13, 1970).

One of those letters took to task the alleged double standard on the grounds that not a shred of proof had been included in the critic's letter. The other said that "(B)ringing things up about a black and white conflict only hurts the 'team' which you apparently don't care about."

The next round of criticism was triggered in February by a letter to the editor from John Evens (E&S 4), who said the basketball team was the "Height of Mediocrity" (*Daily*, Feb. 18, 1970). Two days later, the *Daily* carried four letters, one from a track team member defending ISU athletics generally. The other three came down hard on Anderson. One of the writers, C.M. To, an assistant professor in biochem-biophysics, said that the basketball team "would always be 'a barking dog' at home and yet a 'frightened mouse' on the road" until the coaching staff did a better job of recruiting and training the players.

The other two writers both described Anderson as a "mediocre coach." Cindy Marshall (Soc. 2) noted that Anderson had now had 10 years to build a winning program and stressed that it was up to the students to effect change, "because the athletic council remains satisfied with the attendance." The other, from Denny

Caslavko (Zool. 3), said the problem wasn't the talent, but the coach. "Let's face it folks. Glen Anderson is not championship material. Maybe Boone J.C. would use a man of his caliber" (*Daily*, Feb. 20, 1970).

The situation with Iowa State basketball took another turn for the worse when assistant coach Lyle Frahm suddenly resigned in April, due to what he termed "an unhappy situation" on the staff (*Daily*, April 8, 1970). Frahm, 34, who had been an assistant coach for four years, cited as the main reason for his departure "differences in coaching philosophy" that made it no longer possible for him to "support the program as it now exists."

Gaarde, who was Frahm's office mate, said the resignation caught him totally by surprise (Gaarde interview). Gaarde said he thought one problem between the two was a "recruiting philosophy thing." Frahm, he speculated, would work hard to bring good prospects to campus, but Anderson couldn't seem to persuade them to sign with Iowa State. One of the main problems, Gaarde said, was that Anderson was "not a very communicative guy." He was, he added, an introvert.

Anderson's apparent inability to communicate with players and staff was cited as a major factor in the eventual decision, one season later, to terminate his contract.

Subsequent to Frahm's abrupt resignation, rumors began to filter through that the assistant coach may have been involved in some kind of attempt to remove Anderson and take over as head coach himself (Gaarde interview). Obviously, if true, this meant he would have needed backing of some kind, say from big contributors or other influential alumni. If anything like this was in the works, it obviously fizzled and Frahm left.

Although the assistant coach had nothing to say to the media about his reasons for quitting, the genie ought to have been out of the bottle for the press. Sixteen members of the basketball team signed a letter declaring their public support for Frahm's "stand on the issues which lead [sic] to his leaving" (*Daily*, April 17, 1970). The players praised Frahm as "a young and ambitious coach who has gained and maintained the respect of the players, as well as the community."

The letter continued in a vein that not only praised Frahm, but also contained clues as to how they compared the departing assistant to the head coach:

> Having been intimately associated with a variety of coaching philosophies and techniques during our basketball careers, we have concluded that a mere knowledge of the mechanics of basketball is not enough to insure success as a

> coach. Equally important, if not more so, are personal integrity, fairness, honesty, and perhaps most importantly, the ability to effectively communicate with the players.

In essence, the team members wrote, "a coach must be cognizant of the psychological needs of all those people with whom he associates. It is our opinion that Coach Frahm possesses these necessary qualities..."

In order to build character and confidence in the players, it added, the coach "must possess character and confidence himself." Coach Frahm, they wrote, "possesses these two qualities, and is capable of transferring them to those with whom he works." Had Coach Frahm been able to exercise his coaching philosophy at Iowa State, the letter concluded, "unfortunate events which have occurred in recent years may well have been avoided" (*Daily*, April 17, 1970).

Just under the players' letter the *Daily* carried a statement by Coach Anderson describing Frahm as "an extremely capable and ambitious young man — possibly too ambitious." The differences in philosophies between the head coach and his assistant, Anderson added, "are not nearly as marked as he would have people believe." The five-paragraph statement ended with Anderson repeating that Iowa State had lost an "ambitious" young man (*Daily*, April 17, 1970).

More clues.

Five days later, the *Daily* published a 14-inch letter about the basketball situation from co-captain Jim Abrahamson. The senior from Marshalltown again praised Frahm, but his main target was Glen Anderson and his "inability to effectively communicate."

Abrahamson alluded to the problems of discipline on the team, adding that "I know he has already been advised of the importance of improvement in that respect." But, the co-captain added, this is merely a result of Coach Anderson's inability to effectively communicate "and this has hindered his relationships with his players, his assistants and the players he attempts to recruit." Abrahamson concluded by urging the Athletic Council to reconsider its recent one-year extension on Anderson's contract and to make "the necessary" coaching change immediately (*Daily*, April 22, 1970).

Abrahamson's letter was accompanied by a nine-inch backgrounder from the *Daily*. This summarized Anderson's career at Iowa State and included information about the Athletic Council's decision to retain Anderson. It also recalled that one member of the Athletic Council had earlier told the *Daily* that the council had

discussed Anderson's alleged communication problem on several occasions. Council members contacted by the *Daily* refused to comment on Abrahamson's letter. Anderson himself simply said of Abrahamson's letter, "There are two sides to every issue. He is entitled to say what he thinks" (*Daily*, April 22, 25, 1970).

Less than a year later, the Athletic Council decided, with four games left to play, to terminate the 41-year-old Anderson's contract at the end of the season (*Daily*, Feb. 18, 1971). No specific reasons were given, but the team had a 5-12 record. Moreover, Anderson had, just a few weeks earlier, criticized the athletic department, labeling its financial support of the basketball program a "distant last" in the Big Eight Conference (*Des Moines Register*, Feb. 18, 1970).

In examining the Daily's efforts in the Anderson affair, it seems clear that its primary contribution was to provide space for letter writers. It did no investigative stories about the charges of racism or lack of discipline or the coach's inability to communicate. It did nothing to pin down the veracity — of fallaciousness — of the Frahm situation. In fact, the Daily's business adviser, Bob Greenlee, was quoted in May 1970 as citing the Anderson affair as one of the paper's failures. "There was probably a lot more to that story," he said, adding that the staff had done a "poor job of giving insight" (*Daily*, May 19, 1970).

Why? Two explanations seem plausible. The first involves the nature of the sports staff of the *Daily*. Traditionally, and this goes back to World War II, sportswriters and sports editors have been most interested in the game. "They wouldn't claim that they were merely boosters," according to Tom Emmerson (himself a former *Daily* sports editor), "but that's what we were in reality" (Emmerson interview).

The other explanation involved the turbulent times that the nation — and newsroom — were experiencing in spring 1970, at the precise moment when Abrahamson's letter appeared. The Red Ram affair with Roosevelt Roby and Chuck Jean was in full swing; racial tensions in Ames were a boiling point. In fact, city hall was bombed only weeks later. In addition, the Kent State shootings further convulsed campuses across the nation. In short, maybe the problems with the basketball team just didn't seem that significant — though to the players and some coaches they were very important.

In many respects, both the Campus Alliance, Inc. and the Athletic Council lawsuits reflect on the degree of pre-publication latitude that the *Daily* enjoyed, not only in the 1960s and 1970s, but throughout its history. But such ventures into

court can also cause serious-minded and responsible people to ask whether the risks of this freedom aren't too great? Others, who might object to the newspaper's position (or absence of a position) might seek to influence the *Daily* by gaining a majority on the publication board (as almost happened in the late 1970s with Bible Study). Other potential sources of internal and external influence, pressure or even control have existed throughout the Daily's history. These will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE DAILY AND FREE EXPRESSION: WHO WATCHED THE WATCHDOG?

"With all the criticism we hear about the Daily, it remains the same quality, if not worse."
— GSB president Bruce Forsyth

Ideally and constitutionally, newspapers should be free of external controls and, because of this, able to operate under the First Amendment without external (or internal) forces impinging on their freedoms. As such, they are provide a neutral forum for debate or a "market place for ideas" and serve as a neutral conduit of information between the people and their elected leaders. The *Daily* has served these roles admirably — especially through its letters to the editors columns. It has equally ably served as a conduit of information between students and their leaders, both elected and appointed.

But campus newspapers, like their professional counterparts, are expected under the First Amendment to perform a watchdog function. As Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart explained it, the primary purpose of the constitutional guarantee of a free press was . . . "to create a fourth institution outside the Government as an additional check on the three official branches" (ANPA General Bulletin, 239).

Against this notion one can find a variety of elements on campuses across the nation that see the student newspaper in a different light. In some instances, school administrators (including boards of regents, presidents and other appointed officials, such as the director of information) have regarded student newspapers as having the primary function of a public relations vehicle. In other words, bad news was not to be news at all. It's also possible for student government leaders to feel they should be able to affect or influence content because they provide allocations to fund publication.

Less organized, but also capable of influencing or impinging on the watchdog function of the press are students — particularly organized groups of students, such as members of Bible Study who made a concerted effort in the early 1980s to

control the *Daily* through letters to the editor and through appointments to the publications board (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990).

Sometimes, the external force that influences or restricts a campus paper comes from the journalism unit itself, in the form of faculty support (or non-support) or the attitude of the academic unit's leader. Even more directly, the faculty member appointed or selected as the paper's adviser can affect, subtly or directly, the direction and aggressiveness of the newspaper. And those are just the external forces that are capable of monitoring or influencing the watchdog.

Internally, two other non-newsroom elements are potential sources of control or direction. These are the professional leader of the publication. In the case of the *Daily*, this person has been known as the business or general manager. This is the person most heavily involved with the operation of all facets of the paper, including the purse strings. Beyond that is the paper's Publication Board.

All of these persons or groups are potential sources of conflict or opposition to a campus paper serving as an active, aggressive watchdog of all facets of the student and administrative community — from student affairs to athletics to fund-raising. This chapter examines whether and how any of these various elements influenced — or sought to influence — the Iowa State *Daily* during the so-called "nutty, violent period" of 1966-75, when even the state's Attorney General, Richard Turner, got into the effort to stamp out "moral pollution" on campuses and in the state's newspapers (particularly at Grinnell).

While the campus press nationally has enjoyed a relatively free ride from interference since World War II, there are enough exceptions in the United States to suggest that the Iowa State *Daily* has been the beneficiary of an atmosphere of freedom (or the absence of restraints) that has prevailed for the most part at Iowa State.

President W. Robert Parks

The most obvious source of potential problems is the University president and his or her chief administrators. There was a day, notably under President Charles E. Friley and Dean of Students M.D. Helser, when the *Daily* was closely monitored and when editors or reporters were summoned for some pretty one-sided discussions (Visions, p. 20 and Emmerson, interview). But the arrival of presidents James H. Hilton and then, particularly, W. Robert Parks, brought a new atmosphere

to Beardshear Hall. Parks, who served as president throughout this period, has earned high marks for his restraint from student editors, advisors, student leaders and just about everyone who was involved in the news, including Don Smith, Mary Lou Lifka Atkinson and Helen Randall.

Though Parks said he more than once he wished that a story or editorial had not been printed, but he also knew the decision was out of his hands (Davenport, p. 21). Parks cannot remember ever phoning an editor or reporter to complain about an editorial or a story. "I was never in a fight with the *Daily*," he said in 1998. *Daily* adviser Bill Kunerth largely agreed with Parks. He recalled that, in his 15 years as *Daily* adviser, he only received one phone call from an administrator concerning the content of the paper. That occurred when the President phoned him as adviser to complain. Editor Steve Poulter (1971-72) had written something critical of the President, Kunerth recalled, and Parks thought the piece contained inaccurate information. Kunerth said he encouraged the President to phone or write Poulter to let him know he thought he had been wronged (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990). He does not remember whether Parks did so, but, given the President's track record and his approach to conflict, the odds are pretty good that Parks' memory on this point is accurate.

"I considered I had no direct role really," he said. "I don't think I should have had any direct role. But I've always held the *Daily* was one of the most gentle college papers in the country that I knew of. They had their fling now and then, but, by and large, they were extremely fair." Parks didn't think they leaned over in favor of the establishment, "but they certainly weren't an anti-establishment paper." And, he added, "I depended on the *Daily* for an awful lot of campus news. That's the way you got a lot of it." Parks recalled that, back in those days, "They had good people. . . they were fun days. . . they would write editorials and they signed them" (Parks interview). (Signed editorials were abandoned in the early 1970s, but a form of shorthand identification was restored around 1975, when the author's initials were included at the end of each opinion piece.)

The absence of top administrative interference with the *Daily* is supported by former Department Head James W. Schwartz, who said, "Never, not once did I get a call from a dean, a president or a vice-president about something the *Daily* had done." Schwartz, who was Journalism's leader during a good share of this period, as well as a graduate of the Department, attributed this to the fact that the

Department's philosophy of freedom of expression "was well known" at that time (Schwartz interview).

Director of Information Carl Hamilton

However, retired Professor Kunerth has a slightly different perspective. He recalled that even though there was never any "heavy-handed" attempt to control what the *Daily* published, the administration exerted control in more subtle ways. He said in an interview in 1990 that every editor during this period (1967-75) got a series of letters or memos from Director of Information Carl Hamilton. Terry Gogerty, editor of the *Daily* in 1970, said he received memos from Hamilton, as did his predecessors, Kent Baker and Jack Brimeyer. "Carl was very influential," Gogerty said. "He always tried to keep us away from the administration" (Gogerty interview).

Gogerty recalled how "We were right in there at the prime time when Carl was extremely unhappy with us." He added, "we had a great staff. They had no fear and would go after stuff." According to Gogerty, Hamilton "would always come in and his standard line was, 'Now you understand that I only wear one hat and that's as a journalist.' . . . We knew where he was coming from and his job was especially to generate money for Iowa State and he did a tremendous job" (Gogerty interview).

"That line about his hats," Gogerty said, was in one of Hamilton's memos. "He always tried to start out tactfully," he added. "Then basically the point of the message was, 'You weren't being an ethical journalist. You really weren't getting both sides of the story, getting the facts'. He never said, 'You're making the university look bad'. He was also trying to get under your skin as far as being a journalist. . . you had failed the profession" (Gogerty interview).

Hamilton died on June 2, 1991 at age 77, before anyone had talked to him directly about his relationship with the *Daily*. His obituary, in the Journalism Department's Newsletter, described him as "a man of many talents," with "unswerving loyalty" to his alma mater. During the 17 years he served as vice president, the Newsletter said, Hamilton earned a reputation "as one of ISU's most effective spokesmen, fund raisers and policymakers." His handiwork, it added, had "taken many forms, and his influence has been both subtle and observable" (Newsletter, 1991, 14). The Newsletter story also referred, in the same sentence, to Carl's "passionate" love of ISU and his campus-wide renown for "his feisty temper and pointed memos." By all accounts, the story added, Hamilton was "a no-

nonsense, straight shooter who earned the respect and admiration of peers on both sides of the fence" (Newsletter 1991, 14).

His wife of 53 years, Ruth, said her husband, who was *Daily* editor in 1934-35 and then publisher-editor of the Iowa Falls Citizen and Hardin County Times for 14 years, never tried to censor a story. "He was very concerned that it was a fair story," she added. "He believed in being supportive. He knew what questions you should ask to get both sides and be a better reporter" (Hamilton interview).

On the other hand, Kunerth felt that Hamilton's personal memos to *Daily* editors and reporters were not quite cricket. Whereas administrators have a right to criticize the *Daily*, he explained, they should have done it "openly, before the public." Hamilton, according to Kunerth, would "never write anything for publication. He'd write a letter to the editor, strictly to the editor" (Kunerth interview). He characterized Hamilton's private memos to editors and reporters as "unprofessional" for that reason (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990).

Needless to say, Hamilton and Kunerth sparred — even jousted — on many occasions. Parks, who was able to watch from a semi-detached viewpoint, said "Carl was very protective of Iowa State and that bothered Bill." Parks remembered Kunerth telling him once that his administration was "relatively humanistic, but too defensive." Referring to Hamilton's memos, Parks said, "Sometimes they'd tell you what you ought to be doing that you're not doing. Carl was really a great guy, but he was overly defensive actually." He recalled a time, when Kunerth accused the administration of being too defensive, that Hamilton fired back a memo that said, "We're not defensive" (Parks interview).

