Agitators in the Land of Zion: The Anti-Vietnam War Movements at Brigham Young University, University of Utah, and Utah State University

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AGITATORS IN THE LAND OF ZION: THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENTS AT BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, AND UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY

by

Tracey Smith

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1995
ABSTRACT

Agitators in the Land of Zion: The Anti-Vietnam War
Movements at Brigham Young University, University of Utah, and Utah State University

by

Tracey Smith, Master of Science
Utah State University, 1995

Major Professor: Dr. F. Ross Peterson
Department: History

Through the vantage point of institutions of higher learning, Utah's distinction as a politically conservative state dominated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is examined during the Vietnam War era. The three universities in the study—Brigham Young University, University of Utah, and Utah State University—are the three oldest and most populous universities in the state. This thesis concentrates on these three institutions and less on the politics of the state at the time. Studies showed that the universities, to varying degrees, exhibited antiwar sentiment. Still, the campuses were less active in opposing the war, drawing only a very small percentage of students to demonstrations.
Brigham Young University's President, Ernest L. Wilkinson (1951-1971), vigorously guarded against signs of antiwar activity. He was involved in the 1966 spy ring, which organized students for surveillance of supposedly liberal faculty. Students who appeared to be antiwar were also scrutinized. Despite the negative sanctions on such students, a minority of pupils did oppose the war and Wilkinson's tactics.

The University of Utah produced the highest number of protesters, largely because of its more diverse and urban population. Many of the demonstrators at the U of U continued as activists in the Salt Lake Valley into the 1990s. Utah State University echoed the U of U, but to a lesser extent. Still, underground newspapers and an organized antiwar political party showed that USU also had a movement against the war. The administrations of the two schools figure into the text less powerfully than BYU's Wilkinson because they failed to become as involved in the debate.

Oral interviews dominate this thesis. Subjects were chosen according to their involvement in particular events or movements. Student newspapers and underground newspapers were also utilized.

This thesis attempted to recreate a tumultuous and turbulent time in American history. Utah's unique cultural slant showed that the Beehive State
could not isolate itself from international events but also responded in its own way.
I would like to thank my graduate committee for their time and patience. Thanks to Dr. F. Ross Peterson for his leadership, kindness, and unmatched knowledge and resourcefulness, to Dr. Carol A. O'Connor for her careful guidance and unique friendship, and to Dr. Carolyn Rhodes for her valued perspective and encouragement. Appreciation also goes out to Dr. David R. Lewis, whose door was always open, for his friendship and advice, to Dr. Clyde Milner for going to bat for me and showing an interest, and, especially, to Dr. Anne M. Butler for being an example, confidante, and close friend. Your impact goes further than you will ever know.

My fellow graduate students also helped me complete this project. Thanks to A.J. Taylor, not only for being one of my best friends, but for being an inspiration, to Theresa Sherman for her profound observances and kinship, to Kelly May for her spirit of adventure and friendship, to Ted Moore and Julie Hartley-Moore for trips to Provo and great conversation, and to Craig Anderson for being a treasured ally, and showing the saving grace of humor. Also thanks to Steve Amerman, John Hart, Marjorie Hudson, Kathy Haggard, Mark Anderson, Jim Feldman, and Eric Walz. Your help will not be forgotten. Also thanks to Ruby Vázquez for patiently and beautifully typing this thesis.

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Tracey Smith
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Rallies, protests, and rebellion on college campuses during the Vietnam era are accepted as an axiom of that time. The image of a long-haired student clad in beads and sandals carrying a demonstration sign seems almost a cliche of the 1960s. The University of California at Berkeley, Columbia University, or the University of Wisconsin may have somewhat lived up to that image. In the state of Utah, a conservative bastion dominated by Mormons, the antiwar movement had difficulty taking hold. Still, a vociferous minority stirred the issue up on the Beehive state's college campuses. Through oral interviews and newspaper accounts, this thesis will show that a small, yet determined group of Utah students organized to protest the war in Southeast Asia. Despite Utah's isolation, the Vietnam controversy assumed center stage by 1970. Even with the attention from the media, an apathetic studentbody and copious conservative elements in the communities restrained the limited antiwar movement from ever getting its wings.

Many scholarly works referred to the student antiwar movement in generalities. Such phrasing painted the era in a light that failed to acknowledge the geographic diversities of the movement. In *Vietnam War Almanac*, Harry G. Summers, Jr. wrote a typical summary of student unrest:

The sixties was a decade marked by student activism and social protest and there was a feeling alive on campuses that the system could be changed, that protest could be successful. Students
found the war immoral and unjust for a variety of reasons, and the attractiveness of activism contributed to their commitment.\textsuperscript{1}

Summers's abstraction presented an image of universities under the siege of agitators. Utah's relative lack of activity defied this image. Universities that fit Summers's stereotype mainly existed on the east or west coasts or in large urban areas like Chicago. The history of the antiwar movement in a less-populated, middle American place like Utah showed a smaller effort with a dedicated following, which seemed detached from the dominant social group. Oral interviews sustained this. Nearly all of those interviewed stated that a higher proportion of student activists originated from outside of the state.\textsuperscript{2} Some native Utahns emerged as protesters but to a much smaller degree. Summers's quote also failed to take into account the hordes of students who supported action taken in Vietnam, even at universities like Columbia.

The events making up the antiwar movement's history made headlines in Utah but seemed to hover over the Wasatch Mountains like a faraway echo. The news stories came over the airwaves with as much salience to Utah as the subsequent TV broadcasts of "Gomer Pyle" or "That Girl." The reality of urban unrest remained unfamiliar, even freakish, to a typical citizen of Provo or

\textsuperscript{1} Harry G. Summers, Jr., \textit{Vietnam War Almanac} (New York: Facts On File Publications, 1985), 112.

\textsuperscript{2} Only one subject interviewed, Kathy Collard of the U of U's Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), contended that the number of native Utahns involved in campus unrest was equal to the number of out of staters.
Logan. The protest came to Salt Lake City in 1967, when the antiwar movement began to make itself known on downtown streets. It was not until 1970 that protesters marched off campus in Logan or Provo. Even as marches began to draw sizable crowds, the demonstrations, outside of Salt Lake, lacked consistency, thus diminishing their influence. Zion could arguably be called the most conservative locale in the nation. The existence of a radical element to counter the conservative Latter-day Saint (LDS) values shows Utah as a state of surprising durability and possibility.

The Mormon population was, and remains, considerable in the state of Utah. *The Deseret News 1974 Church Almanac* listed Utah's LDS percentage, in 1970, as 72 percent. The political influence of the church on state affairs has always been significant, if not dominant. This would surprise no one since Utah was settled by Mormons migrating from Illinois in the 1840s. The church's world headquarters reside in the tallest skyscraper in downtown Salt Lake City, figuratively presiding over the state's economic, governmental, demographic, and cultural capital. Temple Square not only serves as the state's biggest tourist attraction but as a religious and historic symbol. Street addresses in the greater Salt Lake area stemmed from their distance from

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4The LDS Church Office Building in downtown Salt Lake City was completed in 1972, as the Vietnam conflict began to wind down.
Temple Square. From their perch in Utah, LDS general authorities issued statements and sermons, which church members were to heed and obey.

One such general authority was apostle Bruce R. McConkie. McConkie published the second edition of his *Mormon Doctrine* in 1966, when the Vietnam conflict was becoming increasingly more controversial nationally. His book did not discuss Vietnam directly but gave insight into the church's stance on war:

In the American Revolution, the Lord was with the colonists and poured out his wrath upon Great Britain and those who opposed Americans. The preservation of the American union through the great Civil War was a just cause. World Wars I and II were both righteous wars as far as the allies were concerned, and the Lord's purposes were furthered by the victorious parties. . . . Modern warfare began with the Civil War, and it has and will continue to increase in severity and wickedness until the final great struggle at Armageddon . . . .

McConkie's assessment showed an attitude popular within the church that God favors and protects America. Flag-waving patriotism became fused with spirituality. The United States gained a Cold War ally in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. From all research, the church refrained from sweeping political statements concerning the war in Vietnam, especially from church president David O. McKay (1951-1970). Instead, individual general authorities, like Dwight D. Eisenhower's former Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, expressed opinions. Sentiment from apostles Benson, Gordon B.

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Hinkley, and Boyd K. Packer appear in the chapter dedicated to Brigham Young University. In general, the apostles agreed that Mormons should not be conscientious objectors or pacifists.

Although not categorized as pacifists, the church's First Presidency, led by President Harold B. Lee, expressed happiness over Nixon's cease-fire in early 1973. The following statement was released:

The announcement of President Richard M. Nixon, that an agreement has been reached for a cease-fire in Southeast Asia is joyous news indeed. Our prayers now are that a just and enduring peace will follow for all peoples who have been involved in this long and devastating conflict.6

The First Presidency's use of the phrase "long and devastating conflict" exhibited their weariness for the drawn-out war. By 1973, their exhaustion over Vietnam coincided with national opinion polls. However, in the late 1960s, the ambivalence and confusion over the issue in Utah stimulated questions of an individual's patriotism and spirituality.

Utah remained unique as a state dominated by one religion. Politically, this "uniqueness" was manifest by the conservative voting patterns of the Beehive state. The Republican Party benefitted strongly from this tendency, particularly following World War II. As a Democrat, Calvin L. Rampton bucked this trend by consecutively being elected governor from 1964 to 1976.

6Smart, ed., Church Almanac, 51.
In 1968, Rampton won by the decisive margin of 68 percent to 31 percent. Senator Frank S. Moss, also first elected in 1964, represented Utah as a Democrat. His defeat over Republican BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson also appeared definitive: 57 percent to 42 percent. The inclusion of one Democratic governor and one Democratic senator hardly signaled the vacillation from conservatism, especially in the Vietnam era. In his autobiography, As I Recall, Rampton assessed that as of the late 1960s, "generally in Utah the people seemed supportive of the Vietnam War, as was I."

Rampton and Moss were in the minority. The 1968 election showed a sizable endorsement of Republican candidates in Utah. Wallace F. Bennett defended his senate seat with 53 percent of the votes. The two state representatives more firmly trounced their opponents. Laurence J. Burton took an astounding 68 percent. Sherman P. Lloyd did almost as well, garnering 61 percent. In the 1968 senatorial race, the counties displayed substantial differences in their partisan voting patterns. Salt Lake County, home of the University of Utah, voted 49 percent Republican and 49 percent Democratic. Brigham Young University's location, Utah County, supported Republicans.

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8Ibid.

9Calvin L. Rampton, As I Recall (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 168.
with 57 percent. Cache County (Utah State University) topped Utah County's statistic by endorsing Republicans with 64 percent of the votes cast. In the presidential race, in which Nixon defeated Democratic Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, all three counties voted Republican. Salt Lake supported Nixon with 54 percent, Utah County with 59 percent, and Cache County with 68 percent. In all cases, Cache County embraced the Republican Party with the most vigor, followed by Utah County.\(^\text{10}\)

Both presidential candidates in 1968 campaigned in Utah. Nixon appeared at Temple Square's Tabernacle to a capacity crowd. Humphrey chose Salt Lake to make a "major speech" concerning the war in Vietnam. Rampton opined about the impact and circumstances of Humphrey's presentation:

> He went to the Tabernacle, which was filled, and gave the speech that most people regard as the turning point in the presidential election of 1968. Without actually repudiating the Johnson stance on Vietnam, Hubert took an entirely different track. I am sure that it had been his position all along, but being a good team player, he had played it down. In effect he said he would stop all bombing of Vietnam and attempt to negotiate and scale down hostilities just as rapidly as possible. I thought it was a good speech, a diplomatic speech, and indeed it was received well around the country. Generally, political pundits say that if Humphrey had made the Salt Lake City speech two weeks earlier, or if the election had been two weeks later, he would have won. He never could have carried Utah, of course . . . .\(^\text{11}\)

Humphrey did not stand a chance in Utah. Of Utah's 29 counties, Humphrey received a majority of the votes in only two—Carbon and Tooele.

\(^{10}\)Scammon, *America Votes*, 378-383.

\(^{11}\)Rampton, *As I Recall*, 195.
Nixon took 56 percent of the state's total vote count.\(^{12}\) The three universities in this study were not located in Carbon or Tooele Counties. Only Salt Lake County demonstrated a potential for bipartisan elections.

The first school, Brigham Young University, 40 miles south of Salt Lake in Provo, gains a scrutiny that eludes other institutions. Recent debate over academic freedom and the role of a private religious university sets BYU up as a target for liberal criticism. In light of the school's campaign against antiwar expression in the 1960s, the controversies of the 1990s seem like the obvious result of a conservative spiral. The LDS-owned school was founded as an academy in 1875 by Brigham Young. In 1903, it became Brigham Young University, gaining its current name.\(^{13}\) The LDS Church still maintains firm control of the administration. By the fall of 1968, the private school had over 23,000 students. Sixty-two percent of the student body were nonresidents, but 96 percent were of the Mormon faith.\(^{14}\)

Utah's largest state-controlled and state-funded institution is/was the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. The school was founded in 1850 as the University of Deseret. In 1892, it became the University of Utah.\(^{15}\) In the fall of


\(^{13}\)Encyclopedia Americana, 1994 ed., s.v. "Brigham Young University."

\(^{14}\)Summary of Institutional Data (Utah State University: Office of Institutional Research, 1978).

\(^{15}\)Colliers Encyclopedia, 1993 ed., s.v. "University of Utah."
1968, the number of students swelled to 18,000, reaching 20,000 by 1969. Nonresident students maintained a scant minority, holding at 13 percent. The number reached its highest point in 1972, when the statistic topped out at 17 percent.16

Utah State University's nonresident percentage exceeded that of its sister institution, the U of U. USU's 1968 nonresident numbers reached 26 percent, double that of the U. By 1976, 35 percent of the student body was listed as nonresident. In total, the school had 8,000 pupils (1968-1975), making it, definitively, the smallest of the three schools in the study.17 The campus occupies a bench in Logan, 85 miles north of Salt Lake City. A land-grant institution, USU was founded in 1888.18

On the national front, the influence of student protesters was profound. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), established in Michigan in 1961, launched a massive Washington, D.C. protest in early 1965, featuring 20,000 participants. Simultaneously, University of California (U.C.), Berkeley's Free Speech Movement turned its energy toward campaigning against the war. Student-age citizens were the most vulnerable to the draft, setting off a string of draft card burnings, beginning in New York City, in 1965. The media, typified


17Ibid.

by the growing influence of the evening news, broadcasted these events coast to coast. Consequently, the movement gained steam by the end of 1967.