On the other hand, Kunerth acknowledged there were occasions when the *Daily* received valuable information from Hamilton and others that led to useful stories. In particular, he said, Hamilton supplied details — and encouraged the *Daily* to write about Campus Alliance (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990). Hamilton's role vis-à-vis the *Daily* in the Don Smith is a lot less clear.

Government of the Student Body

While University administrations nationally have probably wreaked more havoc with campus newspapers than any other internal force, student governments have also provided their share of bother. At Iowa State, that is partly a function of the fact that the Government of the Student Body (GSB) has endured a quivver full of darts

from the *Daily* and its senators, at various times, have responded by trying to take the editors down a peg or two through reduced allocations.

Difficulties from GSB inevitably occurred whenever one of two situations occurred. The first involved the student activity fee revenue pie. If the Daily's annual request involved a significant increase over the previous year, it could expect a pretty rough ride — but generally only insofar as the requested hike was concerned. The same was true if GSB experienced additional pressure on its total allocations. This occurred if new groups applied for funding or if existing groups asked for significant increases. In this case, the GSB scalpel was used to trim (or whack) requests to meet available funds.

Those are, of course, right and proper functions of any appropriations process. But a second kind of difficulty periodically arose when GSB senators had criticisms of the Daily's content or editorial stance on some issue or another. In this case, the GSB allocation was used as a kind of cudgel to beat on the editor or staff generally. It was here that the *Daily* and its staff had to defend the paper and explain or even justify its actions.

In terms of the process and actual allocations, the *Daily* witnessed during this steady growth in support from GSB for five years — until February 1971, when the Publication Board embarked on a policy of reducing its requests as it sought greater financial independence through increased advertising revenue. In the next five years, the Daily's requests dipped from $97,850 to $57,000 and then back to $63,000.

In 1965-66, the *Daily*'s total revenue was $89,700. Of this GSB allocated about $45,000 (or 50.2 percent) from student activity fees to help offset publication costs. This was easily the largest allocation received from GSB by any campus group or organization. It amounted to an assessment from activity fees of $1.22 per quarter per student. The remaining $44,700 (or 49.8 percent) was generated in 1965-66 from advertising sold by students (Statement of Operations, 1965-66). By contrast, in 1996-97, the *Daily*'s operating revenue was about $1,000,000 and the GSB allocation of $75,000 represented less than 8 percent of that figure.

In 1965-66, printing and engraving ($62,500) amounted to almost two-thirds the *Daily*'s total expenses (*Daily*, Sept. 10, 1965). The paper was printed in on campus by the Iowa State University Press. In fact, the *Daily* and four other student publications (the Bomb, the Iowa Agriculturist, Iowa Engineer and Iowa

Homemaker) were joint owners of the ISU Press. All were listed as non-profit corporations.

The *Daily* and the other publications purchased composition and printing services from the Press. Each publication had representation on the Board of Directors of the ISU Press, whose president was also head of the Department of Technical Journalism (later Journalism and Mass Communication). Later, the *Daily* was contracted by bid to printers in Jefferson, Ames and Webster City.

Every year, beginning around February or March, the *Daily* was obliged to go before GSB's financial committee, the Executive Budgetary Commission (EBC), to request funding for the upcoming year. This group would formulate its own recommended level of funding. The EBC report would then be passed over the GSB Finance Committee for further scrutiny and, if anything, additional cuts. Finally, a proposal for funding would come before the full GSB for disposition. Any organization requesting funds could plead its case before EBC and GSB, whereas the nature of the Finance Committee's operations are less clear.

In 1966, the *Daily* asked for an increase of $8,280 — or 9.2 percent — in order to increase staff salaries, print about 1,000 more copies per day (to cover increased enrollment), increase the average number of pages, and experiment with a new method of printing called offset. *Daily* business manager John Klopf added that the *Daily* had been devoting 56.3 percent of its space to advertising — leaving a news hole of 43.7 percent.

In fact, the *Daily* had a pretty easy ride in 1966 and 1967, particularly compared with the annual, the Bomb, which had lost between $9,000-$10,000 every year since 1960-61. By contrast, the *Daily* made around $1,000-$1,500 in four out of the five years through 1964-65. It lost $1,363.47 in 1961-62 (*Daily*, May 9 & 11, 1967). This was all in keeping with a philosophy at the time of not trying to make profits or 'bank' funds for future expenses.

Throughout the decades, one of the most bothersome, if not powerful, watchdogs of the *Daily* has been the Government of the Student Body — or, more specially, its financial arm. The Executive Budgetary Commission (EBC) controlled allocations to student organizations throughout this period and beyond. While more enlightened members of GSB and the EBC understood that their power of the purse strings was limited and in some ways dangerous, other senators have used allocations over various periods as a whip in an attempt to either flat-out criticize

the *Daily* or else as a lever in order to improve or enhance coverage in certain areas — particularly regarding either GSB itself or, on occasion, the Greek system.

A good example of this occurred in 1968 when some disgruntled GSB senators wanted to exchange their support for the Daily's allocation request of $54,595 for "priority to be given in publicizing the events of the residence sectors." The measure called for adequate coverage of events sponsored by the residence factions on the grounds that the *Daily* was supposed by student funds (*Daily*, May 9, 1968). It was introduced by Tom St. Clair, senator representing the Interfraternity Council, who claimed to have the support of all campus residence associations. In any case, the resolution was passed by GSB on May 7, 1968.

The debate focused on a request from the *Daily* for a $6,000 increase in its allocation. That's a 12.3 percent hike from 1967's amount. Many senators at the GSB meeting on May 7 argued against the increase on the grounds that the newspaper was including intentional news coverage at the expense of "adequate coverage" of campus organizations. In short, the senators complained, they would vote “no” without assurances that the paper would cover more campus-oriented news.

One senator, Mike Addison of engineering, pointed out, "We have no substantial evidence that the editor has any intention of upgrading or changing the *Daily*." He further argued that it was the senate's "right and duty to hold off granting them funds" until GSB had "proof that the students will get the news coverage they want" (*Daily*, May 11, 1968). Another senator, Chuck Putzier of the University Married Community, had three criticisms of the *Daily*. First, he attacked the quality of news, charging that it was inaccurate and misleading. "How can we applaud their attempt at world news coverage when they can't do a decent job of campus events?" In addition, Putzier attacked the quantity of news material and the editorial content (*Daily*, May 11, 1968).

Not every senator favored using the allocation cudgel to force the *Daily* to make changes. Margo Hannah, senator-at-large, obviously primed beforehand, reminded her colleagues that they had, just a few weeks earlier, passed a bill on the Rights and Freedoms of Students that had been co-authored by the National Student Association and the American Association of University Professors. This statement said, in part, that "The student press should be free of censorship and

advance approval of copy, and its editors and managers should be free to develop their own editorial policies and news coverage" (*Daily*, May 11, 1968).

GSB President Bruce Forsyth vented his own frustrations over the *Daily*, when he called the resolution "one of the better things we've done." Since the *Daily* was supported by students, he argued, it should print what the students want. "Perhaps we should even just have a newsletter, but let's let the students know what's happening on their campus." Forsyth complained, too, that GSB often got too much coverage in the *Daily* — or at least coverage in the wrong areas. He said he felt that news had to be "of a sensational nature" to get into the *Daily*. "I understand the problems the *Daily* has," he added, "but I don't agree on their idea of what is news" (*Daily*, May 9, 1968).

A week later, Forsyth announced that he would refuse to sign the EBC student activity fee allocations as endorsed by the GSB senate. This action was purely symbolic, since only GSB approval was required. But it did reflect the GSB president's frustration over the Daily's independence — at least on the matter of news judgment. One main reason for his action, Forsyth explained, was the Daily's refusal to abide by guidelines set by GSB. "We have no assurances from the editor," he added, "that any extra money the *Daily* would get would be spent correctly" (*Daily*, May 16, 1968).

In a letter to the editor that same day, Forsyth complained that, "With all the criticism we hear about the *Daily*, it remains the same quality, if not worse." Forsyth did not feel that students should pay and not be heard. "I feel there should be an improvement to make it the type of paper students want to read," he added. "If not, students should not be forced to pay for it" (*Daily*, May 16, 1968).

Daily editor Greg Lauser was obliged to plead his case, both at the GSB meeting and in an editorial, titled "The scoop" (*Daily* May 9, 1968). Lauser attacked the Senate for confusing the *Daily* — a newspaper — with a publicity sheet. "If the senate wishes to abridge the function of the *Daily* to report only the publicity which the residences want in the paper," he added, "then the need for editors and personnel trained to make news judgments is nil."

> If every organization which had something to promote demanded of the *Daily* the priority which the residences feel they need, there would be no need for any editorial or news staff. There would be nothing to do but plug in raft upon raft of PR.

Lauser noted that the *Daily* was responding to student opinion after a poll showed a desire for increasing the amount of world and national news. In addition, Lauser explained, the *Daily* was "entrusted with attempting to cover all campus organizations." The *Daily*, he concluded, deals in news, not publicity for publicity's sake. "The newspaper's editors must make news judgments to maintain its news standards. Without these judgments the *Daily* would forfeit any claim to being a newspaper" (*Daily*, May 9 and 11, 1968).

While Lauser and his staff would doubtless deny any connection, on May 17, 1968, the *Daily* carried a page one story, explaining changes for next fall's *Daily*. These included more signed staff political stands as a means of stimulating interest in issues that are pertinent to the campus. They also involved the creation of a group of senior reporters who would be responsible for covering special areas and for helping new reporters cover their beats more effectively. Lauser also encouraged groups to use the campus calendar column, so people would know "at a glance what is happening on campus." He said he also planned to establish an new achievement column to take care of all honors, scholarships and presentations. This was endorsed by Managing Editor Helen Randall, who explained that there was currently no room to print "the vast number that come in" and, she added, "we would like to recognize these people in some way" (*Daily*, May 17, 1968).

Whether these changes on the *Daily* were in any way generated by GSB and other student criticism is an open question. Whatever the answer, the Daily's request allocation increase the following year sailed through without accompanying criticism or resolutions of concern. The *Daily* asked for an additional $9,706.30 in March for the remainder of the year as a special allocation, primarily to expand the size and increase the quality of the paper. Even though the "Q-word" had been mooted, senators did not rise to take the bait. In fact, the main sentiment appeared to be voiced by IFC Senator Mike Addison, who said "This is one area on campus we can put more money into and affect nearly everyone at the University." The allocation was ultimately reduced by $1,000 — at least temporarily — until exact figures could be produced showing that the newspaper had actually sustained a projected loss of that amount for 1968-69. But the sessions were

completely devoid of the previous year's complaints and criticisms (*Daily*, March 20, 1969).

A few weeks later, GSB approved the largest percent increase ever received by the *Daily* for the 1969-70 budget. The *Daily* had requested $92,430 — a hike of 69.3 percent over the previous year's allocation of $54,595. The Executive Budgetary Commission recommended only $75,000, but GSB ultimately approved $82,000. This still represented an increase of 50.2 percent over the previous year's grant (*Daily*, May 9, 13, 1969). This hike was all the more remarkable when considered against the total moneys available.

GSB had requests amounting to $335,400 and only $270,100 to dispense. That's $65,300 more than was available.

The only student organization with a larger allocation for 1969-70 was GSB itself. According to the *Daily* of May 13, 1969, here is how the top five grants lined up, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. The top five grants

Group	1968-69	1969-70	% change
1. GSB	$80,200	$83,995	+ 4.7
2. *Daily*	$54,595	$82,000	+ 50.2
3. Lectures	$34,100	$34,350	+ 0.7
4. Music (concerts)	$25,000	$27,500	+ 10.0
5. ISU Bomb	$30,740	$14,878	— 51.6

Problems with and criticisms of the Bomb served as a lightning rod to deflect attention from the *Daily*. But , clearly, more was going on than this to allow the *Daily* to win such a significant increase in its allocation. One can only surmise, but it is at least possible to argue that the editors were more attentive to their readers' interests and that the Daily's business adviser, Robert Greenlee, put together a comprehensive and convincing proposal — one that would expand the average number of pages from 11.5 to 14 per issue without an additional increase in advertising, hence, a larger news hole (*Daily*, March 20, 1969).

Judging from news stories in the *Daily*, it appears that the newspaper was bound to have problems with EBC and GSB every second or third year. Thus, in spring 1971, the paper ran into another buzz saw — in spite of having been the recipient in early April of an All-American rating for the third quarter in a row from the Associated Collegiate Press (*Daily*, April 7, 1971). In fact, judges had

commented n the quality coverage of news and an excellent balance between news and features. "Readers of the *Daily* are really lucky!" was one comment of the judges. Another said that "Leads are real grabbers." Another said, "Your writers are real pros — they tell the story completely..." (*Daily*, April 7, 1971).

Two weeks later, the *Daily* was mired in another squabble with EBC. In this case, the opposition to the proposed allocation was surprising, since the requested sum ($86,000) was $11,000 less than the previous year's grant (*Daily*, March 31). And Editor Steve Poulter had told EBC that the *Daily* actually hoped to cut its allocation request "every year as we seek to become independent of student fees" (*Daily*, April 13).

Even so, the knives were out once again — primarily because of what at least one senator perceived as news coverage that was “leaning away from the students." At least that was the charge of EBC chairman Charles Hurburgh, who was also president of the Towers Residence Association. "The *Daily* just hasn't been covering student events adequately or accurately," he added, "and I hope the people at the *Daily* wake up." Hurburgh's motion that EBC deny all student funds to the *Daily* failed, 3-2.

However, EBC did recommend that the *Daily*'s allocation of $85,800 be distributed quarterly (instead of once a year) and that the *Daily* be evaluated each quarter before allocations were given. "That way," Hurburgh explained, "the senate can evaluate the paper each quarter before deciding whether or not it deserves the allocation" (*Daily*, April 21, 1971).

Surprisingly, the *Daily* did not editorialize immediately against this kind of micro-management. In fact, the editors praised the work of the EBC on April 23, making only slight allusions to the fact that sometimes commission members failed to grasp the entire situation that faces each group (*Daily*, April 23, 1971). But that was just the calm before the storm.

A week later, at the *Daily* Publications Board meeting, editor Steve Poulter went for the jugular. He decried the "political overtones" of the *Daily*'s treatment and warned that, if the Hurburgh recommendation passed it would create a "dangerous situation." The proper place to review the *Daily*'s performance, he said, was the Publications Board, since it is the official governing body of the paper.

If GSB were to function as a review board, Poulter added, it would stifle the whole operation of the *Daily*. "I as an editor couldn't continue to operate with the

threat of funds being cut off if I didn't do what GSB liked" (April 30, 1971). Poulter added that, he favored rejecting any allocation from GSB if the Hurburgh resolution passed. This, he said, would have a serious impact impact on the paper. "We may be printing a four-page paper once a week," he said (*Daily*, April 30, 1971).

That same day's paper carried a stern lecture on the role of a free press and the danger of allowing the GSB Senate to review the performance of the paper at the end of every quarter and to decide whether it continues to deserve funding by student fees (*Daily*, April 30, 1971). The ideal climate for the operation of a student-run campus newspaper, Poulter, declared is financial independence — "no university funds, no student government funds and no compulsory subscription charges forced on students." This, he declared, was the goal of the *Daily* staff because it knew that whoever controls the purse strings can control the staff — be that controller be the student government or the university administration.

If the campus press must be subsidized by GSB or ISU, he added, it should only be to the extent of "purchasing the newspaper for distribution to selected subscribers through the use of student fees. This, he said, is why the *Daily* advocated to EBC a scheme whereby GSB purchased a specific number of subscriptions rather than the allocation of a specific amount of money — as received by other student groups (*Daily*, April 30, 1971).

Poulter hauled up the specter of the *Daily* going without GSB funding and publishing fewer, smaller issues. He also noted that the *Daily* already had established a long-range goal of achieving financial independence (from GSB) within 5-10 years (*Daily*, April 30, 1971).

The editor agreed that the *Daily* should be held accountable to students, but argued that the campus press could best judge its own capabilities and limitations. In this regard, he added, the *Daily* Publications Board should be the appropriate body to evaluate the newspaper's performance. This board, he added, continually reviews both the fiscal and editorial operation of the newspaper. It also selects the editor and approves staff appointments.