The Tet Offensive of 1968 brought discouragement to the American public in general. It had become clear that the "enemy was very much alive."

Members of Congress, the media, and a growing majority of the public pressed for an end to U.S. fighting. Student groups, like SDS, became more militant. Disagreements over the level of militancy led to the factionalizing of SDS and other nonviolent organizations. The result was groups like the Weathermen, a liberal movement, whose members used bombs to gain the attention they sought. The television media recorded for posterity the potential for violence at antiwar riots at the Chicago Democratic Convention in August. Forty thousand marched in Washington, D.C. on Moratorium Day in 1969, when protesters across the nation also mounted local demonstrations. The tension culminated in the spring of 1970, when President Nixon authorized the tactical invasion of Cambodia. As a result, four student demonstrators were killed and nine wounded by National Guardsmen at Kent State University in Ohio. University campuses reacted with anger and violence. Large-scale demonstrations, particularly targeted for the District of Columbia, continued throughout 1971 but declined thereafter as Nixon withdrew troops.

Antiwar movements existed at each of these institutions, but to varying degrees. President Ernest L. Wilkinson of BYU became personally involved in

\[\text{\textsuperscript{19}Summers, Vietnam War Almanac, 83.}\]
keeping his school pure from antiwar agitators, student or otherwise. Because of this, he became a focal point of the BYU study. At the other schools, the administration played a less significant role, thus minimizing their influence on the fledging movements. Issues that shed light on academic freedom, such as speaker or student newspaper policy, became essential. These topics helped indicate the mood or atmosphere in which an antiwar movement could or could not thrive. The extent to which a counterculture existed on campus offered insight into the degree of antiwar activity which often followed.

Although no demographics were available, the number of married students on all three Utah campuses is traditionally higher than out-of-state schools. The prospect of starting a family does not easily lend itself to the risky world of radical protest. Especially at BYU, students who openly demonstrated against the war took a chance with their academic careers. Demonstrators could face arrest or, at BYU, the possibility of expulsion.

Assessments about the schools' Age of Aquarius tendencies or radical influences mainly came from oral interviews. Few publications addressed the issue of student activism at Utah's universities. Primary sources, like newspapers and interviews, guided this study. Oral interview subjects were chosen because of their involvement in antiwar organizing or through their

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20 The most notable publications to discuss antiwar movements in Utah were Rampton's *As I Recall* (U of U); and Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1985).
vantage points as observers of campus life. Subjects also were intended to represent a particular organization or incident at each school. This was an attempt to accurately depict the disparate points of view or numerous transitions of the antiwar movements.

Each school's chapter begins with a brief look at the university's administration and faculty. Comments about the overall environment of the school follow. Next, a chronology of significant events fuses oral interviews with newspaper accounts. Lastly, the pervading quality of student newspapers gains attention. BYU's chapter varies from this somewhat. This is only natural, since BYU remains the anomalous school, not only for Utah, but for the nation.
CHAPTER 2

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY: AN ISLAND OF TRANQUILITY?

In his own history of the university, BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson wrote that "BYU has become 'a city this is set on a hill' which 'cannot be hid,' and which lets its light ... shine before men." Wilkinson used Biblical references to describe the perceived sacred purpose of the Latter-day Saint institution. His politically conservative leadership fought, yet often denied, the presence of antiwar sentiment on campus. Still, it existed in such campus groups as the Young Democrats, and even penetrated student leadership and faculty. Attempts to curb these dissenters resulted in the curtailment of free press and free speech, which threatens BYU even today.

Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of BYU from 1951 to 1971, occupies the center of this chapter. His strict policies, covert activities, and overwhelming desire to present BYU in a positive light clashed with a handful of faculty but never stopped his vehement efforts to make BYU the ultimate private conservative university in the nation. His own BYU history, referred to with disdain by present-day faculty, pontificated on the Vietnam issue in relation to BYU. Wilkinson wrote in the third person:

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Wilkinson made it a practice to include in his annual address to the entire student body at the beginning of each year a crisp statement that student participation in any serious disturbance or riot would result in dismissal from BYU.\(^{22}\)

Wilkinson went on to contrast the reaction to this policy, claiming that only BYU would react in such a way. He stated that "when the president announced such a policy the students enthusiastically responded with a standing ovation."\(^{23}\) Record of such an ovation does not exist in the student newspaper, *Daily Universe*.

The university president also blamed other college presidents for allowing riots and demonstrations to take place. More than once, he gave his speech, "Academic Anarchy vs. Management of Universities." In this plan, Wilkinson highlighted eight points for reforming troubled campuses. One of his eight points opined that "[a]ny faculty member who condones or encourages riots or revolutions should be discharged."\(^{24}\) Control over the faculty became a high priority for Wilkinson in the mid-1960s. The result was an elaborate spy ring, which carried out the surveillance of faculty members believed to be teaching false doctrine or sympathy for communists. This controversy demonstrated how the mood at BYU was not conducive to an incipient antiwar movement.

\(^{22}\)Ibid., 616.
\(^{23}\)Ibid.
\(^{24}\)Ibid., 618.
The surveillance of professors began in 1965 with the observing of BYU historian Richard D. Poll, who was perceived as a "liberal."

A popular teacher, Poll eventually resigned from the university to serve in an administrative capacity at Western Illinois University. By 1966, the covert surveillance became more organized, resulting in the infamous "spy ring" episode.

According to Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis' book, BYU: A House of Faith, "Wilkinson had concluded that the most effective means of combating the 'advocacy of concepts at variance with the views of our prophet' was to encourage selected students to covertly monitor the political and economic sympathies of their teachers on and off campus." House of Faith observed the spy ring episode with a critical eye, but cited credible sources, such as the "Report for the Board of Trustees on the Surveillance of Teachers and the Hillam-Davies Case," and a statement from Stephen Hays Russell, a student recruited for surveillance purposes. Bergera and Priddis reasoned that the resulting controversy was a disaster for Wilkinson, who remained on the defensive for the rest of his career. The president denied having organized the spy ring, even after witnesses testified of his involvement to the Board of Trustees. Several of BYU's social science faculty members left the institution

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25 Bergera and Priddis, 203.
26 Ibid., 205.
27 Ibid., 207.
during this period, particularly those who were targets of the surveillance. Priddis and Bergera contended that Wilkinson "pursued his anti-socialist crusade less ardently over the next few years until his resignation in 1971."\textsuperscript{28} Still, Wilkinson remained firm in his support for U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Conjecture concerning the BYU spy ring continued into the 1990s, most recently in issues of \textit{Dialogue, a Journal of Mormon Thought}. Former BYU Professor of History D. Michael Quinn alleged that LDS Apostle, Ezra Taft Benson was also associated with organized surveillance. "This [1966 spy ring] was the best-known manifestation of Ezra Taft Benson's six year encouragement of espionage at Brigham Young University."\textsuperscript{29} He further noted that general authorities such as N. Eldon Tanner and Harold B. Lee "declined to pursue the matter rigorously," because of their "belief that Apostle Benson was involved in the BYU 'spy ring' . . . ."\textsuperscript{30} Benson's alliance with the conservative John Birch Society aided in the organizing of such a spy ring, as reasoned by the author. Jeff D. Blake countered Quinn in a later issue of \textit{Dialogue}. "Quinn's suggestion that Ezra Taft Benson organized, directed, or in any way was connected to the 1966 BYU spy ring is not supported by the available

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., 217.

\textsuperscript{29}D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and the Mormon Political Conflicts," \textit{Dialogue} 26 (Summer 1993), 54-5.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., 54.
evidence." Instead, Blake claimed that Wilkinson planned a devotional speech that would "rock the campus from one end to another." The espionage of faculty would stem from response to the speech. Quinn offered a rebuttal by charging that Blake's essay "is a textbook example of polemics impersonating history." The purpose of concentrating on the spy ring is to demonstrate the lack of free speech. A fledging antiwar movement would be up against more obstacles than at other universities.

General authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints added little sympathy to a potential antiwar movement at BYU, but varied on their reactions to the Vietnam conflict. In 1959, Church President David O. McKay espoused in general conference that "the conflict between Communism and freedom is the problem of our times." In December of 1967, church officials announced that "Latter-day Saints are not pacifists . . . . Neither are they conscientious objectors." Then Apostle Benson toured Vietnam, meeting with LDS servicemen. Biographer Sheri L. Dew wrote that "[h]e thought the

32 Ibid., 164.
34 Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson," 68.
35 Bergera and Priddis, 181.
United States should never have become involved, but once in should fight to win quickly and decisively."  

At BYU, Benson told students not to allow others to determine U.S. policies "that weren't in their best interests." In April of 1969, Apostle Boyd K. Packer suggested that those who fought against traditional religious and democratic values should "study elsewhere." Later that same year, Apostle Gordon B. Hinckley showed more sympathy to pacifists:

I have felt very keenly the feelings of many of our young men concerning this terrible conflict. A man has to live with his conscience, his principles, his testimony, and without that he is as miserable as hell . . . . I believe it.

In 1970, Hinckley again stressed his "hatred of war and all its mocking panopoly." Also during 1969 and 1970, navy veteran and First Council of the Seventy member Hartman Rector, Jr. dressed in full uniform while visiting campus to show his support for U.S. foreign policy. Statements like these pervaded BYU, sending conflicting signals.

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37 Ibid.

38 Bergera and Priddis, 184.

39 Ibid., 183.

40 Ibid.
As late as 1970, Wilkinson argued that the Vietnam conflict was "just as moral and just as any war we have fought in."\textsuperscript{41} Claiming he could easily justify U.S. presence in Asia, Wilkinson wrote in his autobiography, \textit{Earnestly Yours}, "but whether right or wrong, we are there for a noble purpose—that of assuring freedom to the people of Vietnam and every loyal American should give his full support to that cause."\textsuperscript{42} Antiwar sentiment angered Wilkinson, prompting him to publicly declare that "any student who, by any revolutionary tactics, would attempt to destroy our government ... should have his revolutionary dreams fulfilled by having his citizenship revoked."\textsuperscript{43} The BYU president actively guarded against any signs of antiwar tendencies.

By 1969, Wilkinson admitted that "there is more unrest on the campus than there has been in any previous year.\textsuperscript{44} Despite this feeling, which Wilkinson wrote of in his journal, his own history of BYU referred to the campus as an "island of tranquility in a sea of turbulence."\textsuperscript{45} He further

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 181.
  \item \textsuperscript{42}Ernest L. Wilkinson, \textit{Earnestly Yours} (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 216.
  \item \textsuperscript{43}Bergera and Priddis, 184. This powerful quote did not have a corresponding citation in the authors' endnotes.
  \item \textsuperscript{44}Ibid., 185. Bergera and Priddis quoted from Wilkinson's journal, dated 9 May 1969.
  \item \textsuperscript{45}Wilkinson and Skousen, \textit{School of Destiny}, 614.
\end{itemize}
boasted that "[d]uring the entire period of national unrest, there was not a single protest march or anti-administration rally on the BYU campus."\footnote{Ibid.} Contrary to this propaganda, BYU's first antiwar demonstration occurred in late 1968. Approximately 60 students sporting black armbands attempted to disrupt a speech by Curtis LeMay, a former Vietnam general and the conservative running mate of George Wallace.\footnote{Bergera and Priddis, 184. The authors listed \textit{Zions Opinion} as their source (13 November 1968). This underground newspaper was not available at BYU's Special Collections.} Little came of the event, except Wilkinson's growing fear of further escalation. In 1969, representatives for a Free Student Coalition "presented a list of sixteen demands—including recognition of a student Mobilization for Peace club, abolishment of ROTC class credit, and establishment of a civil rights week—to an un receptive BYU administration."\footnote{Ibid.}

Psychologists Knud S. Larsen and Gary Swendiman conducted a study of BYU and its reaction to Vietnam in 1968. From 305 students, Larsen and Swendiman concluded that most BYU students believed the war was justified, even though few (27 percent) of those surveyed could currently identify the
historical origins of the war.\textsuperscript{49} Also in 1968, an M.A. thesis by T. Tammy Tanaka showed that "most BYU students shared a common belief, reinforced by church and university leaders, in America as God's Chosen Land and hence backed the American foreign policies as moral."\textsuperscript{50}

As Tanaka and Larsen and Swendiman's studies show, most BYU students supported the war, even if the minority were more vocal by 1969. Four years previous, BYU students "marched through the streets of Provo to mail a letter carrying 6,500 signatures to U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson, proclaiming their support of the war."\textsuperscript{51} Patriotic songs abounded as students glorified in being different from other studentbodies. This march occurred before strong antiwar sentiment formulated nationally. Wilkinson had time to instill a patriotism and reverence in BYU that withstood the minor skirmishes of 1968 through 1971.

Signs of discord did emerge in 1968. BYU began to hold a free forum called the Hyde Park Forum. This became the outlet for occasional outbursts of antiwar sentiment. One example transpired in 1969 when two graduate

\textsuperscript{49}Knud S. Larsen and Gary Swendiman, "The Vietnam War Through the Eyes of a Mormon Subculture," \textit{Dialogue} (Autumn 1968), 152.

\textsuperscript{50}T. Tammy Tanaka, "Why No Revolts at BYU: The Silent Language of the Mormon Worldview and Patriotism at Brigham Young University" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), 93.

\textsuperscript{51}Bergera and Priddis, 180. Attempts to find coverage of this incident in the \textit{Daily Universe} failed, although it must have had some coverage.
students, Sherman Beutler and Sheldon Miller, advocated writing to senators to "let them know there's a definite feeling here that the war should end." The student newspaper, *Daily Universe*, reported that despite the admonitions of the duo, "some simply did not care." Moratorium Day of 1969, the nationally correlated demonstration against the war in Vietnam, did not go unobserved at BYU. The Associated Students of BYU's Executive Council passed an expressed opinion concerning the impending Moratorium:

We are opposed to the interruption of classwork, but fully support the idea that each person should write his congressman, expressing his opinion either for or against the Vietnam War. It is our suggestion to set aside October 15 in memory of those who have served in Vietnam and the last ten minutes of classes on that day to discuss the war if the instructor sees fit. We also suggest that this day be set aside as a day of prayer and meditation in hopes that the leaders of the nations involved be guided in this matter of world concern.

This edict by ASBYU revealed that by 1969, it had become more acceptable to oppose the war. However, it was a very weak endorsement of the Moratorium. The Moratorium was an antiwar event. ASBYU merely stated that students should, perhaps, think about the war and its impact on the world.


53.Ibid.

In case any protesting occurred, Dean of Students Elliot Cameron was quick to remind pupils that "the school regulation banning demonstrations will be upheld."  

Cameron did not need to worry. No large demonstration happened on campus. Even following the Kent State tragedy, an Associated Press (AP) article, reprinted in the *Daily Universe*, reported other campus uprisings but noted the silence of BYU. The AP story noted the attitude of the *Daily Universe*'s recent editorial: "The editorial charged that press coverage of campus unrest could create news 'where none would have existed previously. We understand the rationale behind Mr. Nixon's decision (to enter Cambodia) and we support him."  

Despite this saccharine display of support for the war, the spring of 1970 brought controversy to BYU over petitions and flyers, which will be touched on in the interview of studentbody president Brian Walton later in this chapter. 

Five months after the incident at Kent State, writer Andy Kimball published an article entitled "In Provo There Has Never Been . . .," which

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appeared in the regional antiwar newspaper, the *Wasatch Front*. In this article, Kimball painted a cynical picture of 1970 Provo and BYU as a community absorbed in apathy and out of touch with the rest of society. However, the essay also referred to a Provo Peace Center, which tried unsuccessfully to marshall antiwar students in the Utah County area:

In Provo there has never been an anti-war rally or march or demonstration . . . there has never been a bookstore other than the one on campus which currently stocks two bumper stickers; "America, love it or leave it," and "I am a member of the silent majority." . . . Brigham Young University, a religious institution, is apparently heeding the advice of Biblical Delilah, who found that when she cut off Samson's hair he lost his strength. The BYU student body, short of its locks, is packed by the omnipresent administration and informers and torn by conflicting allegiance to the church and to basic student rights and privileges. In an effort to bring students together and somehow construct a force capable of meeting these problems, a community Center has been created . . . it started with the Cambodian invasion; a couple of students over the summer located a rent free basement and set up a Provo Peace Center. The intent was to mobilize anti-war sentiment. But it survived long enough for its founders to recognize two basic problems. (1) no one in Provo will do more than moan about the war and (2) transforming America from a society based on violence and force to one governed by nonviolence . . . means fighting oppression.

Kimball's article revealed that Provo and BYU did have individuals opposed to the war in Vietnam, but few would organize to demonstrate against

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57 *Wasatch Front* was a regional antiwar newspaper that originated from Utah State University in the fall of 1970. Discussion of its premise will appear in the chapter devoted to USU.

it. Later in his essay, Kimball wrote of another attempt to start an antiwar center, the Community Action Coordinating Center. Its purpose was "to counteract the hatred and unconcern around us. We are nonviolent, but completely action oriented."\(^{59}\) Aside from Kimball's notice of struggling centers in 1970 and a few citations from the *Daily Universe*, most of the antiwar story at BYU took place behind the scenes, with students and faculty, in the aftermath of Wilkinson's spy ring.

Wilkinson's BYU administration had to deal with the minority who dissented on the Vietnam issue. According to William A. Wilson, a BYU English and Folklore professor, there existed "a lot of dissatisfaction . . . unhappiness with the way things were going."\(^{60}\) As a result, students tried to organize a local chapter of the Peace and Freedom Party. When their petition for club status was denied, the group changed its name and petitioned. Wilson insisted that the group's members follow the procedures "more legalistically than any other organization."\(^{61}\) They were still turned down. Wilson acted as faculty sponsor, a requirement for club status. The

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\(^{59}\) Ibid.

\(^{60}\) William A. Wilson, interview by author 3 March 1994, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Hereafter referred to as the Wilson interview.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.
administration was not happy with this but had to "deal with it."\(^{62}\)

The administration used what Wilson called "terrible techniques" to one by one rid the university of antiwar students. He remembered one particular incident in which Elliot Cameron, Dean of Students, "drilled a student so hard he was quavering."\(^{63}\) Apparently, the administration had gone through the student's roommate to find violations in the Word of Wisdom. With such damaging information, the university had leverage over the pupil. By the time the student got to Wilson, Wilson referred to him as a "quivering mass of flesh . . . drilled so hard it destroyed him."\(^{64}\) Wilson labeled the techniques "McCarthy tactics."\(^{65}\) "Distressed about what was happening to students," Wilson confronted Cameron with fellow faculty members Dr. Carleton Marlowe and Dr. James Duke. According to Wilson, Marlowe became angry and the meeting proved "fruitless."

Although Kimball contended that no demonstrations took place, Wilson contended that an antiwar rally occurred off campus at a park on 500 West and Center Street in Provo.\(^{66}\) Although most of those who attended this rally were

\(^{62}\)Ibid.

\(^{63}\)Ibid.

\(^{64}\)Ibid.

\(^{65}\)Ibid.

\(^{66}\)Reference to such a rally was not made in the *Daily Universe*. 
curiosity seekers, a fair-sized group showed up. Wilson claimed there were "a lot of angry kids by this time." The university had asked the FBI to investigate many of these angry kids and "within a year none of them were at BYU." 

Dr. Ray Hillam, faculty member in BYU's Political Science Department, had been a prime target of the spy ring. He described Wilkinson as "a political extremist; off the chart politically." The conservative administration offered a "subtle threat" to antiwar activity. Hillam, after Kent State, recalled a "rapidly thrown together panel to respond to student reaction." This panel tried to anticipate student feelings. The result was a "vigorous interaction between students and panel." Discussion in the halls focused on the Vietnam conflict. However, no formal campus rallies or demonstrations against the ROTC occurred.

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67 Wilson interview.

68 Ibid.

69 Ray Hillam, telephone interview by author, 28 March 1944, Washington, D.C.

70 Ibid. In regard to Wilkinson's history of BYU, Hillam declared that the book was "a bunch of crap—a man writing his own history." The book failed to provide any "critical analysis." The lamented history now sells for $3.95 exclusively at the BYU Bookstore.

71 Ibid.
As to the potential for such rallies at BYU, Hillam insisted there "was no environment for it."\textsuperscript{72} In general, Hillam asserted that there were not many emotional outbursts of expression of any kind on the campus. The hippie movement and organized rebellion happened elsewhere. Students who chose to attend BYU were "not as inclined to rebel against the values of their parents."\textsuperscript{73} He described the student reaction against the Vietnam War as "modest."\textsuperscript{74}

As Wilson had previously explained with the Peace and Freedom Party, petitions for club status at BYU were often refused for perceived nonconservative groups. The W.E.B. DuBois Club and Students for a Democratic Society were denied official club status. The university felt the SDS would be too violent and the DuBois Club too communist. The Peace and Freedom Party did not gain access to campus because it "advocated the indiscriminate use of contraceptives and supported free love."\textsuperscript{75} The only alternative for antiwar students appeared to be the Young Democrats.

According to Bergera and Priddis, the Young Democrats were an important group. As the only outlet for liberal or even moderate students, the

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{75} Bergera and Priddis, 189.
Young Democrats "not only boasted the largest membership of any student political club during the 1960s, but also drew repeated threats of banishment, such as in 1969 when members displayed a peace symbol in the Wilkinson Center, distributed anti-draft literature, and publicly exhibited books by revolutionaries Che Guevara and Malcolm X." The Young Democrats also provided a controversial newsletter, which served as an extremely critical sounding board for antiwar sentiment and other free speech issues as well.

Dr. Carleton Marlowe, history faculty member and former faculty advisor to the Young Democrats, claimed it was a small group of approximately 15 to 20 active members, a much smaller number than alluded to by Bergera and Priddis. Marlowe remembered that the Young Democrats wanted "more freedom of speech on campus, believing they had not yet received it." The group tried to promote discussions about the war, as well as provide a forum for those with antiwar sentiment. Despite all their efforts, "a lot of people had no interest in it whatsoever."

The Young Democrats' newsletter "irritated officials," according to Marlowe. Once the newsletter used four-letter words, it was "quickly

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Ibid., 190.

Carleton Marlowe, interview by author, 30 March 1994, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Ibid.
forbidden from campus.\textsuperscript{80} Those behind the poisoned newsletter knew their status as students was in jeopardy. This was common knowledge to students who challenged the administration. Among those student leaders was Young Democrats president, Omar Kader.

Kader called the atmosphere at BYU "absolutely repressive.\textsuperscript{81} The club president insisted that anything of political significance was not allowed. Armbands and peace signs were forbidden. At one point in his BYU stint, Kader was expelled for distributing literature and hanging posters of Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver.\textsuperscript{82} Kader was let back in but "had to promise not to tell anybody" that he had been expelled. Kader also remembered that Dean of Students Cameron often "went around harassing us.\textsuperscript{83}

When asked about Wilkinson, Kader reacted with hostility. "The man had not one attribute of Americanism," and "none of us wanted to grow up to be like them.\textsuperscript{84} On the other hand, he complimented faculty members like

\textsuperscript{79}Prominent BYU professor Hugh Nibley was persuaded to write in the Young Democrats' newsletter. Copies of the newsletter are currently not available in BYU's Special Collections.

\textsuperscript{80}\textsuperscript{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{81}\textsuperscript{Omar Kader, telephone interview by author, 17 July 1994, Reston, Virginia.}

\textsuperscript{82}\textsuperscript{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{83}\textsuperscript{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{84}\textsuperscript{Ibid.}
Wilson and Marlowe, who "encouraged us; the only thing that kept us going." He labeled these men as "courageous."85

Calling the era "a very active time," Kader stressed that BYU, like other schools, had a great deal of debate, even if it was not formal.86 It became the conversation of lunch, parties, or other extracurricular activities. The lack of demonstrations at BYU did not stop the Vietnam War from being a potentially divisive issue.

The Young Democrats could be labeled as "off center," but antiwar sentiment even penetrated student government. One prime example was Brian Walton, President of Associated Students of BYU for the 1970-1971 school year. When Walton ran for office, he promised to make student government more relevant. Wilkinson became alarmed over rumors of Walton's political persuasion. "I am told that Brian Walton is very far to the left," he wrote to an administrative assistant.87 Unsuccessful in the primaries, Walton staged a heated write-in campaign. Wilkinson, obviously concerned about Walton, announced that the "election would be indefinitely postponed while we

85Ibid.

86After leaving BYU in 1970, Kader returned as a Political Science faculty member from 1975 to 1983. Twelve years after leaving BYU, Kader owns an international trading company in the Washington, D.C. area. He resides in the suburb of Reston, Virginia.

87Bergera and Priddis, 251.
personally conduct a special investigation regarding the 'eligibility of candidates and violations of university standards.'

Eventually, Walton narrowly defeated his opponents. Wilkinson's congratulatory letter seemed drenched in sour grapes, since he reminded Walton of the election's statistics: "there were only 7,048 votes cast, or about thirty per cent of the student body, and that (Walton) received only thirty-eight per cent of the votes cast, or (the support of only) about thirteen per cent of the student body." Walton and Wilkinson had a rocky relationship throughout Walton's time in office.

In the fall of 1970, Wilkinson distributed a flyer: "Men of BYU — A Message from the President." The flyer encouraged enrollment in the ROTC. In return, Walton and his Vice-President, Jon Ferguson, issued "An Important Message to the Men of BYU." This flyer outlined the legal alternatives to the military. Initially, Elliot Cameron had approved the flyers, which were distributed during a weekly campus devotional. Walton admitted that this flyer "caused a stir." Wilkinson, unaware of the distribution until the event, "denounced its content during the devotional . . . and later condemned Walton

88Ibid.

89Bergera and Priddis, 462, "ASBYU vs. Brian Walton," 18, in possession of Bergera and Priddis.

90Brian Walton, interview by author, 9 September 1994, Sherman Oaks, California.
for 'openly proclaiming allegiance to the General Authorities on certain decisions . . . while trying by devious ways to circumvent those decisions.' 91

After hearing Wilkinson's command, Cameron immediately rescinded his approval of the flyer.

The flyer that caused such an uproar was reprinted in Wasatch Front in November of 1970. Twelve individuals endorsed the content by having their names printed at the bottom. The names included Walton, Ferguson, and Andrew Kimball. Below their names was an underlined sentence reading, "We believe in saving lives, not in saving face." 92 The wording of the flyer made the fervent antiwar message clear:

And today there are no simple answers to ideological questions. Of one thing we may be certain: Our role in Vietnam, in fact, the operation of the entire military machinery, is subject to serious question. Why do we forget that bombs, and brute force in general, cannot stop the spread of ideas, especially when people espousing the ideas have popular support and a testimony of the absolute rightness of their cause? Just as killing Communists will not kill Communism. The only way to eliminate an ideology from people's minds is to present them with what they can recognize as a better ideology. We have not shown the Vietnamese people, nor do we believe we can show them, that democracy made in the West but imposed on the East is a better way of life . . . we feel military service to be counter-productive to the humanization of man . . . . When you are faced with military obligations, we seek your sincere and equal consideration of the

91 Bergera and Priddis, 187.

... alternatives and many others which work for man's fulfillment and ultimate peace.\textsuperscript{93}

Walton claimed that, as an "activist" studentbody president, he gained a "fair amount of sympathy."\textsuperscript{94} As for the attitude of his fellow students, Walton believed that "most students felt we had a right to be wrong if we were."\textsuperscript{95} The former ASBYU president spoke highly of Dean of Students Cameron, stating that he felt "no real official pressure."\textsuperscript{96} In a more general sense, Walton saw "more a cultural oppression than anything."\textsuperscript{97} During the interview, Walton never condemned the late Wilkinson for all of the water under the bridge.\textsuperscript{98}

Another cause of contention between Walton and Wilkinson was the dress code, an indirect consequence of the growing antiwar sentiment. By 1970, Walton commented on the growing "wannabe hippie fringe."\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{93}The alternatives to military service listed in the flyer included VISTA, Teacher Corps, Peace Corps, LDS Mission, hospital work, Job Corps, volunteer service assignments, U.S. Health Service, voluntary international service assignments, Environmental Defense Fund, and state and local welfare agencies.