In Poulter's opinion, the GSB Senate was "both ill-equipped as a 'journalistic reviewer' and hardly removed from [having a] vested interest in the reporting of campus affairs. Accountability and control of the newspaper," he concluded (in bold face type), "must remain with the newspaper staff and ultimately with the

publications board if the paper is to remain free from intimation and prior censorship by campus interest groups" (*Daily*, April 30, 1971).

Members of the EBC were neither persuaded nor cowed by Poulter's arguments. On the contrary, they appear to have been incensed because they went into executive session the next day with Poulter and other representatives of the *Daily* to assert that they were exploring the possibility of asking the *Ames Tribune* to take over the job of campus news coverage. The *Daily* reported that EBC members had contacted the *Tribune* and "proposed that the *Tribune* take over the job of the *Daily*." The Tribune, it was reported, made no definite commitment on Friday. EBC persisted in its view that the *Daily*'s campus coverage was unsatisfactory and that "another newspaper should be given an opportunity to give the students an alternate point of view" (*Daily*, May 1, 1971).

This, too, proved to be a tempest in a teapot, because the GSB Senate approved the $85,800 allocation to the *Daily* just a few days later. EBC members did not surrender easily, however. They recommended at the GSB meeting that the *Daily* Publications Board should be reorganized and expanded to include "one representative from each residence organization" in addition to the existing members from each of the six colleges. Speaking for EBC, Jon Chambers, Veterinary Medicine, explained that his group had decided that quarterly funding "would be censorship of the *Daily*," yet, he added, there should be a board where students could take their complaints about the *Daily*'s coverage (*Daily*, May 5, 1971).

This provoked the chairman of the *Daily* Publications Board, Steve Juelsgaard, into a stiff statement, about the legality of GSB telling the Board how to operate. "We are a separate entity from GSB," he declared. "You have no more authority to tell us how to operate than we have to tell GSB how to operate," he added.

In response, GSB senator Doug Peyton declared that, "If the *Daily* wants this allocation, I think they should be responsive to GSB's suggestions." That obviously angered editor Steve Poulter, who declared, "We will not accept the allocation with any stipulations attached."

That statement did nothing to calm the troubled waters. TRA senator Doug Balvin then proposed that *Daily* funds be allocated on a quarterly basis so the senate could cut the funds off if they didn't like the performance of the paper. "We, as GSB senators, are the only representatives the students have," he added. "Call

it censorship if you like, but I think we should be a liaison between the *Daily* and the students." Ultimately, Balvin's amendment was defeated and GSB set up a committee to study possible changes in the *Daily* Publications Board (*Daily*, May 5, 1971).

As far as can be determined, these ideas for reorganizing the *Daily* Publication Board disappeared as quickly as a spring shower. But there can be little doubt that the impact of this debate did a great deal toward encouraging the *Daily* to minimize its dependence on GSB as a funding source and to insist that subsequent financial support be considered as a purchase of subscriptions, rather than a subsidy of any kind.

That was precisely what occurred in 1972 when the *Daily* presented EBC a preliminary draft of a contract listing three options (*Daily*, April 11, 1972). The first, for $70,000, would continue the status quo at 13,000 copies per day, five days a week (Monday through Friday). Another, for $60,000, would reduce the *Daily* press run to 10,400. In fact, Green noted, the proposed option for $70,000 was $16,000 less than the *Daily* had asked for the previous year and $27,850 below its request for 1970-71. The reason for this, he said, was increased advertising revenue and cost-cutting in composition.

In spite of this pared down request, the *Daily* ran into flack yet again from two directions (*Daily*, May 3, 1972). The first came in the form of criticism of "New Dimensions," the magazine-style Monday issue of the newspaper that had been introduced to replace a Saturday edition of the *Daily*. Senator Barb Snethen, Panhellenic Council, citing "negative" comments she'd heard, moved that GSB not fund a New Dimensions type of publication on the Daily's budget. Editor Roger Green replied that he had received generally positive opinions about the quality of New Dimensions, adding that reaction was "overwhelmingly in favor" of it when students were asked whether they preferred it or a Saturday edition of the *Daily*.

At this point, Sen. Mike Simonson, graduate college, said Snethen's motion would open up a "Pandora's box of problems" because it would be telling the *Daily* what to publish (*Daily*, May 3, 1972). He was supported by Publications Board President Steve Juelsgaard, who repeated his previous year's reminder that the Senate could not tell the Publications Board how to run its affairs. Snethen countered by said that the senate was being asked to agree to a contract to buy subscriptions "and should be able to decide what it buys." But her motion failed.

Then came the second assault. Simonson proposed that GSB fund the *Daily* for $60,000 (and 10,400 subscriptions) on the grounds that there was a "good possibility that the *Daily* could operate on less funds." Editor Green stressed that the reduced amount would force the end of distribution to residences and force cuts in in-depth coverage and salaries for staff members. But Simonson was having none of it. He said he found it "hard to believe there would be a cut in subscriptions" and referred to Green's forecast as a "scare tactic." He was countered by another senator who said such talk of a scare tactic was an insult to his intelligence. The Simonson motion failed, but by now the *Daily* managers must have just about had it up to their eyeballs with GSB shenanigans (*Daily*, May 3, 1972).

The following year, the *Daily* again dropped its funding request — to $60,000 — and Business Adviser Dale Boyd told EBC that the newspaper's long-term goal was financial independence (*Daily*, March 14, May 1, 1973). EBC members unanimously endorsed the $60,000 request. "They use a lot of money," according to Fred Smith of campus auditing, "but they use it efficiently" (*Daily*, March 14, 1973). For a change, it was smooth sailing for the *Daily* and editor Bill Bray even penned an editorial commending EBC for its "steady digging," its thorough scrutiny of requests and the "extraordinary amount" of research that commission members had done" (*Daily*, May 8, 1973).

The 1974 encounter was relatively uneventful, though the *Daily* did have its request of $57,000 ultimately reduced by $5,000 (8.8 percent). The problem, according to Sen. Liane Rausch, who was head of the GSB Finance Committee, was that GSB had requests totaling nearly $350,000 and only $225,000 to spend. And, she explained, because the *Daily* had a $17,000 reserve available, it "can afford a cut in its budget" (*Daily*, April 2, May 14, 1974). Editor Tom Quaife attempted to appeal the proposed cut and even wrote an editorial about the virtues of being able to use reserves to purchase new equipment (two new CRT terminals) that would save upwards of $15,000 a year in typesetting costs. But, given the financial realities facing GSB, his efforts were temperate, if not even half-hearted (*Daily*, May 14, 16, 1974). The *Daily* was clearly doing well and moving slowly toward a position of quasi independence. Advertising revenue was generating almost three times the amount of the GSB allocation and, for the year ending Feb.

28, 1974, had turned a profit of $13,926.49 and had a balance of $27,764.05 (Campus Organizations, *Daily* Balance Sheet and Income Statement 1973-74).

It appears that the *Daily* must have purchased those two new CRT terminals anyway because available records show that the paper a deficit of $19,697 for the 1974-75 fiscal year. Revenues now reached $334,072, with expenses at $353,770. Even so, the *Daily* still had a reserve of $8,276.77. But the dip into the reserve fund was enough to prompt a request of $63,000 — some 21.2 percent greater than last year's allocation. Business Adviser Jack Engel contended that the Daily's request meant students would still be paying a little over two cents an issue for each copy of the paper.

Senators who had been accustomed to four consecutive years in which the *Daily* had reduced its request, now jibbed at the turn-around. In fact, the EBC chopped $8,367 from the request and then the GSB Finance Committee (which operated in the process between EBC and GSB) whacked another $4,300 from the proposal. That left the *Daily* staring at an allocation proposal of $50,333 — or some 20.1 percent less than it had requested and, even worse, 3.2 percent less than the paper actually received the previous year (*Daily*, April 24, 29, 1975). Business Adviser Engel warned that the proposed allocation would force the *Daily* into deficit spending (*Daily*, April 24, 1975).

In addition, senators demanded to see copies of the original *Daily* budget for 1975-76, as well as the 1974-75 budget and a breakdown of $5,000 in miscellaneous expenses requested by the *Daily*. They also challenged salary increases for permanent office personnel in the Daily's business office (*Daily*, April 24, 1975).

When senators reduced the allocation and started asking for detailed information about the Daily's operating expenses, faculty adviser Edmund Blinn objected to this close scrutiny on the grounds that "GSB is only buying subscriptions to the *Daily*. In fact, he pointed out, most of the money in the Daily's budget — some $203,521— came from advertising. But Blinn's argument did not deter TRA senator Sam Flinders, who argued, "Because we are allocating student money, we have the right to gripe as much as we want to about a budget" (*Daily*, April 24, 1975).

In the end, as almost invariably occurred at this time, the final allocation to the *Daily* was a compromise, orchestrated this time by GSB President Jamie

Constantine. The Senate approved $56,085 but not before Senator-at-Large Steve Hunst had accused the *Daily* of "budget padding" (*Daily*, April 29, 1975).

If anything, the Daily's relationship to EBC and GSB over the decade was further proof of the value of not being beholden to anyone. Clearly, the Publication Board had made a conscious decision to minimize GSB involvement by negotiating subscription services (instead of an allocation) and by reducing the Daily's dependence on student fees. By 1976, the GSB allocation represented only 25 percent of the paper's income. A decade earlier, student fees had amounted to 45.7 percent of the total.

Even so, as subsequent years have revealed, as long as GSB senators have power over even a few of the purse strings, the *Daily* is going to continue having to put out brush fires regarding issues of content and performance that should, rightly, be the province of the Publication Board and the readers as individuals. These periodic political forays into *Daily* operations also demonstrate the importance for the *Daily* of maintaining an ongoing dialogue with readers and a kind of continuing education program about the role and importance of a free press (Emmerson interview).

Journalism Department head and faculty

While the Administration and the Government of the Student Body represented the two most visible areas of possible concern, a brief word should be added about the relationship to the *Daily* and influence of the department head and the faculty of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication during this period. (The role of the faculty adviser will be dealt with in the discussion of internal forces.)

James W. Schwartz served as head of the Department during this decade. He is a graduate of the department and holds a master's degree in history from Iowa State. He also served as President of the Association for Education in Journalism and taught media law, as well as photography while on the faculty. Schwartz was in a position to influence the *Daily* from three directions: as department head, as a member of the *Daily* Publication Board and as President of the Iowa State University Press Board of Directors. No one recalls that he ever did so — at least insofar as the newsroom was concerned (Kunerth, Emmerson, Blinn interviews). As Emmerson put it, "Jim was a strong believer in both the First Amendment and in allowing students to learn from their mistakes."

Schwartz recalled that the student press was handled in lots of different ways in the 1950s. In some cases college administrators had their newspapers under direct control. But Schwartz said that approach eroded pretty rapidly in the 1960s as students began asserting their independence and freedom. Within the Department at Iowa State, he explained, "Our attitude has always been, be there if they needed us, but don't try to rule them with a heavy hand. That was the philosophy we preached in our classes. We would have looked pretty bad had we not followed that same philosophy in the way we dealt with student publications" (Schwartz interview).

Schwartz' attitude was shaped, he said, by his undergraduate days as editor of the *Daily* in 1940-41. "At that time, you just never saw a faculty member, except in class." The faculty adviser was to serve as "resource person more than anything else." The idea was that, "if you had a legal or a policy problem that the students were unsure of, they could go to him and discuss it and get some advice. You didn't have to follow it. That was entirely up to the students, the editors" (Schwartz interview).

For his part, Schwartz could not recall ever calling into his office even the faculty adviser to the *Daily*. Instead, he preferred to let the adviser (Bill Kunerth until 1973 and then Ed Blinn) work with the *Daily* newsroom (Schwartz interview). About Kunerth, Schwartz said, "Bill was a pretty unique guy. I don't suppose there are very many people around the country who have a better grasp of what a journalist should do. So I felt he was in a really good spot and that he was doing a really good job" (Schwartz interview).

As for the Journalism and Mass Communication faculty, it's probably fair to say that three or four persons took a mild-to-strong interest in the Daily's editorial product, but, bottom line, it was the faculty adviser to the paper who was the biggest presence. Other faculty members were free to wander into the newsroom and could expect a friendly welcome. Nor did they ever have to worry about the official adviser taking them to task for meddling. On the contrary, Kunerth's attitude was 'the more the merrier.' On the whole, and overall, faculty members were deeply imbued in the same spirit that Schwartz personified vis-à-vis all student publications (Emmerson interview).

Daily business manager

Internally, the *Daily* newsroom could, theoretically, be directly influenced in three ways. First was the business manager. During the first five years of this study, graduate student Robert D. Greenlee served in this capacity (though his title seemed to fluctuate from Business Adviser to Business Manager to Treasurer and he had responsibility for all campus publications in the Press Building).

Then faculty members Dale Boyd (1971-72 and 1972-73) and Jack Engel (1974-75 through 1976-77) served this function on a part-time basis. In 1971, the *Daily* hired a full-time business manager (Lyn Jones Spicer) of its own. None of these persons made any direct effort to influence the *Daily* newsroom in any way; on the contrary, all understood clearly that their function was strictly business (Kunerth and Emmerson interviews).

Daily Publications Board

The Publications Board, on the other hand, did have a certain degree of control over the newsroom. The Board had two functions: (1) to publish the Iowa State *Daily* and (2) to "be responsible to the student body...for the careful and responsible management" of the newspaper (By-laws, 1969).

Duties of the Board included being "responsible for the management of the Iowa State *Daily*" — which was a "private non-profit public benefit corporation." As such, it was tax exempt. The Board was also expected to preserve the paper's function as a training device for students and to "assure that the *Daily* remains a source of information about campus news and events and a place where thoughts and ideas may be freely expressed." In addition, of course, the board was expected to approve the budget and all expenditures not considered incidental.

The Board had the authority to appoint both the editor and the student business manager, but all other staff positions were to be the province of the editor and student business manager, "subject to approval of the Board" (By-laws, 1969). While the by-laws did not specifically state that the Board had the authority to remove an editor or student business manager, it went without saying that the power to fire was implicit in the responsibilty to hire (By-Laws, 1969).

The Board was comprised during this period of eight persons — two faculty and six students. They included the head of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication and a member of the faculty appointed for three years by the

President of the University (who also had recall power). The six student members were to be selected by the Publication Board for three-year terms. Each undergraduate college at Iowa State was to have one voting representative. This person could be an undergraduate or a graduate student from that college.

In addition, the by-laws created a kind of 'shadow board,' comprised of an alternative member from each college. These alternatives were expected to attend meeting and participate in discussions, but they could vote only in the absence of the voting member. The were also four ex-officio (non-voting) members of the Board. They were the student editor and business manager, as well as the business and editorial advisors to the paper. All members of the Board were unpaid (By-laws, 1969).

Perhaps the most significant fact about the publication boards that operated between 1966 and 1975 was their understanding of the role and purpose of a newspaper. There were frustrations, to be sure. Some of these were vented in 1970 by outgoing business manager Bob Greenlee, who had served in that post for 5 years and who lamented that board members needed to be more active and responsible. He also urged more frequent meetings — and that these meetings should be open (*Daily*, May 29, 1970).

Greenlee had the best perspective from which to judge board members' day-to-day performance from 1966-1970. But in comparing Pub Board performance through the decades, former adviser Bill Kunerth is more generous. "I was always pretty impressed. They seemed to spend time in and around the *Daily*." And, in contrast to subsequent efforts (such as the attempt by Bible Study to pack the board), he added. "There were no cabals and they understood the First Amendment a hell of a lot better than recent boards" (Kunerth interview, May 26, 1998).

Kunerth could remember no instances during this period when board members tried to infringe on editorial policies and there was, he added, no undue influences exerted by the board on the newsroom via the business side of the *Daily* (Interview, May 26, 1998). This view corroborates the assessment of former *Daily* business manager Lynn Jones Spicer, who said that, during her tenure (1971-84), the business side never tried to influence the editorial side (Jones Spicer interview).

In fact, Kunerth could remember no instances of fighting between the board and the editor or student business manager. They were, he added, all basically on the

same page and shared the same goals. In fact, on at least two instances, the President of the Publication Board went at it hammer-and-tongs with EBC and GSB in defense of the *Daily.*

One possible explanation for the high marks that Kunerth gave these pub boards focused on the benefits of the seemingly unwieldy system of alternative members (Interview, May 26, 1998). These people were obliged to attend and participate and, in the process, learn about the *Daily.* Then, Kunerth explained, when a regular board member graduated or left, the alternate was automatically promoted to full voting status. Instead of bringing on board well-meaning novices, he explained, that they were already savvy about the publication, its goals and needs.