\textsuperscript{94}Walton interview.

\textsuperscript{95}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{96}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{97}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{98}Walton graduated from BYU in 1971 and finished law school in June of 1974. The California native is currently executive director of the Writer's Guild of America, the screenwriter's institution in Beverly Hills, California.

\textsuperscript{99}Ibid.
also noticed more combat boots, sandals, colored dress, and long hair. Wilkinson quickly announced the reemphasizing of the dress and grooming standards. Walton saw Wilkinson's announcement as an attempt to control activist students. He countered that "if the introduction of these arbitrary specifics is an attempt to remove 'radical' elements from our campus, I think that it is ill-founded ... the university should treat students with due respect." In 1969, according to the Daily Universe, Wilkinson had already forbidden men from wearing beards or letting their hair touch their ears or collar, effective that fall. By April of 1971, Wilkinson made it mandatory for men to shave and cut their hair or risk suspension. Indeed, the BYU president did suspend students in defiance of the code shortly after. Despite Wilkinson's commitment, a formal dress code did not exist until the late 1970s.

Another antiwar pupil was Ralph McDonald, who attended BYU from 1968 to 1969. He remembered "peace marches down University Avenue in Provo—we did have peace marches in Provo." McDonald supposed the

100 Marlowe interview.


102 Ibid., 110.

103 Ibid., 111.

104 Ralph McDonald, interview by author, 17 July 1994, Eugene, Oregon.
marches attracted approximately 500 people, a large estimate considering that Kimball remembered none, Wilson recalled a small rally at a park, and the *Daily Universe* offered no headline. Members of the antiwar group also set up tables to distribute literature. The tables were "shut down."105 Because of the relatively few students involved in antiwar activity, "our input better served working with the University of Utah."106 Unlike others interviewed, McDonald recalled heckling from fellow students, but "no more than elsewhere."107

McDonald's most shocking charge concerned the administration of psychological tests. These tests were given to many "radical" students as official grounds for expulsion. The tests he was "subjected to" included multiple-choice questions and psychological queries like "are you afraid of snakes or spiders?"108 No student could be expelled on the grounds of being a pacifist. Instead, school officials found other reasons. McDonald was not expelled, but "because of antiwar activity, I was asked not to re-register—it would be better if you weren't here next year."109 McDonald knew of other

105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
students who were expelled or suspended for political activity, but none of the charges mentioned the Vietnam conflict.

As McDonald mentioned, distributing literature or petitions was not tolerated. The administration vascillated on this point throughout the Vietnam era. In May of 1970, Executive Vice-President Ben Lewis explained why petitions had been banned:

Because of the tense feelings on many college campuses and the accompanying violence and cancellation of classwork . . . we believe it is in the best interest of our students to ask their cooperation in not circulating petitions on either side of the current controversy at the present time. 110

Later, in the same year, petitions were once again permitted but content was still questioned.

In 1969, McDonald left BYU for West Oregon State University. In this new setting, he noticed a striking difference from the "oppressive policies of BYU." 111 Today, McDonald lives in Eugene, Oregon.

Another area uncompromisingly controlled by the administration was speaker policy. Wilkinson encouraged the "American" ideals and prevented the appearance of such personalities as Gore Vidal, the Shah of Iran, Governor George Wallace, and Jesse Jackson. 112 Instead, commentator Paul Harvey and


111Ibid.
Republican politicians dominated the forum. A Speaker Committee came into existence in 1965, but it had to follow the guidelines personally pitched by President Wilkinson. In 1970, despite protests from ASBYU studentbody officers, Wilkinson surprised the Homecoming Assembly by presenting ultraconservative Republican Senator Barry Goldwater as an impromptu speaker. However, earlier Democratic lecturers, like Senator Robert F. Kennedy, were not as welcome. Kennedy joked to the assembly that "I had a very nice conversation with Dr. Wilkinson, and I promised that all Democrats would be off campus by sundown."113

Wilkinson had definite ideas as to the criteria for speakers at Brigham Young University. In 1966, the president stated that "I am looking for the best speakers in the nation, but they must have honest-to-God American thinking, who inspire us to greater heights rather than sow the seeds of disillusionment."114 What he did not endorse was any atheists, communists, socialists, or those at odds with or antagonistic toward the morals of the church.


114Bergera and Priddis, 200.
In October of 1968, with criticism mounting, Wilkinson defended his speaker policy. The lecture made the front page of the *Daily Universe*:

*We don't want a Communist, a black militant—or for that matter—a white militant to speak on our campus. It is not a matter of black or white, but rather, whether or not the speaker believes in the American system and is willing to abide by it, or seeks to destroy the progress made in the United States.*

The exhortation went on to justify the banishment of communists. "In consideration of the image of BYU, further engagements with Communist speakers were discouraged." To show he had official support, Wilkinson claimed the Board of Trustees had ruled similarly on the issue. The purpose for concentrating on speaker policy is to, once again, show the atmosphere at BYU discouraged academic freedom.

"Letters to the Editor" of the *Daily Universe* provided a scathing attack on Wilkinson's printed speaker policy. Signed by Melvyn J. Harris, the letter alleged the following:

*This church, and especially this school has become the most IMAGE-conscious organization on the face of the earth—our criterion in policy decisions has become more and more not, "What is right?" or "What does God think?", but rather "What will people think?" This kind of criterion is, at best, unreliable and at worst can be demoralizing.*

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116 Ibid. No previous examples of Communist speakers were listed.

Harris continued by linking antiwar sentiment with the controversy:

... there are men in this world who see the Vietnam War as somewhat less than a holy crusade, ... or who have some other "defect" but still have important ideas that they could present in a respectful manner.\textsuperscript{118}

This letter was held up as evidence that the \textit{Daily Universe} would print a letter that challenged Wilkinson in such a scorching way. Furthermore, it expressed a sarcastic doubt that United States involvement in Vietnam should be held up as such an axiom of the western world.

According to Bergera and Priddis, students who published such letters in the newspaper became the subject of investigation by the Office of Student Life "at Wilkinson's instruction."\textsuperscript{119} One letter provoked Wilkinson to demand that the \textit{Daily Universe} refuse to print any more letters from this particular pupil. Dean of Students Cameron stated that the student had been under surveillance, but they failed to "have anything that would justify taking action against him at this point." However, he "promised that after the student's graduation, his office intended to tag [the student's] records so that he will not return to BYU."\textsuperscript{120} The campus media proved to be a powerful source for both reinforcing and challenging administration policy.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{119} Bergera and Priddis, 186.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
The student newspaper, *Daily Universe*, became another concern for university officials, especially since Wilkinson perceived the publication as having a "liberal slant." In response to this, student managing editor Jaron Summers suggested of Wilkinson that "possibly, he's crazy." Summers recalled daily memos from Wilkinson containing suggestions and guidelines. The BYU president "went ballistic" at Summers' use of the word "playboy," claiming it was not a term that was appropriate for an LDS newspaper. "The university felt that it [*Daily Universe*] should reflect the moral and political flavor of the Mormon Church, such as being pro-Vietnam."

Summers remembered getting away with a great deal but claimed that a humor column presented tensions. "The administration didn't know how to take that." When President Lyndon B. Johnson chose not to run for reelection in 1968, the popular press declared that he made the ultimate political sacrifice. Summers wrote that "the blood in Vietnam is the ultimate sacrifice." The administration's response was not favorable. The managing

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121 Ibid., 260.

122 Jaron Summers, interview by author, 26 January 1995, Bel Air, California.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.
editor claimed that he took a great deal of "flack for that one."\textsuperscript{126} In the spring of 1967, Summers sarcastically stated that "we print anything we please and would immediately resign if anyone would dare censor us . . . . Will you excuse me for a couple of hours while our advisor proof reads this column prior to its publication."\textsuperscript{127} After Summers left BYU, Wilkinson insisted on a faculty advisor who would "stay with the paper until it goes to press every night."\textsuperscript{128}

Summers claimed to be one of the more liberal students on campus.\textsuperscript{129} He contended that there were a few antiwar pickets at BYU, but the turnout remained small. "Those kinds of people didn't last at BYU."\textsuperscript{130} Since many antiwar students also embraced free love and other "hippie" ideals, the administration had "lots of ways to get rid of rabble rousers."\textsuperscript{131} The moral standards required for attendance came down on such students.

\textsuperscript{126}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{127}Bergera and Priddis, 260.

\textsuperscript{128}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{129}After graduating in 1968, Summers received his master's degree at UCLA, where he went from being "one of the most liberal on campus to one of the most conservative." As a screenwriter, Summers has written over twenty hours of network television, including episodes of "Star Trek: The Next Generation" and "Miami Vice." He also has published seven novels. Today, Summers lives in Bel Air, California.

\textsuperscript{130}Summers interview.

\textsuperscript{131}Ibid.
The administration chose to reorganize the *Daily Universe* in the late 1960s. BYU hired a full-time newspaper man to supervise students, eventually turning the position into a professional general manager. A staggering list of topics inappropriate for the newspaper included advocacy of communism, advocacy of birth control, debate of church doctrine, ridicule of university officials, and discussion of illicit sex. The long list expanded weeks later to include "attacks on church and BYU policies . . . church policies regarding the war in Vietnam . . . ."\footnote{Bergera and Priddis, 261.} The "Letters to the Editor" column was replaced by a question and answer section in which BYU officials would entertain queries from students. Student editor Pierre Hathaway seemed to go along with the transition, issuing a memo to the staff. The memo admonished them to "report the news, activities, and happenings at BYU in a manner that would be pleasing to our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, our prophet, David O. McKay, the general authorities of the church, our university president, Ernest Wilkinson, and the fulltime staff of the university."\footnote{Ibid.} By early 1970, however, the general manager of *Daily Universe* called for Hathaway's resignation, charging him with "gross irresponsibility" in regards to his choice of editorials and stories. Hathaway later resigned.
Despite the controversy, Hathaway asserted that there existed "no censoring" at the newspaper. The California native contended that the Daily Universe printed just about anything. "I tried to make it well rounded." As for the few students who handed out flyers against the war in Vietnam, "nobody cared." Hathaway remembered more protest against BYU from outsiders, especially at the University of Wyoming and Colorado State University. This "hostile environment" disrupted basketball games at the above institutions, but the fount for such protest mainly flowed from racial issues.

Underground newspapers received more "flack" from university officials. Hathaway spoke of many printed cartoons unfavorable to BYU. The circulation of such underground newspapers was small, "maybe 2000." The most notable, Zion's Opinion, was unavailable at the Lee Library's Special Collections. Printed from October of 1968 to May of 1969, Zion's Opinion was considered a successful effort. Bergera and Priddis wrote that it contained "a predominance of articles and editorials lauding the merits of free press . . . ."

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134 Pierre Hathaway, interview by author, 24 February 1995, Costa Mesa, California.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
138 Bergera and Priddis, 265.
Not surprisingly, Wilkinson failed to be impressed, asking if any legal action could be taken against the "undercover newspaper."

\[139\] Zion's Opinion offered a forum for debate on the Vietnam issue.

The issue of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) gained less debate. Seen as an alternative to the draft, the ROTC received the support of over 90 percent of the student body by 1968.\[140\] By 1971, "BYU boasted the largest entirely voluntary college (army) ROTC program west of Texas."\[141\] Wilkinson strongly encouraged the ROTC's presence on campus. Colonel Gary Stevens, currently Utah's Senior Army Advisor, proudly proclaimed that there was "no burning of the ROTC at BYU."\[142\] Stevens attended BYU from 1965 to 1968, being part of the ROTC program while there. The colonel felt that if BYU students disagreed with foreign policy, "you work within the system of elected officials."\[143\] Instead of protesting, students sent cookies to the soldiers with letters of encouragement. The antiwar movement seemed more active at the University of Utah. "The 'U' was looked down on with disdain."\[144\]

\[139\] Ibid.

\[140\] Ibid., 178.


\[142\] Gary Stevens, interview by author, 8 October 1994, Draper, Utah.

\[143\] Ibid.

\[144\] Ibid.
Wilkinson felt the ROTC cadets should be held up as examples to other students. By contrast, he opposed the presence of the Peace Corps. "Both the Peace Corps and the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), were repeatedly refused permission to recruit on the campus."\(^{145}\) Protest from Utah's business community and the student body alike resulted in the eventual Peace Corps recruiting (1970).

When *Ramparts* magazine began criticizing the war in Vietnam, BYU officials pulled the journal from the shelves.\(^{146}\) President Wilkinson continued his crusade against liberalism and the lack of patriotism until his resignation in 1971.\(^{147}\) The president's staff employee, Jan Izatt, claimed he "was always on the lookout for anything subversive on campus and anytime there were reports of the same, he would really get upset . . . [because] he didn't want anything tainting our campus, and he pretty much saw to it that kind were kept out."\(^{148}\)

BYU remained one of the most conservative campuses in the United States. The religious overtones and the strict threats from the administration failed to shelter the institution from the issues of the day, but they created an atmosphere where those opposed to the Vietnam conflict were labeled as

\(^{145}\)Bergera and Priddis, 180.

\(^{146}\)Ibid., 181.

\(^{147}\)Wilkinson died seven years later in 1978.

\(^{148}\)Bergera and Priddis, 197-198.
"radical" or "unworthy." Overwhelmingly, the studentbody and the faculty embraced those conservative values, but, by 1969, debate concerning Vietnam disrupted the campus' "island of tranquility." Faculty members Hillam, Wilson, and Marlowe came to the defense of students they believed were being ambushed by "McCarthy tactics." Young Democrats President Kader lamented the oppressiveness and lack of free thinking. Liberal student McDonald exposed the use of psychological tests to expel pupils with inappropriate ideology. ASBYU President Walton fought the administration on issues ranging from speaker policy to the distribution of petitions. In the meantime, Daily Universe student editor Summers pushed the limits of conservative journalism, resulting in the restructuring of the newspaper. Wilkinson's iron fist of control created its own ambiguities. Even today, the issue of academic freedom remains far from resolved at BYU.

The "city on the hill," which lets its light shine before men, dimmed somewhat during the Vietnam era. The ethnocentric cold war rhetoric prevented sizable academic growth and failed to shed scholarly light on attitudes and lifestyles outside of the Utah valley.

Colonel Stevens recalled that "[t]he U was looked down on with disdain" because of its antiwar rallies. Students like Ralph McDonald took advantage

\[\text{\textsuperscript{149}Stevens interview.}\]
of this activity at the University of Utah, 40 miles to the north. He claimed that this was where his input was "better served." 150

150 McDonald interview.
CHAPTER 3

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH: TESTING VALUES

The University of Utah, in sharp contrast to Brigham Young University, gained a fiery reputation as Utah's radical, liberal institution. The school's reputation preceded it, but the reality is far less dramatic. Utah's largest state university thrived with social activism and the spirit of an open environment. A sizable number of idealistic students vocalized their convictions, while the administration tolerated this atmosphere. Still, the majority of students of this commuter campus failed to become involved. Even without this majority, the campus made front-page news following the Kent State deaths in the spring of 1970. Activists called for a university-wide strike, as over 400 participated in the infamous Park Building sit-in. The U of U's more cosmopolitan setting, at the heart of Utah's governmental, cultural, business, and population center, offered a kaleidoscope of viewpoints from zealous soothsayers.

James C. Fletcher, president of the University of Utah from 1964 to 1971, was described by Governor Calvin Rampton as "an austere man."\textsuperscript{151} The president never became confrontational with the activist students, a point of criticism from the press and certain members of the administration. As pressure built in 1970, Fletcher explained what he felt the university's role was.

\textsuperscript{151}Calvin L. Rampton, \textit{As I Recall} (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989).
"The fundamental concern of a university is learning . . . [sic] the second factor of primary concern is free and objective inquiry for both students and faculty. Free and objective inquiry does not mean 'free speech' or 'academic freedom,' but rather an emotional approach to man and nature."\textsuperscript{152}

Although Fletcher did not become as involved in student issues as Academic Vice-President Alfred C. Emery and Vice-President of Student Affairs Virginia Frobes, the controversy touched him personally. Rampton wrote that "Fletcher considered resigning because although we had not had a great deal of violence on our campus, there had been a steady tension. He felt that he was unable to handle it, and he was very disturbed."\textsuperscript{153} Alfred C. Emery added that Fletcher "was uncomfortable in dealing with students during the Vietnam period."\textsuperscript{154} Instead, Emery often dealt with these students.

Before 1967, antiwar organizations made little impact on the University of Utah. By the fall of that year, hundreds of Vietnam War dissenters marched through the capital city, having been organized through the U of U's April Committee. The April Committee, called "our local New Leftist organization"


\textsuperscript{153}Rampton, 217.

\textsuperscript{154}Alfred C. Emery, Interview by Everett L. Cooley, 27 October to 17 November 1987, Marriott Library, Manuscripts Division, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 42.
by the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, sponsored marches throughout the 1967-1968 school year. The most dramatic of those occurred on October 21, 1967. Starting at Salt Lake's Federal Building, a few hundred demonstrators peacefully carried signs through the downtown district, regrouping at the Federal Building for speeches. Signs read "Hell No, We Won't Go," "Did Jesus Preach Napalm," "Today Vietnam, Tomorrow the World," and "Stop Killing of Millions of Individuals."  

*Chronicle* writer J. Bauman observed that not all demonstrators were students. "They were a sharp looking bunch of marchers; businessmen, housewives, students, hippies, professors."

One passing motorist called the marchers cowards, but Bauman's notice reflected very little heckling or animosity.

As innocuous as the march seemed, six students were arrested that day for attempting to block the entry to the Armed Forces Entrance and Examining Station at 438 South Main. Claiming to act as an individual, not for a group, one student, Stephen Holbrook, stated that the demonstration was "in conjunction with our brothers across the nation who are getting beaten and maimed."  

The protestors went limp upon being arrested. Five hours later, 

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156 Ibid.  

they were out on bail. Another demonstrator, Harold "Hal" Noakes, commented on the friendliness of the Salt Lake City police, despite a lady in booking who thought "the dissenters of the war should be lined up against the wall and shot."\textsuperscript{158}

Often called the spokesman for the April Committee, Noakes felt the group "was not that organized."\textsuperscript{159} Despite the fact that hundreds of students might march, he remembered that "probably thirty or forty people were really active, coming to meetings. Maybe a dozen oversaw the work."\textsuperscript{160} Meetings were frequently held in houses or churches, since the April Committee failed to become a sanctioned campus organization. Noakes contended that the Unitarian Church and the Nonsectarian Christ Center were sympathetic to their cause, providing a sanctuary for the "Aprilmen." Committee members were "primarily non-LDS, although there were several LDS members."\textsuperscript{161} The goal of the organization, according to Noakes, was to "bring truth to the outrage."\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{158}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{159}Harold L. Noakes, interview by author, 12 October 1994, Charlottesville, Virginia.

\textsuperscript{160}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{161}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{162}Ibid.
Noakes recalled a great deal of hostility. The liberal reputation of the U of U was "exaggerated." The campus could be described as clean cut and straight during the late 1960s. By contrast, the April Committee appeared to be "an odd concentration of the non-primary culture of the University of Utah." The small group thrived on publicity. "Everything we did was to be conspicuous. It was advertising."

Noakes alleged that the FBI had infiltrated the antiwar group at the U of U. Certain members were turned over to HUAC, "presented with this guy's testimony." The FBI also took photographs. Stephen Holbrook, one of the protesters arrested at the Armed Forces Entrance and Examining Station, relished the attention. "We enjoyed all that mugging for the FBI." He contended that FBI and police informants were not uncommon, especially after the April Committee had changed its name in 1968 to the United Front Against the War (UFAW).

163 Ibid.
164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
167 Stephen Holbrook, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 10 November 1994.
Holbrook, spokesman for UFAW, maintained that the organization was "careful to share (organization information) with the police."\textsuperscript{168} Still, some protesters tended to goad the police at rallies, a practice discouraged by Holbrook. One demonstrator put red dye in a city fountain. Others called officers "pigs." The university, not city, police were seen as the adversary of antiwar protesters. Holbrook asserted that they were "tapping phones" and stalking organization members.

From 1968 to 1971, Holbrook described the U of U as having "an active anti-war campus."\textsuperscript{169} The purpose of UFAW was to "help steer the anti-war community in a responsible way."\textsuperscript{170} Despite the active antiwar campus, Holbrook had only a vague memory of draft card burning. Symbols of communist or socialist icons were dissuaded. Holbrook recalled one activist named Mike Hansen, who persisted in displaying photographs of Mao Tse-Tung and Stalin. As spokesman, Holbrook argued that these symbols failed to represent the group. Weeks later, Hansen hijacked an airplane to Cuba and ended up in a federal prison. Although UFAW sought inclusion of most antiwar activists, it did not seek out those who would embarrass the

\textsuperscript{168}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{169}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{170}Ibid.
organization with radical behavior.\textsuperscript{171}

Like Noakes, Holbrook remembered a small number of students involved in planning meetings. About 30 to 50 would participate. By contrast, up to "five thousand marched to the Federal Building," in the fall of 1970. UFAW was the prime organizer. One countergroup, Young Americans for Freedom, would often show up to heckle demonstrators, according to Holbrook. Another organization, Vietnam Vets Against the War (VVAW), originated in 1970, but "were suspicious at first, not wanting to deal with the UFAW."\textsuperscript{172} Described as an angry group by Holbrook, VVAW failed to become involved with campus groups. Still, by 1970, demonstrations in downtown Salt Lake City were attended by a wide cross section of the population, not merely by University of Utah students. Up until 1971, UFAW remained the central catalyst in organizing these demonstrations, whether they took place on Main Street or on campus.

As a dominant source for the community's activism, UFAW became concerned over an editorial broadcast by KSL, Salt Lake City's LDS-owned CBS affiliate. The 1968 editorial supported the war in Vietnam and offered to let those who disagreed to answer. When Holbrook took the station up on this

\textsuperscript{171}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{172}Ibid.
offer, they "would not let us respond."\(^{173}\) KSL claimed that "being against the
war was irresponsible."\(^{174}\) Convinced that communication through mass media
remained essential to local activism, Holbrook founded KRCL radio in 1979.
As others fell from advocacy, Holbrook continued to have a voice in the
community, serving three terms in Utah's House of Representatives and
spearheading Project 2000, an organization planning for Utah's future.

As Holbrook labored with UFAW, SDS also emerged as a presence on
the U of U campus. Originally the Student League for Industrial Democracy
(SLID), SDS was restructured in 1961 at the University of Michigan in Ann
Arbor. Led by Tom Hayden, Al Haber, and Bob Ross, SDS sowed the seeds of
student activism against the Vietnam conflict. By 1966, SDS had headquarters
in Chicago, maintaining mostly a white, middle class membership.\(^{175}\) Often
viewed as an undesirable element on a university campus, SDS gained access
to the U of U in 1969 through Alfred C. Emery, who remembered the local
origin of the organization:

> When SDS was trying to organize on the campus, and Jim
> (Fletcher) was out of town and I was acting president, the student
> affairs board recommended that SDS be recognized. Now I don't
> think Jim would have approved it, but I was acting president, and

\(^{173}\)Ibid.

\(^{174}\)Ibid.

I believed they had a constitutional right to be recognized, so I recognized SDS. When Jim came back, there was never one word of criticism about the matter; I had made the decision within my authority. It turned out there were about five hundred people at the meeting where they decided to recognize SDS. The next meeting there were about twenty people there. The student from Penn or Penn State who organized the SDS chapter on our campus, said . . . that when he came out here he expected to organize an active SDS chapter, but he found out it was impossible. Everywhere else he'd been, he found that the students were liberal, the faculty was mixed and the administration was reactionary. He said in Utah, he suddenly found out that the students were conservative, the faculty was mixed, and the administration was liberal.176

Emery's recollection showed a reluctance to embrace SDS at the University of Utah. The students were depicted as the conservative element, shying away from the "radical" SDS en masse. Still, the national organization gained a small, but spirited following on campus. The size of membership varied from a handful to a couple of hundred, according to Kathy Collard, SDS President in 1970. Countering Noakes, Collard stated that most of the activists, particularly in SDS, were "dyed in the wool or cultural Mormons," born and raised in Utah.177 She also contended that the local SDS was like a Christian movement, promoting charity and love, as well as opposition to the Vietnam War.

The U of U's SDS chapter sponsored antiwar marches "almost everyday,

176 Emery interview.

177 Kathy Collard, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 1 November 1994.
at least twice a week.\textsuperscript{178} Collard's estimations differed sharply from Emery's account, which painted SDS as somewhat of a flop. Perhaps the turnout was relatively small, but obviously enthusiastic, as shown by the frequency of demonstrations.

By 1970, the national SDS had gone from organizing nonviolent marches to involvement in vehement skirmishes. This negative stigma hurt SDS at the U of U. Collard declared that "people thought we were more dangerous and intimidating than we were."\textsuperscript{179} Still, many curiosity seekers observed SDS meetings without participating. Collard insisted that the university was "not a politically conscious campus. People were asleep."\textsuperscript{180}

Like Holbrook, Collard recalled being harrassed by the university police. She alleged that members of SDS were under "electronic surveillance."\textsuperscript{181} Evidence of this came to light for Collard after she was accepted to the University of Utah's Law School in 1972. She maintained that the university police tried to prevent her acceptance to law school by exposing her tape-recorded conversations to the acceptance committee. The taped conversations were supposed to show her radical influences and irresponsible

\textsuperscript{178}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{179}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{180}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{181}Ibid.
viewpoints. Despite the underhanded attempt by the university police, she was accepted to law school. The incident was not revealed to her until after she had been in the law program for several months. Activism on campus "nurtured my whole legal career."\(^{182}\) She called the era "an exciting, magic time. What you did could have an impact."\(^{183}\) As a result of her U of U experience, she remains involved in social activism. Collard currently practices environmental and civil rights law in Salt Lake City.

All was not love and peace between the administration and SDS. SDS challenged the legitimacy of having the ROTC on campus, claiming it "restricts academic freedom because of its structure."\(^{184}\) The group wanted ROTC removed from campus "to show disapproval of the Vietnamese war."\(^{185}\) Such a request met with deaf ears. Virginia Frobes, supposed defender of the "open university," accused SDS of violating speaker policy by hosting Elena Dillon of the Progressive Labor Party. SDS claimed ignorance of the speaker approval policy, maintaining their charter after an Associated Students of U of U

\(^{182}\)Ibid. Collard graduated from the University of Utah Law School in 1974.

\(^{183}\)Ibid.