Daily advisers Bill Kunerth and Ed Blinn

The person who was probably in the single most potentially influential position in the internal power structure was the Daily's academic adviser. During this period that meant Professors Bill Kunerth from 1957 until 1973 and then Edmund G. Blinn. Both were former newspaper reporters or editors. Kunerth had the most experience, especially with community-sized papers in South Dakota and Wyoming. He also had a Master's of Professional Journalism (MSJ) from Northwestern University, but he was, above all, a hard-core reporter. He believed that newspapers had obligations and that included investigative reporting and provocative editorials. He was thoroughly committed to the reportorial process (Emmerson interview).

Blinn was a New Englander, who had been transplanted to South Dakota, where he taught journalism (with Kunerth) at South Dakota State. His professional experience was less extensive, but he was a First Amendment zealot who subscribed to Justice Hugo Black's view that freedom of speech and the press were inviolate absolutes — and that all other rights would have to take second place behind this one. He not only abhorred secrecy, but he also championed the rights of student editors to speak their minds and make their mistakes. He was philosophically aligned with William Blackstone, who once wrote that the press should "publish and be damned" (Emmerson interview).

Kunerth and Blinn not only made up the news-editorial core in the department of journalism and mass communication, they were also good friends and supported

each other (when they weren't arguing). The Wyoming cowboy, and the transplanted Bostonian were both totally dedicated to seeing the *Daily* run as professionally as possible and without any outside interference (Emmerson, Kunerth and Schwartz interviews).

Both advisers saw the job from the same perspective. Kunerth said the position was really "kind of an unofficial job. You really had no authority." Blinn agreed. With the *Daily*, he said, his only power was "that of persuasive rhetoric" (Blinn interview).

Both Kunerth and Blinn ensured that *Daily* staff members knew that they might get criticized — for competency, not for content. And, in the end, the students had to make their own decisions (Kunerth interview). That, Eric Abbott explained, contrasts to some campus papers where faculty or graduate students hold key editorial positions. "At the *Daily*, you don't have that," he added. "You're a college junior and all of a sudden you're faced with all these crucial dilemmas. You make your mistakes and you learn. You grow up fast" (Davenport, p. 22).

Blinn said the *Daily*'s arrangement with its adviser was the most satisfactory, in terms of protecting the interests of the paper. "A faculty member with the power to dictate to student editorial staff members," he explained, "is a faculty member in danger and, thus, a danger to the newspaper." That's because the adviser who is paid by the university to advise is "subject to oversight by the administration for what may be seen as judgments detrimental to the institution" (Blinn interview).

On the other hand, he added, if the faculty editorial adviser is a volunteer without the power to mandate actions, he or she "is protected from retaliation by an administration dissatisfied with the student newspaper's performance" (Blinn interview). Blinn added that the most effective teaching method in terms of educating student newspaper staffs was freedom. "With operational freedom comes — for the best staff members at least — responsibility for professional performance" (Blinn interview).

Schwartz, as department head, agreed with this philosophy. The idea, he explained, was that if *Daily* reporters or editors had a legal or a policy problem, they could get some advice from the adviser. They didn't have to follow it, he added. That was entirely up to the editors. "There's no question about it," he added. "That can give you some uneasy moments. But that's the nature of journalism; that's the nature of the business" (Schwartz interview).

Kunerth saw his role as *Daily* adviser as having more than one dimension. He explained that he felt some obligation to alert the Department head if something particularly sticky or knotty was about to be published. He wouldn't do anything to interfere with publication, he explained, "but I just hated stories coming out that he'd get a call at 8 o'clock the next morning — before he'd read the paper" (Kunerth interview).

In this regard, Kunerth provided some insights into Hamilton when he was head of the department from 1962-65. He said Carl's reaction during the first two years was, "'All I'm concerned about is that the facts are correct.'" I had a lot of respect for him and thought he was a pretty straight shooter." Then, according to Kunerth, in the third year — when Hamilton knew he was about to move to an administrative position — he'd say, "'Regardless of what the facts are, we have to be concerned about the perception of the university community'." That bothered Kunerth, but, he added, they had a "pretty honest and fairly confronting" relationship for most of the time Hamilton was head of the department (Kunerth interview).

Another dimension to the *Daily* adviser's job, at least in Kunerth's view, was keeping administrators at arm's length. This he did, though it wasn't always clear whether he wouldn't have taken the same stance even if he hadn't been adviser to the newspaper. The best guess is that he wouldn't have changed a thing, but as adviser he enjoyed a certain additional amount of responsibility, even when administrators wearied of his aggressive behavior and tended to seek to undermine his credibility (Emmerson interview).

Kunerth resigned as *Daily* adviser in March 1973, after a 16-year commitment to the position. He didn't quit because of direct criticism of his role. But, he added, a kind of indirect criticism falls on the adviser that says, essentially, "Whoever's working with those kids doesn't know that he's doing" (Kunerth interview, 1997). From Kunerth's perspective, he decided that he'd been in the job "way too long," which is probably an understatement, both in terms of the *Daily* and his own professional career at Iowa State (Emmerson interview). Besides, as he pointed on in retrospect, he did not want his critics to label the *Daily*'s coverage of events as a reflection of his attitudes.

If silence can be deafening, so, too, can it be laudatory. Not a single editor or *Daily* staffer interviewed for this thesis had an unkind word or criticism for the performance of Kunerth and Blinn. They might not have agreed or followed their

advice. And more than one student can remember Kunerth's physical presence over their typewriter as he Interrogated them about a story. But, inevitably, the questions were aimed at producing a better, more rounded, if sometimes more aggressive story. Moreover, during the period from early 1969 through (at least) spring 1973, the *Daily* was consistently hauling down All American ratings from the Associated Collegiate Press (Various Dailies for 1969-73).

Public opinion and the *Daily*

In many ways, one of the most important and powerful influences on the *Daily* is public opinion. Though editors might deny this, the fact remains that students — average readers — can exert an indirect influence on the newspaper. This can occur through letters to the editor or conversations with *Daily* editors or reporters or even Journalism faculty members. In some — perhaps rare — instances, the *Daily* might change its stance or, more likely, amend some procedure or even provide greater (or less) coverage. On some occasions, the editor and his or staff might hunker down and try to ignore public criticism. In other cases, the editors might confront the problem through an editorial or explanatory column.

It's difficult to gauge the impact of student public opinion on the paper, but it's probably fair to say that it has, when marshaled, greater weight on campus than faculty or administrative opinion. There are no precise examples that can be cited in this study of instances when the *Daily* altered a position or course of action. But that may be because editors and reporters aren't likely to admit it — and also because they were not asked that question.

On at least one occasion (May 1970) during this study, the *Daily* organized a semi-scientific readership survey of 56 students out of 100 names randomly selected from the phone directory. The sample turned out to be top-heavy with freshmen and sophomores (33), but it showed that 73.2 percent of those surveyed gave the paper an overall rating of “Fair.” Some 23.2 called the *Daily* “Excellent,” while 3.6 percent rated it “Poor.” The primary complaint (35.7 percent) was that the *Daily* was biased, though anecdotal quotes in the story showed, for example, that students couldn’t decide whether it was pro-black or pro-athlete in the Roby-Jean affair (*Daily*, May 27, 1970).

Newspapers like the *Daily* have four ways to deal with public opinion when it is upset. First they can ignore it. Second, they can take an obvious step and print

corrections or clarifications on a regular basis. In this respect, the *Daily* was light years ahead of the professional press in acknowledging its mistakes — and doing so on the front page, beginning in April 1971 (*Daily* April 28, 1971). In fact, for a while, the paper was called the "*Daily* Mistake" because of the editors' willingness to correct anything that was wrong — and do it on page one. But, in fact, as the editors explained, "we are now seeking to openly and frankly correct those errors that do occur" (*Daily*, April 28, 1971). Overall, the *Daily* deserved high marks for its willingness to put things right.

A third way to respond to public opinion is by amending reportorial policies or even softening a position. It's possible to argue, for example, that the *Daily* was so heavily criticized during the Don Smith affair that it pulled back at least a little. And, in the confrontations with black activists may have caused the paper to be more sensitive or careful in its coverage and attitudes. But this is mere conjecture. At least it gives an idea of a possible line of action.

The other approach open to the editors is to write editorials or columns that seek to explain why the *Daily* did what it did (or did not do) or why it needed more GSB funding or, more basically, how it does its job. The reality is, and this has been the case for decades, that readers don't have any real understanding of what it takes to produce a newspaper. Nor do they understand the role and purpose of a newspaper. Many are content to think that it should be a happy publicist (see, for example, the various GSB and EBC debates).

Whatever the reason, the *Daily* during this decade appears to have done a better job, overall, than most commercial newspapers in trying to explain how it functioned and why it did what it did. By the mid-1970s, some professional newspapers had engaged ombudspersons and were writing stories about the newspaper. But they had a lot of baggage to overcome from the 1950s and early 1960s when the prevailing attitude was that complaints all came from cranks who deserved to have their subscriptions canceled (Emmerson interview).

The *Daily* appears to have worked harder than most to provide insights and information about itself. For example, its own publication board meetings were better covered then than they are today. A good example of this occurred in 1969, after the *Daily*'s printer in Jefferson objected to an editorial stating that "profane and scatological language would be printed in its entirety when it is the core issue of the news story" (*Daily*, Feb. 11, 1969). In this case, editor Greg Lauser used the

occasion to fret about the "censorship which now hovers over the *Daily*" and to report that the paper might resort to a mimeograph insert in the *Daily* that would contain the objectionable story (*Daily*, Feb. 11 & 13, 1969).

Its skirmishes with EBC and GSB have produced explanatory editorials about how the newspaper functions and why its requests are valid (*Daily*, March 19, 1975). Admittedly, these are self-serving, but for the most part, they were professionally handled.

When the paper carried the photo of the full-frontal male streaker in March 1974, it anticipated complaints by carrying an explanation by editor Tom Quaife of the *Daily*'s editorial policy. In this case, he argued that the photo was not obscene (and cited a Supreme Court case to explain why). He dealt with the question of whether the streaker had been libeled (and cited another Supreme Court case to show that he had participated in a matter of public importance). As for the question of whether the photo should have been doctored so as to cover his genitals, the editor said only the original could capture the essence of the fact that running nude was a current phenomenon.

Quaife added that, whereas two persons had complained to the *Daily*, the fact was that the paper thought it unnecessary to print any further photos of streakers. Once, he added, should be enough, to fill in the context of a news story. Besides, he explained, "continuing to publish pictures after their news value has worn thin could lead to a realm of bad taste" (*Daily*, March 8, 1974). Quaife was right insofar as the *Daily* published no more streaker photos during the 1970s. The main reason for this was, according to former head Jim Schwartz, “We never had another streaker on campus.” Then he added: “You talk about a newspaper having in influence. Now that’s influence” (Visions, p. 26).

Although letters to the editor were identified as a means by which students could bring pressure on the *Daily*, their primary purpose has been to provide readers with an outlet for views — as disparate as can be imagined. In a policy statement published in April 1975, the editors welcomed letters as "valuable" because they not only "serve as constructive criticism of the *Daily*'s efforts, but they also reveal the pulse of an often faceless, yet heterogeneous crowd." If letters to the editor "further advance the cause of the Iowa State *Daily* as a 'marketplace of ideas,' then their most important function will have been served” (*Daily*, April 4, 1975).

All letters were welcomed that were not "libelous, repetitious, in poor taste or too long." Those wishing to express a point of view, the editors explained, "should have enough conviction in their opinions and beliefs to warrant their signature." However, the policy explained, there are situations in which the author would subject himself or herself "to undue harassment" should his or her identity be known. In such cases, the *Daily* advised, these persons should discuss the matter with the editors (*Daily*, April 4, 1975).

In 1970, business adviser Bob Greenlee offered his five-year perspective on the *Daily*, saying, among other things, that he could "not remember a time when a letter to the editor was refused" — though he recalled one instance where a writer retracted a submission after a staff member pointed out fallacies in his letter (*Daily*, May 29, 1970).

Without a doubt, the Don Smith affair generated the most letters in the shortest period of time. But, over the long haul, it was the war in Vietnam and women's hours that probably ranked one and two during this decade. Certainly on issues like the Jean-Roby affair and the bombing of city hall, the letters played a major role in providing an outlet — a kind of steam whistle for pent-up emotions and angry students.

Notwithstanding the periodic (and seemingly endless) exchanges over religion, it is probably fair to say that the letters to the editor were the most popular, best-read part of the *Daily*, both then and now — as well as before. Students, it seems, love to see what other students think. And, if variety is the spice of life, the letters have it all. For example, on April 15, 1970, readers could find a letter praising the *Daily* for its excellence. A month later (if not sooner), they could find a scathing note about the "obvious bias" of the staff in covering a rally in support of the war in Vietnam (*Daily*, May 15, 1970). On balance, though, as a rough and ready guess, the *Daily* received 10 or 20 letters critical of its performance for every one that praised it. As Professor Emmerson put it, "that's just the nature of the business."

As for the question of who watches the watchdog, just about everyone who reads the *Daily* falls into the category of observer or critic. But, by all accounts, the *Daily* has been remarkably free to make its own decisions and express its own views without external or internal interference. In 1970, when Bob Greenlee was wrapping up his five-year stint as business adviser, he said, "I can't think of a time or incident that would even come close to censorship." Nor could he foresee a time,

given the climate on campus and in the Press Building, that the *Daily* would ever be censored. At this time, Greenlee's only concern in this area involved the potential of the newspaper's commercial printer to refuse to handle something. But, he added, so far the *Daily* had not been censored because the printer and the staff had "hatched out alternatives" (*Daily*, May 29, 1970).

Greenlee's assessment of the Daily's independence from the department, the administration and even the adviser was echoed some 20 years later in a *Daily* retrospective, celebrating its 100th anniversary (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990). Reporter Alissa Kaplan quoted Mark Goodman of the Student Press Law Center in Washington D.C. as saying that a lot of college publications around the country were more dependent than the *Daily*. "It sounds," he added, "as if the newspaper is at the extreme of editorial independence." This view was echoed by Tom Rolnicki, executive director of the Associated Collegiate Press. Rolnicki, who earned his master's at ISU in 1979 and served as publications business adviser at that time, pointed out that "Very few papers are independent in the complete sense." In the case of the *Daily*, he added, the university donates utilities and office space. But, in spite of this, Rolnicki concluded, The *Daily* was "as independent as most papers that claim to be independent" (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990, p. 21).

Thus, in answer to the question, Who watched the watchdog?, the answer would have to be 'everyone.' If the question were re-phrased to ask who had influence or power over the watchdog, then the reply would be 'almost no one' — at least no administrative or governmental or academic unit. Beyond the limited powers of the Publication Board and the currents of public opinion, the *Daily* editors and reporters were generally free under the First Amendment "to publish and be damned."

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS: THE LESSONS AND THE LEGACY

"I thought the coverage was balanced and fair. I know some of the administration felt it was inflammatory, and insolent, even impudent at times."
— Dr. Neil Harl, economics

The *Daily* office from the 1960s and 1970s is now a classroom on the south side of Hamilton Hall. The *Daily* has computerized and moved to the north side of the building. From its small quarters during the "nutty-violent" period, with a cubby hole for the editor and decision making, the paper documented all kinds of changes for Iowa State. ISU was a conservative place in the 1950s. But there was no way this quiet, comfortable institution, with a strong academic reputation, could tiptoe around the turbulent 1960s and early 1970s. Vietnam, Watergate, racial issues, women's rights and students demanding more freedoms all found their way to campus. The student paper scrambled to cover the issues as they touched the school.

The editorial staff did fall back on wire copy to help make sense of it all, either in the form of news stories or editorials. This was particularly true for Watergate, which the *Daily* did not cover locally in any special detail. To a lesser extent, it was also the case when it came to trying to make sense out of the war in Vietnam and the civil rights movement in the United States. But the front page was often full of the students' efforts to cover all that had happened the day before on campus and in Ames.