\(^{185}\)Ibid.
judiciary hearing. 186

Despite the efforts of SDS and UFAW, the University of Utah did not reach a pinnacle of activism until the spring of 1970, following President Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia (April 30) and the killing of four student demonstrators at Kent State University (May 4). Consequently, the U of U experienced a massive sit-in at the Park Building (administration), a campus-wide vote on a university strike, and the storming of the campus newspaper, Daily Utah Chronicle, by war protesters. Randy Dryer served as ASUU president during this tense period. In his elected position, Dryer insisted the students be allowed to exercise their democratic rights, yet attempted to avoid any escalation in violence.

On May 5, UFAW called for a campus-wide strike. One activist was quoted in the Universe, "We've got to bring the campus to its knees . . . close it down—let them know we won't allow cold-blooded murder here. Close the campus down a couple of days, weeks, who knows." 187 Dryer quickly asserted his control over the situation, setting a time for a strike vote at the end of the week. The ASUU president issued this statement:


The Associated Students of the University of Utah recognizes that all groups and/or individuals at the university have the constitutional freedom and responsibility to express their viewpoints; however, the studentbody president represents the official voice of the students... I am the only one who can speak for the entire studentbody in any official capacity and I am calling for a studentbody vote. It is extremely important to realize that as of Tuesday (May 5) ASUU is not on strike.  

Dryer insisted that ASUU be actively involved in campus politics. He intended the organization to be "a legitimate voice of the students." Still, he "couldn't let a minority of students stand for the studentbody, even if I was sympathetic to those opposing the war."  

Over 9,000 students participated in the vote the following Friday (May 8). There were 6,312 opposed to the action taken by the National Guard at Kent State, and 1,594 supported the Guard. On Nixon's Cambodian policy, 4,668 voted against, while 3,556 backed him up. As for the strike itself, the studentbody voted it down, 3,432 to 5,911. These numbers show that the university appeared divided over the issue of Vietnam. While a slim majority condemned Nixon's latest strategic move, a sizable sample rejected the strike.

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189 Randy Dryer, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 11 December 1994, telephone.

190 Ibid.

Despite the rejection, the Kent State and Cambodia incidents successfully buoyed the antiwar students. Demonstrations continued.

Dryer openly admitted to being against the war, but "I was not for taking over the campus." In his assessment, "The U of U had a tremendous amount of [anti-war] action, on and off campus." He credited the administration for not letting it escalate. In turn, Emery spoke highly of Dryer. Emery admitted that Dryer was a liberal, but "he was never, however, involved in the early part with the demonstrations. He believed in doing it through the system."

The ASUU president maintained a positive rapport with the antiwar students. He knew Holbrook and Collard, contending that "they trusted me." Dryer recalled an incident where 125 protesters gathered near the dormitories. Approximately 45 members of the football team decided to "show the hippies a thing or two." Dryer ended up between the two groups. "I felt for my own safety." As mediator, Dryer diffused the situation. "None of these football players knew these protesters or vice versa, but they all knew me. The football players did not feel I was one of the protesters." The ASUU president

192 Dryer interview.
193 Emery interview.
194 Dryer interview.
took his role as arbiter very seriously.\textsuperscript{195}

Dryer's mediation skills would be needed again when the U of U's antiwar movement reached its zenith: the sit-in at the Park Building. Demonstrators, including UFAW members, presented a list of demands, such as the abolition of the National Guard from campus, the eradication of speaker and literature policy, and termination of meeting restrictions.\textsuperscript{196} President Fletcher, in a statement issued on May 7, refused to meet these demands.\textsuperscript{197} Dave Mason of \textit{The Chronicle} estimated that 400 to 500 students participated in a sit-in at the Park Building's second floor foyer. Provost Thomas King read university regulations to the crowd, at which time "most of the group left."\textsuperscript{198} Still, over 80 students remained, resulting in Campus Security transporting them downtown to be booked. King announced that the protesters were officially suspended on the grounds that demonstrations must be confined to the exterior of all university buildings and not interfere with the orderliness

\textsuperscript{195}Ibid. Still using his skills as mediator, Dryer became an attorney, practicing in Salt Lake City. He specializes in civil litigation and is the media lawyer for the \textit{Deseret News} and KUTV television (Salt Lake's NBC affiliate). He also served as the president of the Utah Bar Association and is currently the chairman of the Utah Sports Authority.


\textsuperscript{197}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{198}Ibid.
and safety of students or faculty. Meanwhile, over 200 watched as the protesters were escorted out of the building. Holbrook and Collard were among those arrested. Collard proudly called the detained activists the "Utah 81."

Dryer called the Park Building incident "a tense time." He remembered negotiating with students and holding the city police at bay. "It was most volatile because of the large number of demonstrators and the pressure from downtown businessmen, who wanted the city police sent. It would've escalated the situation." Dryer recalled that as each protester was arrested, his/her name was called out over a blow horn, resulting in cheers from the assembled crowd. The crowd's potential reaction to the city policy frightened not only Dryer but the administration as well.

Alfred Emery alleged that the students at the Park Building wanted to be arrested; "to them this was a statement that they meant what they said, a statement to the community." Fletcher summoned Emery to the scene to talk to the protesters. "They sat in a fashion that they did not interfere . . . . I suggested that they might just as well let them stay until five o'clock, close the building, and call the students trespassers, and arrest them. That happened."
Eventually, the charges were dropped and suspension was lifted on the "Utah 81." The Park Building incident proved to be the peak of the antiwar movement's influence on the U of U campus. The strike vote and Park building sit-in dominated an especially dramatic week at the University of Utah. In addition to the other episodes, that same week, antiwar students stormed the campus offices of the student newspaper, *Daily Utah Chronicle*.

Reports from the *Chronicle* asserted that 150 to 200 high-school and college students charged both the *Chronicle* office and the University Printing Service. These protesters supported the aforementioned campus-wide strike. By taking over the campus newspaper, the group would be able to print their own editorials against action taken in Cambodia and Kent State. One demonstrator was quoted in the *Chronicle* as saying, "We . . . wanted our own strike issue to be printed and we came up to press to put it out ourselves."\(^{202}\) The group met with opposition from Angelyn Nelson Hutchinson, *Chronicle* editor-in-chief. Hutchinson explained her reaction in the same *Chronicle* article:

> I regret the action taken tonight by students who totaled less than one half of one per cent of the studentbody. Their actions can only cloud and damage what is legitimate concern over Cambodia and Kent State. The students demanded front page coverage of the planned strike. I explained repeatedly to them that front page space had been provided for the Tuesday night

\(^{201}\)Ibid.

rally where the strike was planned. The responsibilities of the Chronicle have been intrusted to me, and I will not turn it over to those who desire to further their own purposes.\textsuperscript{203}

Hutchinson called the incident "very traumatic at the time."\textsuperscript{204} For approximately three days, the campus newspaper had to be printed off campus, in Bountiful. Editorial control was never relinquished.

In retrospect, Hutchinson recalled a great deal of pressure from antiwar students to make the Chronicle a forum for their viewpoints. By contrast, she claimed that neither Fletcher nor the administration "came down on me."\textsuperscript{205} The newspaper could maintain its editorial integrity, regardless of radical or conservative influences.

Hutchinson insisted that despite the controversy, the U of U was a commuter campus where most people were concerned with going to school and getting a job. "People think the U's more liberal than it is." Still, the university is "more liberal than other schools in the state."\textsuperscript{206} Any influences of an antiwar movement "didn't really take hold until after Kent State." The

\textsuperscript{203}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{204}Angelyn Nelson Hutchinson, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 13 October 1994. Hutchinson, a 1971 graduate of the U of U, now serves as Assistant City Editor at the Deseret News in Salt Lake City. She also worked eight years at the Salt Lake Tribune.

\textsuperscript{205}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{206}Ibid.
Chronicle attempted to report news in an unbiased fashion, notwithstanding the editorials, which alternated sharply in its support for and against the war in Vietnam. The Vietnam issue was not the only game in town. "Most of the kids were just trying to get through school. Most didn't have time to be involved in protests."207

The Chronicle did meet controversy following the appearance of antiwar speaker Jerry Rubin. Rubin, co-founder of the Youth International Party (YIP), uttered several profane four-letter words on stage. The Chronicle printed Rubin's exclamations. Hutchinson stressed that "the U took a tremendous amount of flack for that."208 Alumni called. City sponsors threatened to back out of Chronicle advertising. Emery claimed that "because of Jerry Rubin's performance the people were threatening our budget with the legislature."209 Despite this, Fletcher stood by Hutchinson. As for her decision to print the profanity, Hutchinson declared that "in context it was important."210 This episode illustrated the administration's tendency to back up the Daily Utah Chronicle, even if the consequences were unpleasant. The relative freedom

207Ibid.
208Ibid.
209Emery interview.
210Hutchinson interview.
given the campus newspaper assured cogent and passionate debate about the Asian conflict.

The *Chronicle* remained the dominant force for campus news and discussion. Underground or alternative newspapers and flyers did exist on the University of Utah campus. Hutchinson, Collard, and Holbrook testified as to the existence, however limited, of these works. Unfortunately, the U of U's Special Collections failed to amass any samples of these publications. Subjects interviewed also fell short of producing any archetypes.

As the Kent State issue continued to rage at the University of Utah, Dryer, Hutchinson, and five other students flew to Washington, D.C. to meet with Utah congressmen concerning antiwar activity. Dryer told the *Chronicle*, "I am here mainly . . . to give them a firsthand account of what's been happening here at the University." Dryer and Hutchinson's accounts of the trips were conflicting. Dryer alleged that the leaders "thought there wasn't much concern in Utah, which was not the case. We convinced them that the students in Utah were concerned. It was not just East and West coast students demonstrating." Hutchinson asserted that "our congressmen thought the U was ready to burn down. We set the record straight. It really wasn't as wild as

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212 Dryer interview.
it seemed.\textsuperscript{213} Any information gleaned from this incident showed that Utah's congressional leaders felt it an issue worthy of discussion.

Credited with U of U's relative unrest during the Vietnam era, Emery advised Fletcher and met with students on a one-on-one basis. He firmly maintained that the university's respect for students stifled much of the anger of the antiwar movement. At the U of U, students gained access to many committees, such as Activities, Student Behavioral, Promotional, and even the Tenure Committee.\textsuperscript{214} Emery lauded the Vice-President of Student Affairs, Virginia Frobes, for her "democratic attitude," and "respect for student rights . . ." in assuring that they be represented on committees.\textsuperscript{215} "Administrations at other schools put students on committees and involved them in university affairs simply because it wasn't worth a riot to keep them out. Virginia put them on because they had something to add, an input that was worthwhile."\textsuperscript{216}

Frobes, the first female vice-president at U of U, insisted that the students protested "to test the values of the society."\textsuperscript{217} Strongly approving of

\textsuperscript{213}Hutchinson interview.

\textsuperscript{214}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{215}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{216}Ibid., 97.
an "open university," Frobes never felt that the demonstrators were out of hand, although she recalled the bombing of an abandoned building adjacent to the ROTC.\textsuperscript{218} The environment of the university was one where religion was "never forced upon me," while even active LDS administrators semed "sympathetic to our definition of an open university."\textsuperscript{219} Still a booster for the University of Utah, Frobes went as far as to call this era "the camelot of higher education."\textsuperscript{220} She strived to create an atmosphere of respect, where administrators exhibited a higher degree of tolerance. The faculty also appeared "open to reason," while the Law School offered "legal advice to the administration and students,"\textsuperscript{221} concerning the draft and demonstrating.

Certain faculty members, like Dr. Jack H. Adamson, supported Frobes' idealistic "open university." Remarks made by Adamson at the 1970 Convocation of the College of Letters and Science revealed a pragmatic, yet understanding, approach to the Vietnam issue. Claiming to understand the current generation as much as any generation can understand another, Adamson contended that the youths were born too late to remember the

\textsuperscript{217}Virginia Frobes of Salt Lake City, interview by author, 1 February 1995, Salt Lake City.

\textsuperscript{218}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{219}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{220}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{221}Ibid.
horrors of World War II. Instead, they were confronted by an undeclared war with ambiguous goals. "And so there grew in many of our young people the deep conviction that something was wrong, that the direction of things must be changed. They began to attempt that change, only to find a strange new situation which had arisen... in America." Adamson hoped that future historians could write that "there arose a new generation which turned away from the jungles of Asia... a generation which looked homeward—with compassion." A public voice of empathy from an administrator or faculty member helped create an atmosphere where pupils could test the values Frobes spoke of. Still, even after such an environment was encouraged, students did not rush into antiwar organizations.

Evidence from those interviewed showed that the University of Utah had an active, dedicated antiwar movement. The environment created by administrators like Fletcher, Emery, and Frobes encouraged the lofty ideal of an "open university." Criticism of these demonstrators remained at a minimum. Organizers like Holbrook tenaciously coordinated demonstrations. The April Committee, and later the UFAW, planned protests and recruited support. SDS also gained a presence on campus. The events following the

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222 Elizabeth Haglund, ed., Remembering: The University of Utah (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1981), 184.

223 Ibid., 189.
Kent State deaths attested to the intensity of student unrest at the school. Such correlation and zeal made the antiwar movement an acknowledged factor at the University of Utah.

Despite the ambition and the persistence of the antiwar groups, relatively few students actually participated. The overwhelming majority of U of U students went about their daily business without joining demonstrations. Holbrook claimed that a rally could amass thousands, especially with help from the metropolitan community. Still, UFAW planning meetings only garnered about 30 to 50. Emery pointed out that SDS support dropped dramatically after it gained university recognition. Hutchinson put it best when she noticed that "most of the kids were just trying to get through school."\(^{224}\) Even though the U of U had an active antiwar movement, the movement never gained the endorsement of a majority of the students. The proposed campus strike of 1970 was voted down by a small, but significant majority. Utah's congressmen did not need to worry. The University of Utah remained stable, even if agitation did exist.

The University of Utah's kaleidoscope of viewpoints pervaded campus life. The Vietnam issue received wide coverage in the *Chronicle*. Debate was encouraged by an administration that gave more than lip service to academic freedom. Still, the majority of students of this commuter campus failed to

\(^{224}\)Hutchinson interview.
become involved. Reality proved the school to be relatively harmless and safe.