In retrospect, the paper gets mostly high marks from former President W. Robert Parks, former journalism department head James Schwartz and its editorial advisers. Others also rated it highly, including former editors and reporters and those who were affected by its performance. Those who viewed it from a distance during 1966-75 have also given it good marks. This included even Mary Lou Lifka Atkinson, who was part of the Don Smith controversy and says still today that the *Daily* had been fair.

Parks called it "one of the most gentle college papers in the country" that he

knew of. "They had their fling now and then," he said. "But by and large they were extremely fair." And, he added, "I don't think they leaned over in favor of the establishment." The former president also said he "depended upon the *Daily* for an awful lot of campus news. That's the way you got a lot of it. They had good people" (Parks interview).

For his part, former department head Schwartz said he was proud of the students on the *Daily* as they acted in a "responsible and professional way in covering events on campus" (Schwartz interview).

Perhaps it was because of Parks' high approval rating for the paper or perhaps it was because he was a strong humanitarian with a strong belief in the Bill of Rights, but, whatever the reason, he only once interceded directly with the *Daily* adviser during this period. Adviser William F. Kunerth recalled that he once received a phone call from Parks after editor Steve Poulter had criticized the President in 1971 or 1972 for something or other. According to Kunerth, Parks felt the editorial contained inaccurate information. Kunerth advised the President to phone or write to Poulter directly "to let him know he thought he had been wronged" (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990).

On the other hand, Kunerth recalls, every editor throughout this decade (and beyond) inevitably was the target of a series of critical letters or green memos from Director of Information Carl Hamilton (and his successor David L. Lendt). Emmerson said that these memos usually began by Hamilton declaring that he was writing as a journalist (and former newspaper editor) and not as Director (later Vice President) for Information. Frequently, according to Emmerson, Hamilton would castigate the editor or reporter in language "just short of scalding" and, in some cases with "an almost devastating effect." His memos were almost collector's items, according to Emmerson. "But then Carl would turn around and invite the entire staff to his home for a picnic, show great concern for their job prospects and write glowing letters of recommendation," Emmerson added (Emmerson interview).

It is not altogether improbable that Parks and Hamilton operated as a "good cop, bad cop" tandem. If so, this helps to explain Dr. Neil Harl's assessment that not every administrator during those years shared Parks' complimentary view of the *Daily*. Harl, now distinguished professor of economics, was at Iowa State

throughout this period and served as faculty adviser to Veishea in the tumultuous year of 1970, when the event was targeted by Vietnam protesters. Harl said he knew that "some of the administration felt it was inflammatory, and insolent, even impudent at times."

Harl did not identify any administrators by name. Nor did he personally share that view. On the contrary, Harl described *Daily* coverage during that time as "quite good. I thought the coverage was balanced and fair." He said in 1998 that he thought the *Daily* did quite a good job of covering things. And while there were some who thought the paper wasn't always responsible, he personally believed it was "quite balanced and fair and even restrained." Of course, he added, "this was a very conservative campus" (Harl interview).

Perhaps the person closest to the *Daily* over this decade was Kunerth, now a professor emeritus. "Activists felt newspapers were administrative tools," he said in 1990 (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990). "No one felt that way about the *Daily*," he added. "Students (at the paper) felt more secure and more accountable." There was, he said, no need for students to "capture" the newspaper from the administration at Iowa State. "The students already had it."

Because of his position and long tenure as adviser, Kunerth may also have had more influence on the newspaper than any other person during "the nutty-violent" years. And yet, his presence may not have been felt nearly as much as it might have been in another era, given the independent-mindedness of students and their penchant for questioning authority.

Even in this environment, Kunerth explained, he was an adviser with "maximum involvement, minimum jurisdiction." He did not have the authority to tell reporters or editors what to do, but by most accounts, he was capable of being pretty persuasive in arguing for coverage of events. Tom Emmerson recalls that this was particularly true for Kunerth in stories involving controversy, such as the one focusing on Don Smith's public behavior and gross language. Kunerth says he received more heat as *Daily* adviser from Helen Randall's "moral shit" story than anything else in his 30 years at the Iowa State *Daily* (*Daily*, Aug. 27, 1990).

The *Daily* was loaded with stories on all the social issues and even took the lead on a couple of important occasions. They were aggressive in battles for forcing

state agencies to hold open meetings and in challenging the business activities of Campous Alliance, Inc. The latter resulted in a $150,000 libel suit against the paper which ultimately helped to strengthen press law with the *Daily*'s victory. It seems appropriate to add that adviser Kunerth, along with fellow journalism professor Ed Blinn, were both strong supporters of the *Daily*'s decision to challenge Campus Alliance, Inc., and to sue the Athletic Council to force open meetings.

The issue with the most staying power involved women's hours on campus; but the Vietnam war clearly drew the hottest ploughshare across the nation, including Iowa State. Here, it can be said that the *Daily* provided solid and comprehensive coverage of protests and other developments. In this respect, the two high points were the anti-war protest at Veishea 1970 and the protest on May 6, 1970, when 23 persons were arrested and tear gas was used to disperse demonstrators at the Selective Service Center office in downtown Ames.

But the editors were not as quick as some to condemn United States involvement in the war. Arguably, the tide of opinion on college campuses had swung against the war by late 1967 or, certainly, just after the Tet offensive in January 1968. But it was not until Oct. 15, 1969 that a *Daily* editorial called the Vietnam war "thoughtless." The *Daily* definitely took a stance against the war, but many times it seemed so busy covering the events associated with it on campus that the paper did not run numerous editorials on the conflict per se.

The bigger — and more direct — issue for the editors involving the Vietnam war was the matter of the draft and deferments (as determined by 'normal progress'). On this, there was no doubt at all that the *Daily* supported a generous and forgiving policy towar 'normal progress.'

The Vietnam protest reached its pinnacle on campus in 1970 with arrests downtown. It's interesting in retrospect that the college president at the time and the *Daily*'s editor echoed each other's comments about the protests. Parks said "some were in it for fun and games and that bothered you. Others were very sincere about it" (Parks interview). Former *Daily* editor (1970-1971) Terry Gogerty agreed. "There were those who were extremely sincere...and then there were those who were just out for the ride" (Gogerty interview).

On the other major national issue — Watergate — the *Daily* was equally

deliberate in expressing editorial judgment against President Richard Nixon. For the most part, the paper relied on wire services and syndicated columns for commentary on the events in Washington. But such caution ended in October 1973, when the President fired his own special prosecutor, Archibald Cox. The paper's disapproval was followed a few months later with editorial support for Nixon's resignation. and the BJ Krivanek cartoon about "Party Time with Dick & Pat" is considered by Professor Tom Emmerson as "a classic of its kind" — and one that he uses in his journalism history class lectures on Watergate (Emmerson interview).

On another long-simmering issue — that of racial equality and Black Power — the *Daily* demonstrated a good deal of support and sympathy for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and integration generally. It even reacted sympathetically on campus to demands by black activists — but only up to a point. It appears that the editors ultimately concluded that militancy had become too shrill or too self-serving.

For example, the paper demonstrated care and concern in dealing with the April 8, 1970 bar fight between Roosevelt Roby (black) and wrestler Chuck Jean (white). The *Daily* was cautious about ascribing blame when, two weeks later, an explosive device was found in the garage of Municipal Judge John McKinney. Even when a bomb rocked city hall and there was speculation in some quarters that it was the work of black militants, the *Daily* maintained an even-handed, calming approach to the news.

When racial tensions re-surfaced four years later on campus, the *Daily* was not as forgiving, especially after it was accused by black students of being "part of the problem" of discrimination at Iowa State. The editors not only resented being tarred as intolerant, but were further irked when the *Daily* was deliberately excluded from a major confrontation instigated by black militants in the offices of President Parks on May 17, 1974. Beyond that, the editors were particularly incensed when no charges were filed after Vice President for Student Affairs Wilbur Layton was hit in the head with a pipe in an ensuing melee. The editors also chided the black protesters for demanding more rights than enjoyed by other races. but this was a rare instance where the editors did not show sympathy and support for minority concerns. And the paper certainly acquitted itself markedly on the

matter of how to properly recognize and honor black football player Jack Trice.

At a time when panty raids were still occupying every spring — and when they were regarded by most students as good sport — the *Daily* was more concerned about relaxing or eliminating curfew hours for women students. The *Daily* campaigned for unrestricted dorm hours for women, without fail. This took several forms, until finally being opened up in 1967. On almost every issue involving student rights, the *Daily* supported liberalized policies. The editors were also supporters of the women's movement as manifested by the National Organization for Women (NOW). They were particularly sensitive to the need for equality for female students and faculty members on campus.

The *Daily* was actually part of a story when it acted on the student body presidency of Don Smith, running a story in 1967 about Smith attending a 'marijuana party' and his usage. That really was the beginning of the end for his presidency. But the *Daily*'s involvement in exposing the pot party and in describing Smith's public behavior met with some heavy criticism — to the extent that editor Chuck Bullard felt obliged to deny there was a feud between the paper and the president — or that the *Daily* was somehow out to get the bearded leader. Whatever the perceptions, it can be said that the *Daily* certainly did provide a public service through its coverage of events and, perhaps even more importantly, by opening its letters columns to the dozens and dozens of students who wanted to be heard during those 40 famous days in spring 1967.

Overall, it would be fair to say that the *Daily* editors during this decade were determined by a desire to do the right thing. Their editorials were generally consistently positive and rarely provocative or inflammatory. And, where the administration was occasionally skewered, the fact is that editor after editor appeared to hold a high regard for President W. Robert Parks and the spirit of openness, cooperation and conciliation that marked his leadership.

In many ways, the *Daily* was characterizing itself when it editorialized on May 6, 1972 about the end of protests and radicalism on campus. The *Daily* lamented that apathy appeared to have regained control over students. To be sure, the paper had been a change element on campus, but almost always within what might be considered the norms of a conservative institution, as hypothesized. It is even

possible to argue that the paper went about as far as it could under the circumstances. A four-letter word might find its way into the paper now, but it was also praised for acting responsibly.

The *Daily* did tread carefully during the "nutty-violent" period, acting responsibly amidst controversial events. But it did tackle those events head-on, providing an impressive amount of coverage. It did not shy away from writing about drugs, protest, racial tension and doing some muckraking, as hypothesized.

For the vast majority of the time, faculty and administrators, while not always happy with the events of the the "nutty-violent" period, did not try to infringe on the newspaper's reporting efforts, as hypothesized.The paper was not censored during this time, as hypothesized, and enjoyed First Amendment rights. Memos from the University administration upbraiding the staff on its accuracy (or perceived accuracy) would be opened at the editor's desk, but there was no shadow over it from those in power.

And even though some of the great issues of the period were winding down, the *Daily* would continue to cover the news, fight for open meetings, advocate equality and fairness for everyone — and even stir up contoversy of its own — as it did in spring 1974 when it carried a full-frontal photo on page one of a male streaker on central campus. Oddly enough, the photo did not unleash a barrage of criticism or moral outrage, which may, more than any other single incident, suggest how much water had passed over the dam since 1967 when Don Smith promised to bring Iowa State "kicking and screaming" into the Twentieth Century.

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The 1997-1998 academic year was a good one to conclude work on a study of the charged 1966-1975 years involving the *Iowa State Daily*. A couple of major players from those days returned. Former GSB President Don Smith came back to speak on campus. Former head football coach Johnny Majors came back as grand marshal of the Veishea parade. And the football stadium, in 1997, was finally named after Jack Trice, 40 years after the plaque was "discovered" in State Gym.

Tom Emmerson, reflecting on the "nutty-violent" time period and acknowledging

how they could be very troubling, once said, "But, gosh, those were exciting days" (Emmerson interview).

In an interview upon his return, Smith asked about some of the *Daily* participants from those years. "I wonder if any of those people are still around?" (Smith interview). Many are. And they remember.

APPENDIX A.

IOWA STATE DAILY FINANCIAL INFORMATION

1966-1975

TABLE A1

The Daily and Government of the Student Body Allocations 1966-67 through 1975-76

* Asterisks indicate that information was not available

Year	Amount requested	EBC recomm.	Amount received	% change betw request & alloc.	% change from previous allocation
1966-67	53,280	*	48,595	— 8.8 %	+ 7.99 %
1967-68	*	*	48,595		+ 0.00 %
1968-69	54,595	54,595	54,595	0.0 %	+ 12.3 %
1969-70	92,430	75,000	82,000	— 11.3 %	+ 50.2 %
1970-71	97,850	97,465	97,065	— 0.8 %	+ 18.4 %
1971-72	86,000	85,800	85,800	— 0.2%	— 11.6 %
1972-73	70,000	70,000	70,000	0.0 %	— 6.8 %
1973-74	60,000	60,000	60,000	0.0 %	— 14.3 %
1974-75	57,000	57,000	52,000	— 8.8 %	— 15.4 %
1975-76	63,000	50,333	56,085	— 11.0 %	+ 7.9 %

Comparing figures for 1968-69 through 1975-76, the amount of funding requested by the Daily from GSB increased 15.4 percent in this 8-year period. EBC's recommended levels of funding dropped by 8.4 percent from the beginning to the end of this period, while the paper's total allocation was only 2.7 percent greater in 1975-76 from 1968-69. The total amount requested by the Daily during this 8-year period was $580,875. The amount allocated was $557,545 — or 98.98 percent of the overall request.

Citations include: Iowa State Daily, March 20, 1969, May 9, 13, 1969; April 24, 1970; March 31, April 13, 21, 24, May 5,1971; April 11, 14, May 3,1972; March 14, May 1, 8, 14 May 1973; April 2, May 14, 1974; and April 24, 29,1975.

TABLE A2

Iowa State Daily Income Comparisons
1965-6 through 1976-7

Year	Advertising	(% of tot)	GSB Alloc	(% of tot)	Miscellaneous (interest & fac subs)	(% of tot)	TOT. INCOME	(% increase from prev. year)
1965-66	50,193.69	52.2	43,956.00	45.7	2,082.09	2.1	96,231.98	-
1966-67	61,227.41	54.7	47,939.01	42.8	2,735.65	2.5	111,952.07	16.4
1967-68	67,340.78	56.9	47,120.23	39.8	3,950.63	3.3	118,411.64	5.8
1968-69	83,544.40	59.2	52,709.76	37.4	4,738.79	3.4	140,992.95	16.0
1969-70	85,063.94	50.5	79,588.43	47.2	3,838.40	2.3	168,490.77	-
1970-71	94,480.01	49.9	91,413.66	48.3	3,545.73	1.8	189,439.40	12.4
1971-72	110,324.76	53.5	90,192.45	43.7	5,850.64	2.8	206,367.86	8.9
1972-73	131,309.11	61.2	75,851.68	35.3	7,469.65	3.5	214,639.74	4.0
1973-74	144,544.87	67.1	63,477.81	29.5	7,375.95	3.4	215,428.63	0.4
1974-75	*		*		*		334,072.74	55.1
1975-76	195,358.29	74.0	54,528.36	20.8	12,690.75	4.8	262,577.29	—21.4
1976-77	211,815.99	76.2	57,275.82	20.6	9,050.19	3.2	278,142.00	5.9

This table was compiled from annual financial reports submitted by the Daily to Campus Organizations. The Daily's report for 1974-75 was almost non-existent. These are available in the University Archives room of the Parks Library.

TABLE A3

Iowa State Daily Balance Sheet, July 1 - June 30
1967-68 through 1976-77

* Asterisk indicates figures not available

Year	Fund balance July 1	Receipts	% change from previous year	Disbursements	% change from previous year	Fund balance 30 June
1966-67	9,845.17	114,287.85	*	116,532.31	*	7,600.71
1967-68	7,600.71	125,208.94	+ 9.6%	132,611.47	+ 13.9	198.18
1968-69	*	*		*		3,856.46
1969-70	3,856.46	181,191.43	*	180,569.05		4,478.84
1970-71	4,478.84	200,547.81	+ 10.7%	209,246.23	+15.8 %	— 4,219.58
1971-72	— 4,219.58	237,176.67	+ 18.3%	195,272.41	— 6.6 %	37,684.68
1972-73	37,684.68	261,253.04	+ 10.2%	259,505.43	+ 32.8 %	39,432.29
1973-74	39,432.29	269,497.81	+ 3.1%	281,166.05	+ 8.0 %	27,764.05
1974-75	27,974.05	334,072.74	+ 24.0%	353,770.02	+ 25.8 %	8,276.77
1975-76	8,276.77	735,339.30	+ 120.1%	704,317.72	+ 128.0 %	39,298.35
1976-77	39,298.35	1,462,493.15	+ 98.9%	1,489,054.57	+ 111.5 %	12,736.93

Source: Annual Report of Campus Organizations, Iowa State University.