As Frobes saw it, the students were just "testing values."
CHAPTER 4

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY: A DISTANT REFLECTION

Isolated in the Cache Valley city of Logan, Utah State University (USU), an institution known for agriculture, engineering, and business, experienced sporadic displays of anti-Vietnam War activity. The overall conservative nature of the community and campus resulted in a moderate backlash that discouraged a large antiwar movement from ever taking hold. Still, marches against Dow Chemical, a political party, underground newspapers, and an official Antiwar Week emerged from the Vietnam controversy. The university administration did not appear especially concerned about the protesters, who managed to add creativity and zest to an otherwise dead horse.

Glen L. Taggart became president of Utah State University in 1968. Due to timing, Taggart assumed leadership when the Vietnam issue became potentially divisive at USU. His predecessor, President Daryl Chase, had to deal with little of this controversy, since the antiwar movement at USU started belatedly. Dean of Students Claude J. Burtenshaw contended that Taggart rarely dealt with the issue either. Although Taggart appeared "always concerned," he "didn't seem to think it was that big."\(^{225}\) Burtenshaw claimed

that the president seemed happy to let me handle it."226

Burtenshaw remembered agitators at USU, but on a smaller scale. He
called USU a "distant reflection of other campuses."227 Instead of fighting the
protesters, the Dean of Students claimed to have protected them from
countergroups who wanted to face off against them. One such countergroup
was the Rodeo Club. The Rodeo Club consisted of "extreme conservative boys.
To have them [demonstrators] on campus was a threat to their
Americanism."228 Consequently, while demonstrators camped in tents on the
Quad, members of the Rodeo Club threw explosives into the crowd. No one
was injured, but the explosive made a hole near one of the tents.

As Dean of Students, Burtenshaw dealt directly with the demonstrators.
He asserted that he "played along with them so they would feel their speech
wasn't interfered with."229 The Vietnam issue produced "lots of discussion" on
campus, according to Burtenshaw, but never got out of control.230

Certain members of the faculty lent support to the antiwar students. One

226 Ibid.
227 Ibid.
228 Ibid. Burtenshaw asserted that the Rodeo Club was hosting a meet,
thus, the bomb-throwing incident could have involved visiting students from
another university.
229 Ibid.
230 Ibid.
such faculty member was Thomas Lyon of the English Department. Lyon was one of approximately five USU professors who signed an advertisement for the New York Times, calling for President Johnson to end the war. Lyon recollected the summer of 1967 as the Vietnam Summer, in which he and student volunteers went door to door throughout Logan campaigning against the war. This experience "wasn't so nice. People were frosty." Otherwise, Lyon insisted there was little hostility, since there "was not enough heat to generate opposition. It was definitely not an active campus." The administration offered "no pressure of any sort." Instead, pressure came from other faculty members. Lyon remembered isolated incidents in which his viewpoints were challenged, at university and private functions, by USU colleagues. Still, Lyon recalled no profoundly negative incident.

As Lyon downplayed the significance of any antiwar movement, student protester and organizer Dayne Goodwin painted the relatively small group as tenacious and ambitious. He described the group as "a growing minority who

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231 Thomas Lyon, Logan, interview by author, 29 March 1995. The Times advertisement referred to by Lyon was not found. He speculated that it was printed around 1967. Curators in USU's Special Collections failed to recall such an advertisement.

232 Ibid.

233 Ibid.
had concerns and interest. Goodwin also referred to a somewhat strong counterculture at USU that remained "intertwined" with the antiwar effort. This group stayed, according to Goodwin, "alienated from the dominant society." As a whole, he felt that most of the students at USU tended to be uninformed and apathetical. An antiwar crusader would be considered an anomaly in the Cache Valley community.

"The surrounding community was very conservative. Many felt the university shouldn't stand for it [demonstrating] or let it affect their kids who went to school." As one of the "liberal" demonstrators, Goodwin often surprised detractors by presenting his local credentials. He graduated in 1964 from South Cache High School in Hyrum, Utah, seven miles south of Logan. This silenced critics who challenged him as an outside agitator. Still, Goodwin acknowledges that a "higher percentage of radicals were out of staters or non LDS."  

The backlash against antiwar students mainly came in the form of name

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234 Dayne Goodwin, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 8 January 1995.

235 Ibid.

236 Ibid.

237 Ibid. Goodwin remained in the state of Utah. He was only a "serious" student at USU for one year, 1967-1968. He lost interest in school but stayed on campus working at the Merrill Library. He was an active force in campus politics, advocating socialism, until the mid-1970s. Today, Goodwin is employed at the University of Utah's Marriott Library.
calling. Goodwin alleged that the demonstrators endured heckling, verbal abuse, and some threats. The John Birch Society also worked against the "radicals" by circulating negative pamphlets to warn the community about the dissenters. Specifically, Goodwin spoke of a flyer distributed by the John Birch Society to discredit a student named Jack Alvord. Alvord wanted to start a local chapter of SDS. The flyer attacked Alvord as a "troublemaker," who would disrupt and influence the youth of USU. SDS never gained access to Utah State University.

The main source of debate, according to Goodwin, was the faculty. "A minority of students who were radical got support from some of the faculty but got mostly hostility from the campus community." Goodwin observed that students were less likely to join in the discussion.

Derald Alcorn, former editor of the Crucible, USU's publication of student writing and art, recollected "a lot of intellectual sentiment against the war, especially in liberal arts." USU's anti-Vietnam War movement was

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238Ibid.

239Ibid. The John Birch pamphlet, or flyer on Jack Alvord, was not produced by USU's Special Collections or Goodwin. Goodwin's recollections about the pamphlet are presented as fact only as it came up in his interview, not as a viable piece of evidence.

240Ibid.

241Derald Alcorn, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 2 January 1965. Alcorn graduated from Utah State University in 1970.
described as a "very small group of active protesters who make a lot of noise." Alcorn participated in one of these demonstrations. Unlike Goodwin's assessment of the atmosphere, he "didn't feel uncomfortable speaking my mind about the war." This could be explained by the fact that Goodwin began participating in small demonstrations as early as the fall of 1967, when antiwar support appeared more diminutive. Alcorn's cooperation came the following school year.

The subsequent managing editor of Student Life for the 1967-1968 school year was Lynn Packer, who received an invitation for a journalist's tour of Vietnam. Already against the war, Packer hooked up with former Michigan governor George Romney in Vietnam. Romney came to the conclusion that the American people "were being brainwashed." Packer returned to Logan with a distinctive vantage point for discussing war issues in Student Life. The managing editor recalled no pressure from USU administration concerning content, but joked that he would have ignored them anyway. USU "was not as dialed into foreign affairs" as other schools, he contended. Ironically, in late 1968, Packer was drafted. He considered going to Canada but decided to go

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242 Ibid.

243 Lynn Packer, Farmington, Utah, interview by author, 3 January 1995. Packer became a television news reporter at KSL, Salt Lake's CBS affiliate. He also taught at BYU. Today, he is a freelance journalist for German television.

244 Ibid.
through with the military service. Even while in Vietnam, Packer remained fervently antiwar. Several months later, he returned to Utah. "Especially in the West, most of us didn't care about the war until it impacted our lives."

The *Student Life* remained the dominant source of news for the USU studentbody, but many attempts at an underground newspaper occurred. *Reach*, edited by antiwar student Bart Robinson, tried to "stimulate thought and discussion" in 1966 and 1967. Jim Green's *The Pot*, starting in October of 1967, was a more ambitious and strident effort. James J. Platt and Goodwin were among the staff. The publication fancied itself as a "peace eye." In one of its first editorials, *The Pot* strived to define its purpose:

> We hope to bother many, irk some, poke many, tickle some, sway a few, and merely keep some awake. We don't give a damn about apathy.

A few issues later, Green further expressed the goals of the paper. "We have attempted to inform, prod, and stimulate this campus." In certain cases, *The Pot* succeeded at creating controversy. One article, written by Dayne Goodwin, was entitled "Why Do Mormons Kill?" In this editorial, Goodwin

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245 Ibid.


248 Ibid.

argued that true-blue Mormons should be antiwar. "I cannot believe that anyone who carefully reads and records and gets an overview of the gospel plan would hesitate to declare his conscientious objection to war." The inclusion of nude drawings and advertisements detailing the U.S. "atrocities in Vietnam" assured that The Pot would have a short life. It was gone by the spring of 1967.

The next antiwar newspaper, Genesis, began in the fall of 1968. Once again, Goodwin was on board as coeditor, sharing the title with journalist Andrew Zisper. Platt also participated. This new effort had "a desire to correct those ills which we observed." The war in Vietnam seemed to be the most commonly observed ill. Genesis published a scathing blast of the draft:

In a democracy, it is the responsibility of every citizen to question government policy and to take corresponding action . . . to follow the dictates of a government without question, or, even worse, is to submit to totalitarianism and a denial of individual worth. This December issue of Genesis would be their last. The newspaper ran out of funds.

Utah State's yearbook, Buzzer, 1968-1969, showed a photograph of a table set up in the Taggart Student Center to support the G.I.s for Peace. The flyer


admonished readers to "join the new action army."

A gathering at Union Plaza (outside of the Taggart Student Center) debated a G.I.'s legal right to dissent and the "injustices of the system." Text next to these photographs read as follows:

> It was straight down the line Vietnam. The same old arguments. . . . The crowds amalgamated around the table between classes and looked at the Easter demonstration posters . . . a crescendo of arguments and people. Is it really a matter of loyalty indoctrination or open inquiry? People on both sides were uptight.

This notice in the *Buzzer* illustrated that Vietnam became an issue in the halls of the student center (or Union Building as it was known). The text, which opined that it was "the same old arguments," revealed that this debate was common and divisive. Whether or not the majority of students cared, discussion pervaded the halls.

Debate on Vietnam also permeated the Center for the Study of the Causes of War and the Conditions for Peace. As Lyon described it, the Center began in the mid-1960s as the brainchild of former USU President, Daryl Chase and philanthropist O.C. Tanner.254 The purpose of the Center was to hold symposiums, which would add prestige to the university as a mecca for

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252 Dan Burke, ed., *Buzzer 1969* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1969), 180. The *Buzzer* was USU's yearbook, which was discontinued in 1973.

253 Ibid.

254 Lyon interview.
scholarly research on the topic. After national publicity and high backing, the Center "fizzed out" a few years later.\textsuperscript{255} While in use, the Center sponsored convocations, such as the one held on November 8, 1967. \textit{Student Life}, USU's student newspaper, described the event as having representatives from various universities throughout the intermountain west. The topic discussed was "Are there principles which have been or can be embodied in international laws that a world citizen should uphold, even if they conflict with his responsibilities as a citizen of his nation?"\textsuperscript{256} Similar convocations occurred sporadically throughout the Vietnam era.

Goodwin alleged that the Center was "not real significant" but confessed that "it was [significant] for me."\textsuperscript{257} The student organizer claimed to have met open-minded people there. "It was good for me to find some faculty who were grappling with the issue."\textsuperscript{258} Goodwin also became acquainted with like-minded students through his participation in the Center's activities.

Chronologically, the first significant antiwar demonstration at USU occurred in the spring of 1968. Twenty-six protesters, led by organizers James "J.J." Platt and Bart Robinson, marched against the Dow Chemical Co., the

\textsuperscript{255}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{256}"Student Institute Events: War and Peace Discussion," \textit{Utah State University Student Life}, 6 November 1967, 3.

\textsuperscript{257}Goodwin interview.

\textsuperscript{258}Ibid.
manufacturers of napalm. Dow, a target at many other campus revolts, arrived at USU to interview and recruit. Student Life's Andrew Zisper described the incident:

The demonstrators, wearing black armbands and handing out leaflets headed "We must never say 'I didn't know!', gathered a crowd estimated at 400 by the plaza. For the first twenty minutes there was no disturbance except a few catcalls and hissing. Then several male students suddenly launched a half dozen water balloons on the demonstrators as they walked by. No one reported being hit by a balloon, but a fist fight developed when an unidentified student, not in the demonstration, tried to restrain one of the balloon throwers. He was hit in the face by a blow that broke his glasses and cut him above the eye, causing a gash that necessitated stitches. Beyond this incident there was no violence, and the demonstration continued peacefully until the group moved into the Sunburst Lounge for discussion.

Platt remembered the water balloons, verbal threats, and "lots of angry cowboy types." The Dow protest stirred up a great deal of emotion, even some violence, at Utah State, but still involved only a small number of demonstrators. Platt's organization, the Student Freedom Party (SFP), planned the march. Simultaneously, the SFP was planning a takeover of USU's student organization.

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259 Andrew Zisper, "Dow Napalm Target of Campus March," Utah State University Student Life, 1 April 1968, 1.

260 Ibid.

261 James J. Platt, Salt Lake City, interview by author, 8 January 1995. Platt opened the Yellow House Restaurant in Logan in the 1970s. Currently, he works for the U.S. Postal Service in Salt Lake. He and his wife also run their own store, Dancing Train Imports, in Sugarhouse.
government. Their efforts made headlines throughout Utah.\textsuperscript{262}

SFP launched a costly campaign to elect delegates to the Associated Students of Utah State University (ASUSU). Platt felt that the party "was taken pretty seriously."\textsuperscript{263} Mike Crippen, another founder of the party, divulged a more negative view of the SFP. "I was trying to get a party system moving along. Elections had always gone to whoever had a pretty face. There was no relevance whatsoever. I tried to get a political party going. Unfortunately, it was ruined."\textsuperscript{264} Crippen felt the party was injured by the advertising of peace signs and other counterculture symbols. The use of these tokens surprised him because they were not originally discussed in the planning meetings. "This cost me my Security Department job."\textsuperscript{265} Crippen alleged that he was terminated from the USU Police Department because of his association with the highly publicized Student Freedom Party. The USU Police "didn't tell me, just let me go. I was told later this was why I was let go."\textsuperscript{266}

Unlike Crippen, Platt relished the publicity. The charismatic organizer declared for the position of administrative vice-president. \textit{Student Life}

\textsuperscript{262}The SFP's efforts made the front page of the University of Utah's \textit{Daily Utah Chronicle} and the capital city's \textit{Salt Lake Tribune} in the fall of 1968.