TABLE A4

Iowa State Daily Operating Expenses
1965-66 through 1976-77

Year	Printing	(% total)	Business Office	(% total)	News/Editorial	(% total)	Advertising	(% total)	Total
1965-66	65,395.23	(69.1 %)	10,033.14	(10.5 %)	5,169.51	(5.5 %)	6,943.24	(7.4 %)	94,723.77
1966-67	71,916.22	(68.5 %)	10,312.35	(9.5 %)	6,763.04	(6.4 %)	7,916.53	(7.5 %)	104,942.99
1967-68	83,218.16	(68.0 %)	12,968.75	(10.5 %)	9,150.63	(7.5 %)	7,970.34	(6.5 %)	123,006.89
1968-69	94,335.87	(68.0 %)	13,433.22	(10.7 %)	11,322.30	(8.1 %)	8,381.38	(6.0 %)	138,989.75
1969-70	114,672.08	(67.3 %)	14,868.98	(8.7 %)	20,518.67	(12.0 %)	8,007.09	(4.7 %)	170,378.19
1970-71	115,085.27	(64.6 %)	15,634.98	(8.8 %)	24,596.05	(13.8 %)	9,789.94	(5.5 %)	178,058.70
1971-72	105,121.68	(57.0 %)	22,608.88	(12.3 %)	30,689.31	(16.6 %)	9,797.72	(5.3 %)	184,354.58
1972-73	105,689.62	(55.4 %)	30,756.54	(16.2 %)	28,558.83	(15.0 %)	10,216.61	(5.4 %)	190,495.37
1973-74	112,528.58	(55.7 %)	32,263.64	(16.0 %)	28,727.79	(14.2 %)	11,722.86	(5.8%)	201,502.14
1974-75	*		*		*		*		*
1975-76	138,086.37	(56.8 %)	38,328.25	(15.6 %)	32,039.64	(13.2 %)	16,479.94	(6.8 %)	243,023.35
1976-77	152,763.85	(56.7 %)	45,534.38	(16.8 %)	35,527.60	(13.1 %)	16,938.65	(6.3 %)	270,347.89
Overall % change 1965-6 to 1976-7	+ 133.5 %		+ 353.8 %		+ 582.7 %		+144.9 %		+ 185.4 %

This table was compiled from annual financial reports submitted by the Daily to Campus Organizations. The Daily's report for 1974-75 was almost non-existent. These are available in the University Archives room of the Parks Library.

TABLE A5

Iowa State Daily Advertising Revenue & Percentages 1965-66 through 1976-77

Year	Local	(% of total)	National	(% of total)	Classified	(% of total)	Total Adv. revenue
1965-66	38,846.49	(77.5%)	8,661.56	(17.3%)	2,685.66	(5.2%)	50,193.69
1966-67	44,473.29	(72.9 %)	13,188.93	(21.4%)	3,615.19	(5.7 %	61,277.41
1967-68	48,648.97	(72.2 %)	14,585.73	(22.0 %)	4,106.08	(6.0 %)	67,340.78
1968-69	60,836.67	(72.8 %)	16,983.51	(20.3 %)	5,724.22	(6.9 %)	83,544.40
1969-70	61,433.17	(72.2 %)	15,504.62	(18.2 %)	8,126.15	(9.6 %)	85,063.94
1970-71	75,704.12	(80.0 %)	10,424.77	(11.0 %)	8,351.12	(9.0 %)	94,480.01
1971-72	89,650.05	(81.3 %)	9,133.40	(8.3 %)	11,541.31	(10.4 %)	110,324.76
1972-73	107,474.30	(81.9 %)	11,224.03	(8.5 %)	12,610.78	(9.6 %)	131,309.11
1973-74	121,881.36	(84.3 %)	9,377.83	(6.5 %)	13,285.68	(9.2 %)	144,544.87
1974-75	*		*		*		*
1975-76	167,379.77	(85.7 %)	11,592.76	(5.9 %)	16,385.76	(8.4 %)	195,358.29
1976-77	175,400.65	(82.6%)	16,331.70	(7.9%)	20,083.64	(9.5%)	211,815.99

This table was compiled from annual financial reports submitted by the Daily to Campus Organizations. The Daily's report for 1974-75 was almost non-existent. These are available in the University Archives room of the Parks Library.

APPENDIX B.

SELECTED FRONT PAGES

ncomplete Returns Show Don Smith Winning

Smith Leading Sohn by 500 At Midpoint; Predict Victory

Mary Lou Lifka

Don Smith

With slightly over half the votes counted, results showed at midnight last night that Don Smith was to be elected Government of the Student Body President.

Results from polls at Beardshear, MacKay, Memorial Union, Veterinary Medicine Quadrangle, and the Library put Smith ahead by 507 votes. His closest opponent was Mark Sohn.

A voting breakdown at that time, with 4,135 votes counted, showed Smith with 1,947 votes, Sohn with 1,440, Bob Bonnewell had 676, and John Grassidonio had 72 votes.

Smith's vice presidential running mate, Mary Lou Lifka, will be the first woman in that top GSB position.

According to Steve Jones, elections committee chairman, an estimated 9,000 to 10,000 students voted in yesterday's election. In last year's GSB election, only 3,694 students voted.

Smith started out in the lead when the returns began. He never lost the lead and steadily increased the number of votes he had over his closest opponent, Sohn.

Smith said he will do what the students want. "If they pass a referendum asking me to shave my beard and dress more conservatively, I will do it," he said.

"I will go through all the regular channels to get my legislation through GSB and the administration," Smith continued. When this fails, demonstrations and sitins will be used, he added.

During an interview last night with KIFC radio, Smith said his first action will be the passage of a Senate bill to eliminate all student rules from the Chart. He also plans to eliminate the administration's veto power over all Senate action through the passage of another bill.

"These are my immediate concerns," he said.

When asked how he thought the election would turn out, Smith replied, "I don't know yet and won't know until all the votes are counted."

Smith commented that the Daily treated him unfairly in their editorials. He charged that the editorials did not understand his platform or his methods.

During the campaign week, Smith stated that his ultimate goal is to change things so the students are running their own personal lives. "It's none of the University's business what we do outside the classroom," he said.

FINAL RESULTS

Smith-3292
Sohn-2439
Bonne'll-1165
Grass'io-118

IOWA STATE DAILY

EIGHT PAGES IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY, AMES, IOWA, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1967 Vol. 96, No. 88

Regents Approve Over 10 Per Cent Hike for Campus Residence Rates

The State Board of Regents yesterday approved over a 10 per cent increase in housing rates for all campus residences effective September, 1968.

Wayne Moore, vice president for business and finance, said the increase will be necessary to provide enough reserve revenue to back bonds for over $13 million in new housing projects this spring.

Associate Director of Residence Charles Frederiksen said higher food costs and staff salaries were also factors in the increase. Frederiksen emphasized that despite the increases, Iowa State will still be far below many other Big Eight schools in dormitory rates.

The increases for Iowa State follow yesterday's approval of higher rates for the University of Iowa next fall.

New Rates

Rate increases will be as follows: residence halls, from $735 to $810 per year; Pammel Court, $32 per month to $36; Hawthorne Court, from $65 per month to $75; University Village, $70 per month to $77 for a one-bedroom unit and $80 per month to $88 for a two-bedroom unit; Buchanan Hall, from $420 to $462 per year (single room, no food) and $315 to $348 for a double room.

Frederiksen said Ames off-campus rents will probably go up by roughly the same amount since many landlords use University prices as an index. Many try to keep their rates just below University prices, however, he said.

The increased revenue will help finance a new men's tower, a new women's tower and 200 new units similar to those at University Village.

New Budget

The Regents approved plans and a $3,120,000 budget yesterday for the 200 new University Village units which will be constructed north of the present units. Each unit will cost an estimated $12,400 — a 15 per cent increase over present units.

The new units will have slightly larger bedrooms than existing units and will have a less-open stairway than the present ones. Both things have been criticized by residents of University Village.

In other business, the Regents voted to form a new Department of Family Environment in the College of Home Economics by consolidating the Household Equipment and Home Management Departments July 1. Prof. Elizabeth Beveridge, head of household equipment, and Dr. Margaret J. Liston, head of home management, will relinquish their positions but continue as professors in these areas.

Regents Appoint Two As New ISU Directors

The State Board of Regents yesterday named Charles F. Frederiksen director of residence and Prof. Roy E. Warman director of the Student Counseling Service. Both men were named to replace administrators who reached the age of 65.

Frederiksen replaces Dr. J. D. Schilletter, director of residence since 1946, who will continue on the faculty as a professor of horticulture and residence department analyst. Frederiksen has served as associate director since 1963.

Warman, who was promoted to professor of psychology, replaces Martin F. Fritz, director of the Counseling Service since 1956. Fritz will continue as professor of psychology.

Prof. Robert W. Orr's request for relief from his duties as director of the Library was granted by the Regents. Orr will continue to serve as professor of library science.

Prof. Henry H. Webster, chairman of the Department of Forestry at the University of Wisconsin, will become head of the Forestry Department June 1. Prof. George W. Thompson will continue to serve as acting head of the department through May.

The resignation of Prof. George M. Browning, associate director of the Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station, was accepted, effective March 31. No successor had been appointed.

In further business, the two new men's dormitories were named in honor of Iowans who achieved prominence in federal government offices. Wallace Hall will honor Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and unsuccessful candidate for president as the Progressive Party nominee. This unit is presently under construction and is scheduled for use next fall.

The fourth unit, expected to begin this year, will be named Wilson Hall in honor of James (Tama Jim) Wilson, who was Secretary of Agriculture and director of the Iowa State Agricultural

THE EYES OF THE CAMPUS were on each ballot cast in yesterday's Government of Student Body election. Most students cast their votes for Don Smith and then many stepped back to watch others do the same. Even as late as 4:30 yesterday afternoon, voters were turning in ballots to the polls in the Union at the rate of more than two and a half votes per minute.

Regents Hear Request For Action on Barnett

Questions over treatment of Donald L. Barnett, an instructor at the University of Iowa, were aired at the Board of Regents meeting this week.

The topic came up for discussion when State Representative Charles E. Grassley (Rep., New Hartford) said in a letter he felt Barnett should "obey the rules or get out." Barnett has refused to report grades because the University uses them in reporting a student's standing to the Selective Service.

Grassley was concerned that Barnett, whose contract will not be renewed when it expires in 1968, will still be teaching at the U of I even though he has said he will not report grades. Grassley questioned whether or not the student's standing at the U of I or in transfering would be hurt by not reporting grades.

U of I has refused to pay his salary until he reports the grades. Barnett said Thursday

REGENTS

(Continued on page 8)

Misses Plane, Stokely Cancels

Stokely Carmichael cancelled his visit to Iowa State yesterday because he missed the plane from Chicago to Des Moines.

"Mr. Carmichael expressed his regrets and said he hopes to reschedule his visit for March," Frank Johnson, program secretary of the YMCA, said.

Dr. James A. Lowerie, head of the University Lecture Committee, said he would not reschedule Carmichael.

Carmichael decided to go to Greensboro, Ill. to spend the day with a friend who will start a prison sentence tomorrow, Johnson said.

Carmichael is the second in the University Lecture Committee's Civil Rights Series who has cancelled out at the last minute. Rev. James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference cancelled his visit two weeks ago because of the snow storm in Chicago.

Johnson said he thinks both speakers regard Iowa as unimportant and cancel appearances

IOWA STATE DAILY

TWELVE PAGES | IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY, AMES, IOWA, SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1967 | Vol. 96, No. 115

UNIDENTIFIED PERSONS or a person early Friday morning hung an effigy of GSB President Don Smith from the east columns of Beardshear Hall. The life size figure dangled there until shortly after 8 a.m. when a crew from the Physical Plant cut it down. The effigy, which greeted students on their way to morning classes, was outfitted in sweatshirt, blue jeans and wing-tip shoes with no laces.

—photo by Mike Schilling

'Interested Students' Start Petitions for Impeachment

Petitions asking for the impeachment of Government of the Student Body President Don Smith were put into circulation Friday morning, said Dave Schworm, Sc. & H. 3, who heads, he said, a group of interested students.

The petitions read, "We feel that he has shown lack of responsibility in fulfilling his duties as president of GSB and feel that his actions are no longer representative of the student body."

Schworm said that 800 petitions have been printed and circulated at the Main Desk, Memorial Union, the KIFC radio station office, and residences.

"Smith," said Schworm, "doesn't care what happens because of his actions; he is not concerned with the University. He is using GSB more as a mockery."

Schworm said most of the reaction to the petitions had been highly favorable so far. "The main objection," he added, "has been that he hasn't been given a chance in office."

Only 750 signatures are needed on the petitions to bring impeachment proceedings to the senate. It will then take a two-thirds vote of the senate to remove him from office.

"But we would like to get as many signatures as possible," said Schworm. "Unless we have a majority of the student signatures, our actions will not really be representative of the feelings of the student body."

Several students at Memorial Union said they had heard rumors that a pro-Smith petition was now circulating, but none of them had seen it or knew of anyone who had signed it. One member of Students for a Democratic Society said late yesterday she was certain a petition was circulating, but if it wasn't, there would be one today. "There are many students who feel that Don Smith is a responsible leader," she added.

Lifka Comments

Mary Lou Lifka, vice president of GSB, commented that she hadn't seen any such petitions until Friday morning. "But I rather expected that he would be impeached," she added. "There have been rumors of impeachment since the day of our election."

Miss Lifka said she was too idealistic to picture Smith out

PETITIONS— (Continued on Page 2)

Smith States Views On Daily Coverage

This is the statement Don Smith has been circulating on campus concerning the Daily story which reported Smith had attended a marijuana party. It is reprinted in its entirety.

"One of the central goals of my life has always been honesty. During my campaign for president of the student body, I answered all questions directed at me as best I could. My refusal to lie or avoid questions was an important factor in my election.

"The betrayal of my trust by certain reporters and the following sensational journalism has brought to life the fact that I have smoked marijuana. I do not deny this. I do deny that this limits my effectiveness as

SMITH— (Continued on Page 2)

Don Smith announced yesterday afternoon that he has reserved Curtiss Auditorium for 7:30 tonight so he may present his views to a mass meeting of the student body.

"I plan to defend myself to the students," Smith explained. He further stated that the meeting would be an effort to decide "what we want to do."

Smith said students will be able to question him about his views, platform and plans for Government of the Student Body.

Motion To Censure Smith Defeated on Second Ballot

By ED STILES

A motion to censure Don Smith, GSB president, was defeated on the second ballot 12 to 10 in an emergency SDS meeting Thursday night.

After the meeting, Efstathios Papageorgiou and at least 12 other leaders of the Iowa State liberal movement drew up a letter of censure condemning Smith's actions.

A copy of the letter was sent to the Daily and appears on the editorial page of this edition.

When the SDS meeting began Thursday night, it seemed that most of the SDS members and the approximately 50 people in the gallery were in favor of the motion to censure Smith.

Debate on the motion was heated, with John Gasaidonio and Papageorgiou out of their chairs several times during the meeting.

As the meeting progressed, a motion was brought to the floor stating that only SDS members could vote on the censure motion and not all those present, as is usually the policy at SDS meetings. The motion was defeated and anyone attending was allowed to vote.

Finally, when there seemed to be some confusion among those present as to what to do, John Grassidonio read a prepared statement defending Smith's actions.

Grassidonio was applauded when he finished his speech.

Several other members who opposed the censure spoke and the vote was called for.

The first vote was 8 to 8. A recount was demanded from the floor and the final vote was 12 to 10 to defeat the censure motion.

Grassidonio, the main supporter of Smith's stand on marijuana, said he admired Smith for being truthful. He said many people commit acts which could be labeled as vices. One of these is marijuana smoking. Grassidonio stated most don't "invite Life reporters to cover their vices."

He said Smith was acting in the "highest ideals" of the new left movement by speaking out in favor of what he believed. Grassidonio stated that Smith is willing to go to jail because he believes marijuana smoking shouldn't be illegal in the same manner as other members of SDS are willing to go to jail for their opposition to the draft and to the war in Vietnam.

Grassidonio said he condemned the system and the laws, not Smith. He believes that Smith has "started a revolution" against the federal and state narcotics laws. "I believe he has acted in the highest ideal of SDS and I'll burn my blue card of hypocrisy (referring to his SDS membership card) if the motion passes," he stated.

Jim Holmes, Engr. 2, said he hopes Smith's actions will not thwart the goals Smith has stood for and that SDS has backed. He said Smith should have "limited his freedom of action" when he took an office in which he acts for the student body, not just for himself.

Another person present at the meeting stated, "Any man who offers himself to public office cannot say he is standing for his own personal beliefs to the point where it will thwart the academic futures of the students."

Papageorgiou said, "Smith's actions reflect on what the activists are trying to do on this campus." Papageorgiou felt that "Smith had become the victim of Life magazine." Referring to the Life photographer taking pictures at the SDS meeting, he said, "I wish the Life man would stop bothering us with the click-click."

SDS— (Continued on Page 3)

Following are the results of the election for officers of the 1968 Senior Class: Mike Miller, president; Mike Clouser, vice president; Barb Bergsten, secretary; Sid Banwart, treasurer.

Life Shadows Smith, Neglects Seeing Parks

Life Magazine's reporter-photographer team left Ames yesterday morning after spending four days tracking Don Smith—but without accepting an invitation to visit with Pres. W. Robert Parks.

The two left without getting a picture of Friday's effigy dangling from Beardshear Hall. They apparently weren't aware of the petitions circulating for Don Smith's impeachment.

The team of Robert Bradford and Lee Balterman has been doing a story on the liberal revolution at Iowa State. The focus of the story has been Don Smith and his apartment. The photographer has been following Smith through a "routine" week's activity.

University Relations Director Carl Hamilton said yesterday he had been asked by the two to arrange an appointment with Parks for Friday, but the men said Friday morning they couldn't make it. Hamilton also said the team apparently did not contact any other University officials, nor were the unsuccessful candidates for Government of the Student Body presidency approached.

The Life team didn't escape without a severe tongue lashing from Don Siano, Students for a Democratic Society spokesman, after Thursday night's SDS meeting. At one point in the session, Siano asked the photographer to ease off in the picture-taking. Lee Balterman may have taken well over 100 exposures at the session debating Smith's censure. Afterwards, though, Siano unleashed a barrage of profanity and caustic comments, accusing the Life men of exaggerating and inflaming the Smith situation.

Siano accused the Life reporters of precipitating the alleged marijuana party. Siano said, "you got your little finger in there and stirred it around." He said, "You guys haven't just observed. By your presence, you made it (the marijuana party) happen." He also stated, "I know there was a party." He said, "I know you guys encouraged the party."

Siano also accused Bradford and Balterman of "building up Smith's ego" in order to get a story.

When asked about the validity of the accusation, Bradford said, "I've no comment. He can accuse as long as he wants to. I'm fulfilling my job as an observer."

Bradford stated, "Nothing was staged by Life. The idea is absurd."

It's not known when or if the story will appear in Life. Bradford told Hamilton he'll probably write the story in three to four days. Life officials in New York said they never reveal story publication dates.

CITY MANAGER CASTNER
Quick trip home

CITY ATTORNEY BISHOP
Helps the injured

ASSISTANT CHIEF LYTTLE
Close to the blast

POLICE CHIEF SIEDELMANN
Running down leads

MAYOR STUART SMITH
"Tragic and senseless"

Mayor suspects bomb planted by outsiders; asks for coolness

Federal, state and local agents search for clues

By JOHN GILBERT
Daily City Editor

Ames Mayor Stuart Smith said there are clues into yesterday morning's bombing of city hall but refused to elaborate saying, "We are not going to strike out now at people we don't like."

Smith would not say if an arrest was near in the bombing which injured nine persons—two of them seriously.

Smith urged Ames residents to remain calm and made a strong plea for anyone having information, whatsoever about the bombing to inform police.

State, federal and local law officers converged on city hall within minutes of the blast to dig through rubble for clues.

Police Chief A. E. Siedelmann, who was in Kansas City attending a police drug conference at the time of the blast, was reported heading the investigation by late yesterday afternoon.

Smith said he did not believe anyone from Ames was capable of doing such a thing.

Mayor Smith said in an afternoon press conference on steps outside city hall that he had been contacted by groups "who in the past have not been totally satisfied" with the runnings of city government. He said the groups had told him they had nothing to do with the city hall bombing.

The blast ripped through the building shortly after 9 a.m. yesterday shattering virtually all the windows in building and seriously injuring a prisoner being held in the Municipal jail, on OMVI charges.

Flying glass injured eight others in the building. The blast, from an undetermined explosion, tore bars loose from the basement jail and blew the door off.

The explosive was placed below ground level in a window well on the south side of the two-story building.

Col. James Macholz of the highway patrol believes like many other officials that the blast was caused by dynamite.

Governor Robert Ray, who flew into Ames about 11 a.m. to

BOMB—
(Please turn to page 8)

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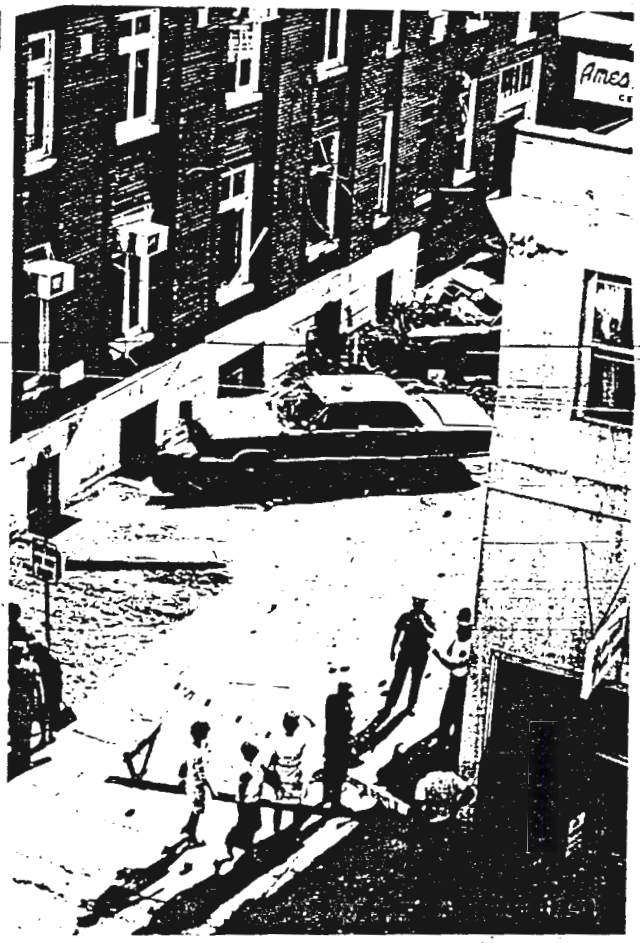
AMES, IOWA,
SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1970



A wreck

Citizens stare in disbelief at wreckage caused when a bomb exploded in a window well (center) at city hall yesterday. The explosion broke all the windows on this side of the building and mangled two nearby cars owned by City Attorney James Bishop and Assistant Police Chief Tom Lyttle. Nine persons were injured in the blast—two of them seriously. (daily staff photo)

Some students uptight; await bomb reaction

By JIM HEALEY
Special Assignments Writer

Yesterday's bombing of Ames City Hall sent waves of disbelief, anxiety and paranoia through the black-white radical community.

Because white protest tactics have become increasingly militant, often resulting in numbers of arrests, white radicals fear the community will blame them for the bombing.

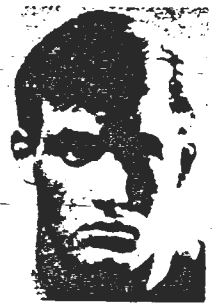
Added to this is the widespread belief that white radicals had the most obvious motive for destroying city hall. A number of their members were slated to appear in court yester-

STUDENTS—
(Please turn to page 2)

analysis

Community reaction is on page 2

HAROLD NICHOLS
He handles discipline



CHUCK JEAN
Involved NCAA Champ

Athletes under fire

Ram incident triggers black protest on wrestlers

By JIM HEALEY
Daily Special Assignments Writer

The latest in a long list of harassments by Iowa State wrestlers—a fight between NCAA champion Chuck Jean and an ISU black student—resulted in a strongly worded statement from campus blacks yesterday that they would tolerate no further attacks by whites.

Early yesterday afternoon, the blacks released the following statement in connection with the Wednesday night incident: "There was a vicious, brutal attack on black persons last night at the Red Ram by the NCAA wrestling champions. They said they would kill all the black persons around.—This is a statement to all the white people on the Iowa State Campus. If any black man, black woman or black child is harrassed in any way by a white person, there is going to be war up here. I mean W-A-R war."

The statement was issued by Roy Snell, Black Student Organization president.

The fight at the Ram involved Jean, PEM 2, and Roosevelt Roby, D St 4.

The following accounts of the affray, given by two black and three white observers, agree in essential details.

A black approached the bar to get a beer. He was grabbed by Jean. After a few words between the two, ISU wrestler Dan Gable intervened before any blows fell.

The black returned to his table and discussed the matter with a black friend. The pair decided to wait and see if any more blacks showed up.

A few more black students arrived and the one involved initially decided to ask Jean for an explanation. Observers say Jean then apologized.

At this point former wrestler Larry Munger, PEM 2, spoke up. Munger said he, too, had grabbed the black and had done so because he (Munger) wanted to "scrap." It was Jean who then tried to keep the peace.

In response, Munger reportedly hit Jean in the mouth. Jean then began insisting the black shake hands to indicate acceptance of his apology. The black did accept the apology but refused to shake hands, witnesses say.

Apparently miffed, Jean began pushing the black. It was here that Roby first entered the scene. He told Jean there was no need for pushing. The wrestler turned on Roby.

After some argument, Jean hit Roby in the throat with his open hand. Roby retaliated by hitting Jean in the forehead with an empty beer mug, knocking the wrestler down. The five or six blacks present then left the tavern.

The police were called and Jean was taken to Mary Greeley Hospital. Hospital officials yesterday would say only Jean arrived at 11:20 p.m., was treated and dismissed.

Meanwhile, the blacks had gathered more "brothers" and returned to the Red Ram. They were confronted by a wrestler who had not been involved in the original fracas. He asked them what had taken place. While the blacks were recounting the incident, at least three Ames Police cars arrived.

The half-dozen police cleared the tavern, but a number of blacks and wrestlers remained outside—near the Ram exchanging words. A black present in the crowd said yesterday the police allowed the exchanges to continue until violence appeared imminent.

A white witness said it appeared there were not enough policemen present to effectively separate the crowd and disperse it. No actual violence took place.

WRESTLERS—
(Please turn to page 6)

iowa state daily

TWELVE PAGES IOWA STATE DAILY, FRIDAY, APRIL 10, 1970 Vol. 99, No. 125

Fraternity will go co-ed

By CHRISTINE PETERSON —

The local Pi Kappa Phi fraternity will begin providing living space for women next fall, according to Dennis Forsyth, house president.

This move, which was supported unanimously by the members of the fraternity, is part of a plan to provide new diversity in fraternity living, Forsyth said.

The prospective Pi Kappa Phi's will be part of the fraternity's little sisters group and will not be full members. However, the house supported a measure to change the Pi Kappa Phi's national laws so that women can be full house members. The present charter states that all members must be male.

The girls will be housed in the fraternity annex located at 2314 Knapp. Forsyth is working on an architectural plan to join the present chapter house and three adjacent annexes into one large house. The women's living area would still be basically separate from the men's, he said.

"We have a fortunate situation," Forsyth said, "with very little expense we can build quite a house." The new house will feature private apartments, lounges and a sun deck. Forsyth added that he is trying to consider problems he encountered in fraternity living and to eliminate them through design.

The fraternity will begin to rush women next fall to join its little sisters—some of whom will live in the house. Three or four little sisters are interested in moving in. Ten girls could live in the annex.

Ron Hill, fraternity adviser, said the proposed plan "looks good." The way it is set up is very logical, he added. Forsyth said the plan has been met with enthusiasm by University officials.

Contract to buy land is ruled binding

By SUZANNE RULLESTAD
Daily State Editor

The state has a legally binding contract to purchase 699 acres of land near Atlantic for the site of a western Iowa university, Atty. Gen. Richard Turner ruled yesterday.

The decision of whether to buy the land has been pending before the Iowa Executive Council since January when the State Board of Regents reluctantly agreed to purchase the land for $556,537.

The Regents approved the land buy after an attorney general's ruling said they must. The land is appraised at $700,000, and Atlantic residents have raised $130,000 to help the Regents purchase the land.

Turner said he doubts the state can be sued for enforcement of the contract, but that does not relieve the state from liability. A mandamus action to force payment of the money for the land probably would be successful, Turner said.

Turner's opinion was issued at the request of Rep. Lester Kluever (R-Atlantic). A bill to take the monies previously appropriated for purchase of the land and channel it into other state needs as part of Gov. Robert Ray's budget adjustment program is pending in the House.

"It is my opinion that the state has entered the contract in good faith and is legally bound and obligated to pay for the land pursuant to the agreement," Turner ruled.

He said Iowa is "as bound by its contract both morally and legally as any person. The state should not cast itself in the role of a welcher."

Stanley Redeker, chairman of the Regents, said at a Board meeting in Iowa City yesterday that the Regents merely carried out a legislative directive, and then forwarded the matter to the executive council which never approved the purchase.

"It's unfortunate to make this expenditure when the state cannot afford expenditures or the need has not been demonstrated," Redeker said.

A resolution was approved by the Iowa House late in January asking the Executive Council not to approve the land buy. The resolution was introduced by Rep. William Gannon (D-Mingo), who said he favors waiting until adequate money is available to finance another state university.

Thievery in parking lots becoming major problem

Innumerable tape recorders, tapes and mag wheels have been stolen from student and faculty cars in University lots says Chief Fred Tonne.

Tonne said the problem basically rests on the fact that University parking lots are easily accessible and once items are stolen, they are hard to identify since few people record the serial numbers. With tape decks and tapes that are of the same brand or the same songs the problem is especially difficult.

On the University level, Tonne said the problem is aggravated by the unlit lot west of the Armory and the mammoth Towers parking lot.

Tonne said the campus police try to constantly patrol the lots checking any suspicious movements around the cars, to try to cut down on the number and kind of things stolen. Three police cars patrol the University area on most nights and Tonne said it bothers the officers to have something stolen just as much as it does the victim.

Regents probe cultural centers

OAKDALE (AP) — Afro-American culture centers at Iowa's state universities must not "degenerate into clubhouses for black segregationists," Cedar Rapids Regent William B. Quarton said yesterday.

The Regents were considering a report, at the request of Quarton, on a black culture center at the University of Iowa.

"Are the Afro-American centers to be clubhouses for black segregationists, or are they going to be an educational tool used by the whole university?" Quarton asked.

U of I vice provost Philip Hubbard told Quarton that the university does not want "to promote a segregationist atmosphere."

He said the objective of the black cultural centers is to "acquaint all citizens with an understanding of American culture."

U of I President Willard Boyd told Quarton and Regent Ray Bates of Clarion, who also questioned the centers, that the university sees the black centers as a means of making the cultural contribution of black Americans more readily understood by others.

Hubbard said the classroom survival of a number of black U of I students is attributable to the cultural center.

A University of Northern Iowa policy of admitting a small group of black students who failed to meet regular admission requirements came under fire at the Regents meeting.

Some regents indicated they feared this meant an open admissions policy and lowering of quality of the institution.

UNI President Dr. J. W. Maucker said eight potential achievers" were admitted in the summer of 1968 even though their high school ranks and test scores were low.

The program has been continued and now there are about 30 blacks mostly from the Waterloo area enrolled in UNI under the program, Maucker said. Some whitey will be admitted under the same program this fall, he added.

Board members made it clear they felt they should have been told about the program before yesterday's meeting, but took no action to stop it.

iowa state daily

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Imbalance in speaker choices charged by ISU conservatives

By KEVIN KIRLIN

Iowa State conservatives have formally charged — both to University administrators and to some members of the Iowa Legislature — that there has been an imbalance of political philosophies among speakers contracted by the University Lectures Committee for the campus.

Members of the Conservatives for Constructive Change, the local branch of the Young Americans for Freedom, made their charges in leaflets distributed Thursday night at a speech given by peace-crusader Dr. Benjamin Spock.

The CCC labeled as "leftist" speakers: Stuart Udall, Ralph Ellison, Senator Birch Bayh (Dem., Ind.), Mrs. Medgar Evers, Sander Vanocur, Allen Ginsberg, Abe Fortas and Dr. Spock. All have appeared on the ISU campus this past year.

The conservatives then claimed that only two speakers had represented the "right" during the year. They were Phillip Abbot Luce and William Rusher (who replaced Senator John Tower (Rep., Texas).

YAF officials in Des Moines said that the purpose of contacting the legislators was to have them "check into the structures of the universities to see if they can apply pressure to the right places to correct the imbalance."

Dick Bjornseth, coordinator of the Spock demonstration, said the goal of the protest was to "create a public awareness" of the alledged imbalance.

University administrators appeared surprised at the conservative protest.

"These people have never come to us with any requests," according to Prof. James A. Lowrie, chairman of the University Lectures Committee.

Lowrie noted that the committee had brought three conservative speakers to the University last fall. The National Affairs Institute also attempts to bring conservative viewpoints to the campus, he said.

Lowrie suggested that the CCC should submit a list of speakers to the committee for its consideration.

Blood drive successful

The Greek Week blood drive has reached its goal this year. The blood drive office announced Friday afternoon it had collected over 1,000 pints with approximately 30 people left to donate. They estimated their final count will be 1,050 pints of blood.

Response to the plea for blood, which will be donated to the Omaha Chapter of the Red Cross, was so favorable that the doors to MacKay Auditorium had to be closed early Friday afternoon.

No incidents yesterday; police take precautions

By A STAFF WRITER

No further incidents relating to a Wednesday night affray at the Red Ram between NCAA champion Chuck Jean and an ISU black student were reported on campus Friday.

Open expressions of feelings and emotions were not as readily evident yesterday as they were Thursday before almost 35 black students met with University officials.

In that meeting ISU black students issued notice that the black community in Ames had been threatened and would take all steps necessary to protect itself.

The blacks said the threats came to a head in an incident at the Red Ram Wednesday night. In that incident Jean was knocked unconsious when he was hit with a beer mug by Roosevelt Roby, black ISU student.

Witnesses said the fracass followed a pushing match between two or three blacks and two wrestlers. Witnesses said the shoving had been initiated by one of the wrestlers.

Following that meeting, head wrestling coach Harold Nichols and Vice-President for Student Affairs Wilbur Layton met with the wrestling team. (Seniors on the squad will be participating in the National East-West Wrestling Meet in the Armory today.)

Nichols said that in the meeting he told the wrestlers to stay out of Ames taverns and trouble in the future.

Wrestlers at the meeting said that Layton told Jean if the (Jean) pressed charges against Roby as a result of Wednesday's incident he would be dropped from school.

Layton yesterday denied making any such statement, adding, "I personally think if they (Ames police) are going to arrest anybody, they ought to arrest both sides."

Ames Police Chief Arnold Seidelmann said yesterday no charges have been filed yet, but an investigation into the incident is continuing.

Concerning any precautions he was taking as a result of the tension surrounding the incident, Seidelmann said the evening shift, which usually is off at 11 p.m. would probably be held over a few hours Friday night and tonight if situations indicate need for it. Each shift consists of seven or eight men.

Double standards here? Layton says 'yes' and 'no'

By TERRY OGGERTY
Daily Editor-in-Chief

After originally telling some ISU students there was, indeed, a double standard being imposed in disciplinary cases at the University—one for athletes, one for non-athletes—Vice-President for Student Affairs Wilbur Layton said yesterday he did not believe such a standard really ever existed.

Layton's original statement came after a letter to the editor of The Daily, written by Pete Mandeville, Econ 4, charged him with failing to impose the same disciplinary action against athletes and non-athletes. At that time, Layton said, "I think this letter should be divided up. The athlete discipline should be considered separately of the other students involved."

When asked why he felt the athletes should be considered separately because this could lead to a double standard for the discipline of students, Layton said, "I realize this (double standard) exists. It is something I have realized for a long time, but I just haven't had it at the top of my list of priorities."

When asked why he didn't try to change the double standard, Layton said, "I tried to do something about it two summers ago (during the black athlete's protest) and I just haven't had the time to pursue it further."

Layton also said that he was certain the procedure of the double standard was felt by the Dean of Students office, which handles student discipline problems. "I'm certain that Sandeen (Dean of Students) and Jenson (secretary of student conduct committee) realize the pressure more than I do," he said.

Sandeen denied that there was a double standards existing within his office. He said the athletes' discipline cases were handled in the same manner as discipline cases of other students.

When contacted about Sandeen's denial of the double standard, Layton said, "I guess I shot off my mouth before I say anything like that I have got to have more information."

Yesterday, Layton reaffirmed his statement that a double standard does not exist. "I agree with Clay Stapleton's statement about double standards: the athletes are students first and athletes second."

When asked if he knew if athletes were involved in more police action than were other students, Layton said he didn't have enough information to make a statement.

ATHLETICS—

(Continued on page 2)

Drug law under study by city

By JOHN GILBERT

Ames Mayor Stuart Smith hopes that some way — possibly through court directives — can be found to help in the rewording of a controversial Ames drug ordinance.

The local chapter of the Iowa Civil Liberties Union has strongly objected to the ordinance and has twice formally requested the city council repeal the ordinance.

The council told the CLU Tuesday night they would await the outcome of a possible court test of a similar Des Moines ordinance before taking any action on the CLU's request.

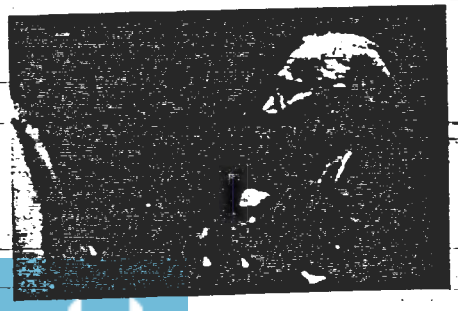
The questionable ordinance states "Any person who frequents or who is found at a house, shop building or place within the city used for the purpose of use, sale, storage or distribution of opium, hashish or marijuana or other narcotics is guilty of a misdemeanor."

The city council adopted the ordinance last summer after law officials requested a means for charging those found during raids, but not in possession of narcotics.

In other comments, Smith said he was pleased with the preliminary draft of a proposed city housing code submitted to the council and the public Tuesday night, but was not surprised with the reactions he has gotten.

Smith said there will probably be some modifications if there is substantial evidence presented for changes at an open committee meeting April 29.

The Regents balk at allowing faculty participation in administrative affairs at the three state universities. Story on page 2.



Spock Speaks

DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK, noted child-rearing authority and activist in the United States peace movement, spoke on the Iowa State campus Thursday night. Spock addressed a full-house at C.Y. Stephens Auditorium Thursday and also met informally with students during classes yesterday morning. SEE COMPLETE COVERAGE OF SPOCK'S ISU VISIT IN TUESDAY'S DAILY.

Judge McKinney finds 'bomb'; blames blacks

Municipal Court Judge John McKinney blamed blacks late last night for placing what he described as a "bomb" in his garage.

McKinney, who presided yesterday over the Roosevelt Roby case, said there is no doubt in his mind that "the blacks are behind this."

"I have no fear of the whites," he said.

"My family is shook up, the neighborhood is shook up, all Ames is shook up," he said.

McKinney said he found the bomb about 9 p.m. after a birthday party at his home—2613 Pierce Ave. He said the bomb was taken to a vacant field nearly 100 yards from his house.

It was later dismantled at the police station.

"We were saved by the luck of God," he told the Daily.

"It could have taken the garage or the whole house. We've got four kids," he added.

What McKinney described as a "liquid-filled container with a ticking clock on the side" was later found to be "powder-filled" by officials according to assistant police chief Tom Lytle.

Lytle said the device contained a magnesium strip which connected the powder with wires joined to a dry cell battery with a timing device.

McKinney called it a "professional job."

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and a Des Moines demolition team was reportedly called in but not needed.

McKinney told the Daily that a part of the powder was burned near a squad car and was "hard to put out."

"It nearly destroyed the squad car," he said.

Speaking to newsmen after the device was dismantled, McKinney told a group of newsmen on his front yard, "We're going to have law and order around here from now 'on—we're not going to be run out of town.

"Our kid gloves days are over. The militants of this country—white or black—are the enemies of this country.

"I don't dislike the blacks—they are a fine race. I'm ready if Roby is."

He said he would spend the night deciding whether or not to disqualify himself from the Roby case.

He blamed the University administration for "shoving all their problems downtown."

"They won't take a stand, won't draw a line anywhere," he said.

"To pay a man like Layton (Vice-president student affairs) $26,000 a year is a real travesty—that student affairs office is the worst run office and if they don't clean house there is going to be real trouble.

"I'm sorry for Roby—the blacks are just using him as a pawn—just looking for reason to raise hell.

"There has never been a real problem around here, never any disagreements, but with Charlie Knox in town—all they are interested in is unrest. I'm damned fed up with it," McKinney said.

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AMES, IOWA, TUESDAY, APRIL 28 1970

Police, protesters in pre-trial clash

By JOHN GILBERT
Daily City Editor

In an afternoon marred by police-demonstrator confrontations on the front steps of city hall, charges of disturbing the peace against Roosevelt Roby, Dist S 4, were dropped and the hearing on charges of assault and battery was continued until this afternoon.

The action came Monday during preliminary hearing for charges against Roby and Charles Knox, former ISU special student, stemming from an altercation at the Red Ram April 8 and Roby's escape from Demonstrators — both black police one week later, and white — had formed in front of city hall shortly after 1 yesterday afternoon.

As Municipal Judge John McKinney returned to city hall at 1:30 he filed charges of disturbing the peace against David Thomas Van Lier, Soc 1.

Police Chief A. E. Seidelmann asked Van Lier to come inside but demonstrators clutched onto Van Lier asking what the charges were.

A brief but vigorous scuffle followed as Van Lier was taken in for disturbing the peace.

Nearly 20 Ames policemen carrying billy-clubs formed a corridor ushering the demonstrators upstairs into the courtroom to await Roby's 2 p.m. hearing.

McKinney later dropped charges against Van Lier.

During the afternoon police officers were posted outside the main entrance to city hall and the courtroom with orders to let no one in.

A jury trial was ordered for 9:30 a.m. May 20 to hear charges of "resisting the execution of due process" against Charles Knox and Roosevelt Roby after both pleaded not guilty.

During the preliminary hearing City Attorney James Bishop called eight witnesses to reconstruct the Ram incident.

Lee Haack, assistant Ram manager, said in testimony he didn't see Roby that night but said the Ram was packed and noisy at the time. He called police after Chuck Jean had been hit.

William Farnham, 1 Ad 4 and patron of the Ram during the fight, said he saw Jean, Roby and Larry Munger, PEM 2, at the Ram. In his testimony he said he saw Munger arguing with an unidentified black as Jean stood by. He reported Roby approached Jean and spoke to him.

Jean pushed Roby. Roby pushed Jean. Jean pushed Roby again and Roby struck Jean with a beer mug, Farnham testified.

Robert Case, Dist S 4 and a patron of the tavern said during testimony he saw pushing and Roby hitting Jean. He also said in testimony that about midnight 35-40 blacks returned to the Ram and gathered on the dance floor.

Munger testified that Ed Hoffman and Dan Gable, also ISU wrestlers, had accompanied he and Jean to the Ram. He said Jean had been drinking but wasn't sure how much, but there had been a party at Dan Gable's apartment prior to going to the Ram.

He said a black named King had started verbally harrassing himself and Jean. Munger testified the black left and returned 10 minutes later with more blacks—Roby was with them.

Roosevelt Roby, D St 4, one of the defendents in yesterday's preliminary hearing hassels over a night stick with the Ames Police officer before the hearing. Several other minor altercations are occurring here before most of the protesters moved into the courtroom. Shown are a few of the 20 or so law enforcement officials present at city hall. (staff photo by steve ward)

TRIAL—
(Please turn to page 7)

'Campaign GM' asks student senate aid

The local effort to make General Motors "more responsive to public interest" will be presented as a three point resolution to Government of Student Body tonight, according to Jan Platt, member of a special committee of the Story County Pollution Club.

The resolution asks that:

- GSB support any movement to have University-tied GM proxy votes cast in support of two requests be "Campaign GM."

Campaign GM — a national group headed by Ralph Nader, has asked that GM become concerned with environmental pollution, race relations and safety regulations.

Mark Gordon, a post doctoral physics associate, and Neil Fox, Chem 6, became aware of the national campaign several weeks ago according to Gordon. They then attempted to find out how many GM stocks were held by ISU and ISU related funds.

- That GM proxy's for 1,000 GM stocks held by the Iowa Public Employees Retirement System—which includes 110,000 state employes including ISU faculty members—be cast in favor of the resolutions of Campaign GM.
- That GM proxy's for 560,000 GM stocks held by Teachers Insurance and Annuities Association be cast for Campaign GM resolutions about 1,800 ISU faculty members contribute to College Retirement Equity Fund—CREF, a University pensions plan, which is controlled by TIAA. Through the plan the University contributes ⅓ of the money toward the pension and faculty members pay ⅔.

The University itself is not authorized to own any GM stock. However, the ISU Alumni Achievement Endowment Fund, ISU Research Foundation and the W. C. Bryant Endowment own 420 shares of GM stock. The proxy vote for this stock is held by ISU treasurer Sam McDowell.

McDowell said he is authorized through the State Board of Regents to vote the proxy held by the three ISU related groups. The regents make the authorization annually, according to McDowell.

"But I can't specifically recall them (the Regents) making the authorization this year, but it's a very routine thing," he said.

McDowell said he had voted for the first resolution which would establish a permanent committee on corporate responsibility to study GM's policies on pollution, safety and other public interest matters.

McDowell said he is opposed to the second resolution, said yesterday he has not yet cast his vote on that proposal which would add three public representatives to the board of directors.

McDowell would not say when he planned to cast the votes on the second resolution.

Gordon said that when he first contacted McDowell about three weeks ago on the proxies, McDowell wasn't aware of the campaign GM movement.

"I then wrote to Campaign GM headquarters to have other information sent out to McDowell, but sometime between the time I talked with McDowell and before the information reached him, he voted for the first resolution."

McDowell said he could not recall when he decided to vote for the first resolution.

Gordon and Fox were joined by Platt and David Eckroth, Chem Assoc, yesterday in their local effort to aid the campaign GM cause.

"We are not actually members of the national campaign," said Gordon, "but we are supporting their cause."

Gordon said the Story County Pollution Club incorporated their effort as a permanent committee Sunday. About 25 students and several faculty and Ames residents make up the 75-member pollution club.

Holmes files suit

Ron Holmes, Pre Law 3, filed suit with the Government of the Student Body Supreme Court yesterday against the all-University Elections Committee (AUEC) and the student senate.

Holmes won an at-large senate seat in last quarter's elections but was refused his seat by the outgoing senate for campaign violations.

He is also seeking an injunction to halt tomorrow's special election which will fill the vacant at-large seat.

In a statement issued early yesterday, Holmes campaign manager said the following charges are being made against AUEC and the senate.

- That AUEG did illegally find Holmes guilty of election violations;
- That the GSB senate did violate Holmes' constitutional rights and U.S. legal precedent by refusing to seat him. The suit also claims that the section of the GSB constitution which requires the outgoing senate to seat the newly elected senators is in violation of Iowa and U.S. constitutions.

Some persons have claimed that it is too late for an injunction to halt tomorrow's special election, but Supreme Court Marcy Hart, Biochem 4, said there is enough time.

Related story: page 5

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I should also thank the vast majority of people I contacted for their enthusiasm and cooperation in contributing to this work.

***

The following is appropriate when thinking about history:

"....everything the earth is full of...everything on it that's ours for a wind and it's gone, and what we are on it, the — light we bring to it and leave behind in — words, why, you can see five thousand years back in a light of words, everything we feel, think, know — and share, in words, so not a soul is in darkness, or done with...."

— Annie Sullivan to Helen Keller in William Gibson's play, *The Miracle Worker*.