\textsuperscript{263}Platt interview.

\textsuperscript{264}Michael Crippen, Bountiful, interview by author, 21 December 1994.

\textsuperscript{265}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{266}Ibid.
journalist Andrew Zisper ran as an Independent Senator, and Crippen vied for Business and Social Science Senator. Other candidates included Steve Ellsworth for Science Senator, Ozone Chima for International Senator, and their only female candidate, Kathleen Dennis, for Independent Senator. The six candidates' photographs appeared in a paid advertisement in *Student Life* in which their platform mingled with peace signs. The platform consisted of 15 points. Aside from the peace signs, Vietnam was not mentioned directly, but showed up in point number 12: "The SFP will seek to increase student awareness of and participation in, social problems in the U.S." It was no secret around campus that SFP was organized by the antiwar students.

A few days later, SFP took out a full-page advertisement in *Student Life*. Void of photographs but flanked by peace symbols, the advertisement espoused more of the party rhetoric:

> We think that the students of USU are not oriented enough toward the American society, we think that they are not enough aware of the problems that challenge the society, and that challenge their futures . . . . The SFP believes that the university should take a more active role in solving these problems, and we believe that the student body should be made more aware of them.269

267 Ibid.

268 Ibid.

The remainder of the advertisement attacked the parental role of the university and the relationship between USU and the community. "It is the belief of the SFP that the university and particularly the administration, is overly responsive to the thoughts, attitudes, and reactions of the townspeople." The SFP continued to pander to the supposedly rebellious students in several more advertisements.

The result of the advertisements and campaigning became clear in late April when the election results came in. The candidates did not fare well. Platt lost his bid for administrative vice-president to Ken Anderson, who garnered 2,243 votes compared to Platt's 960. It might appear to be a profound beating for Platt, but it seems significant that the antiwar/flower power candidate received nearly one-third of the votes. The reluctant party member, Crippen, also failed to win. His opponent, Tom Jacobsen, scored 419 votes. Crippen claimed 221. The SFP made its mark on campus politics but could not convince a majority of students to endorse its candidates. Crippen claimed that shortly after, the SFP "just died."

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270 Ibid.

271 "Results Uncertain: Winners Named to Top Positions," *Utah State University Student Life*, 29 April 1968, 1. The uncertain results in the article had nothing to do with the Student Freedom Party.

272 Ibid.

273 Crippen interview.
The SFP met its demise, but J.J. Platt emerged as "the premiere liberal on campus," as observed by Alcorn. Platt remained at the center of social activism on campus until his departure in the 1970s. He said he wanted to prove that "Logan just wasn't immune to everything." He enjoyed the "coalescing of cultures" at USU that illuminated "a community with lots of repression." The Philadelphia native gained an FBI and a CIA file from his escapades at USU. He asserted that he was followed to an antiwar rally by FBI agents. Despite the controversy of his activism, Platt recalled that no one ever picked a fight with him.

Two years after Platt's SFP campaigned for student government, USU reacted to President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the deaths at Kent State (May 1970). The Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), headed by three to four students, mounted a protest. Lee Rawley, one of the organizers, remembered "feeling overwhelmed by the reaction. It was the biggest peace march that ever took place there [USU]. It was amazing; a surprise." The

274 Alcorn interview.

275 Platt interview.

276 Ibid.

277 Lee Rawley, Denver, interview by author, 28 December 1994. Rawley currently teaches in the Intensive English Institute at USU. She is on sabbatical in Denver.
march culminated after an active week, referred to as Antiwar Week by *Student Life*.

The first incident of Antiwar Week involved the disruption of ROTC drills on the Quad. *Student Life* estimated that perhaps 100 students confronted the ROTC.\(^\text{278}\) SMC stated that the spontaneous protest was to show the students' dissatisfaction with Nixon and support the "boycott at Kent State."\(^\text{279}\) ROTC cadets did not become angry with protesters. Some cadets even "told demonstrators they sympathized with their cause."\(^\text{280}\) *Student Life* sponsored a proposed boycott of classes but, in its editorial, blasted the demonstrators for trying to interrupt ROTC drills:

> Those demonstrators who clashed verbally with ROTC students, many of whom agreed in principle with them, showed to most Utah State students and townspeople that they are more interested in thrill seeking publicity and notoriety than in sincere and honest protest.\(^\text{281}\)

The SMC also sponsored a 48-hour vigil on the Quad, in which protesters stayed in tents. Rawley contended that the SMC could not use other

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\(^{278}\) "USU Joins Anti-War Protest: Demonstration Against ROTC," *Utah State University Student Life*, 8 May 1970, 1.

\(^{279}\) Ibid.

\(^{280}\) Ibid.

USU facilities. The Quad became the last resort. It also became the scene of harrassment of the demonstrators. Rawley recalled a truckload of people "swinging chains," recklessly driving through the crowd. While 15 people slept, three bombs were thrown, which allegedly could be "heard a half a mile away." Dean of Students Burtenshaw previously commented on the explosives and the involvement of the Rodeo Club. The protesters endured somewhat of a backlash in which Rawley recalled "jeering and spitting." Goodwin, who was also involved with the vigil, proposed a night watch following the bomb episodes. The SMC agreed to vacate the Quad the next day so the ROTC could continue drills.

A memorial service, under the direction of Rawley, was done for the four students killed at Kent State. It preceded the climactic march to downtown. The parade began on campus, moving west on 400 North into downtown Logan. The demonstration ended at Central Park. Student Life

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282Rawley interview. Rawley argued this point with school officials. She wondered why other groups could use campus facilities.

283Ibid.


285Burtenshaw interview.

286Rawley interview. Rawley recalled the heckling but remembered that few students participated.
quoted an observer as describing the march as "the biggest thing that's ever hit Logan." The newspaper estimated that approximately 300 participated.

"Persons from all walks of life, hairy and clean cut, young and old, even a few children, participated. There were a number of clergy among the marchers." The parade was characterized as being "peaceful."

Professor Lyon, one of the participants, reported that the march "went very well." He stated that "storekeepers came out to shake my hand and give support." By contrast, Student Life noted that not all townspeople welcomed the spectacle. "Occasionally, one or two hurled a 'love it or leave it' brand message at the peace marchers." Still, the protest ended without any violent incident. The SMC mobilized a crowd estimated at 300 to 500. Such a number constituted a dramatic turning point for the antiwar movement at Utah State and in Cache Valley. Student Life's headline conceded, "USU joins anti-war protest."

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287 Kulkarni and Shafer, Student Life.

288 Ibid.

289 Ibid.

290 Lyon interview.

291 Ibid.

292 Kulkarni and Shafer, Student Life.

293 Student Life estimated 300 demonstrators. Rawley asserted that there were 500. Lyon mentioned 400.
Rawley, an SMC organizer and spokeswoman, confirmed that USU's antiwar movement culminated the day of the march through Logan. Like Goodwin and Platt, she admitted that a higher proportion of the demonstrators were from out of state.\textsuperscript{294} She also noted that few females participated in the planning stage of the march. Rawley did not deny the support of native Utahns and female students in the march itself. Photographs from \textit{Student Life} revealed that possibly half of the demonstrators were women.

\textit{Student Life} provided ample photographs and coverage of the demonstrations at USU. The newspaper itself seldom commented about the war until 1970, when the publication proposed a boycott that never happened. A 1970 editorial declared that "we cannot justify the Asian conflict as an attempt to build on the past for a better America." The same editorial attempted to please everyone by noting that "we respect those who are genuinely in favor of the Vietnam conflict . . . ."\textsuperscript{295} Still, by suggesting a boycott of classes to show solidarity for the Kent State martyrs, \textit{Student Life} displayed an audacious courage that had been missing before 1970.

Goodwin recalled a battle for the editorialship of the student newspaper as early as 1967. A student named Jim Green was lined up to be the managing

\textsuperscript{294}Rawley interview.

editor but was replaced because of his "controversial viewpoints." Green, who became editor of the underground newspaper, *The Pot*, could not be located for comment. The incident did not appear in any *Student Life* story of the period.

The most successful underground newspaper, *The Wasatch Front*, emerged in the fall of 1970. After the considerable success of the peace march the previous spring, the new publication gained more support. The USU campus was the home office, but the scope of the newspaper also included Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, and Pocatello. Writers from these other cities contributed, and the newspaper became the center of the antiwar movement in the region. Rallies and conferences were planned through the paper's organization, the Wasatch Peace Action Coalition (WPAC). The group coordinated peace delegates to attend marches in places like Denver. Goodwin, Platt, and Packer took an active role in the WPAC. As the mouthpiece for the organization, *The Wasatch Front* described itself as "not necessarily underground . . . but with a certain air of the slightly shady." It also held itself up as a lofty erudite printing with columns like "The Intellectual's Guide to What's Happening."

Although successful, *The Wasatch Front* failed to last the school year.

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296Goodwin interview.

WPAC coordinated events that often took place in Salt Lake City, moving the focus away from the USU campus by 1971. As the 1970s progressed, the antiwar movement at USU and nationwide dwindled as new issues appeared.

The consensus seemed to be that USU had a small, fleeting antiwar movement during the Vietnam years. However, the "radical" students succeeded in keeping the issue alive. USU did not escape the controversy of the tumultuous 1960s and early 1970s. The Center for the Study of the Cause of War and Conditions for Peace kept debate existent. Students like J.J. Platt and Dayne Goodwin organized demonstrations against corporations like Dow Chemical. The Student Freedom Party failed to penetrate student government, but offered students an alternative point of view. The Vietnam issue affected students like Mike Crippen, who claimed to have lost a job over his involvement with peace groups. The Student Mobilization Committee, featuring Lee Rawley, triumphantly organized a mammoth parade through campus and the streets of Logan following the deaths at Kent State. Few could have ignored such a spectacle. Lastly, underground newspapers offered antiwar arguments and eventually connected Logan with other cities in the region through the Wasatch Peach Action Coalition. Even if most students stayed away from antiwar participation, USU had a tenacious movement that made a lot of noise.
Examples from the chapters revealed that each of the three campuses had some form of antiwar activity during the Vietnam War era. Despite such evidence, Utah's universities never developed an extensive movement opposed to the Asian conflict. The mass media of newspapers and television endured in Utah. The Vietnam issue emerged in campus debate. Still, those interviewed acknowledged that apathy pervaded Utah's universities. Antiwar organizations consisted of tenacious and often dedicated activists, but the state that vigorously helped elect Nixon produced universities lacking the atmosphere conducive to a raging rebellion.

Nixon and his vice-president, Spiro T. Agnew, often alluded to a "silent majority" that supported the president's foreign policy. In a 1969 televised address following Moratorium Day, Nixon insisted that most Americans endorsed U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia:

If a vocal minority, however fervent its cause, prevails over reason and the will of the majority, this Nation has no future as a free society. Let historians not record that when America was the most powerful nation in the world we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism. And so tonight—to you, the great silent majority of my fellow
Americans—I ask for your support.\textsuperscript{298}

Several months earlier, Agnew first coined the "silent majority" phrase. The vice-president used the term while blasting student activists:

America's silent majority is bewildered by irrational protest—and looking at the sullen, scruffy minority of student protesters, probably feels like saying: "If you prefer the totalitarian ideas of Mao or Ho Chi Minh, why stay here and destroy our freedoms?"\textsuperscript{299}

Regardless of political posturing, public opinion polls show that by the time Nixon took office in January of 1969, only one-third of the population supported the war. Slightly over half stood in opposition.\textsuperscript{300} The existence of a "silent majority" remains in question, especially by the spring of 1970 after the Cambodia/Kent State episodes.

All three of the universities in the study reached a pinnacle in antiwar activism following the Kent State tragedy. USU's largest march occurred. The U of U experienced a week of protest, resulting in the Park Building sit-in. Tension over petitions and free speech accelerated at BYU. At no other time was the antiwar movement more successful at Utah universities than during that notorious spring of 1970. This fact testifies to the power of the national


\textsuperscript{299}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{300}Summers, \textit{Vietnam War Almanac}, 290.
media. News events outside the state shaped significant local action. Antiwar
groups made themselves known, recruiting members of the community. Still,
no violence occurred. Not even 10 percent of the studentbodies participated in
the 1970 demonstrations. Universities in Utah may have joined in the antiwar
protests but faintly followed national trends. Utah did not lead or influence the
nation in students' opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Were BYU, U of U, and USU anomalies on a national scale? In a decade
so typecast as the era of student rebellion, Utah failed to live up to this image.
The Beehive State did have firmly organized movements. Neighboring states
like Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada did not have reputations for violent student
unrest. Universities in heartland states like Georgia, Arkansas, Indiana, or
North Dakota also failed to make national headlines concerning student rioting
in the Vietnam era. It could be reasoned that newsmaking universities like
Columbia and U.C. Berkeley were anomalies in their intense demonstrating
and violence. Other schools, like the University of Utah, vaguely followed in
their restless footsteps.

Questions persist about the extent and implications of student activism
in Utah. Each university displayed unique circumstances that contributed to or
retarded the growth of a raging movement. The reasons for a school's mood or
atmosphere cannot be definitively measured, but conclusions can be attempted
based on inferential evidence.
Did BYU actually have an antiwar movement? A movement is defined as organized activity of a society. The diminutive movement, organized by the Young Democrats or those involved in the Provo Peace Center, was loosely organized and seldom showed signs of overt revolt. However, a movement did exist. Antiwar activity at BYU remained underground, except for the efforts of the Young Democrats or of studentbody leaders, like Brian Walton, in 1970. The *Daily University* reported a few antiwar speeches at the university's lunchtime forum, but most of the action took place behind the scenes. The real story at BYU involved the attempts of the administration, especially conservative President Wilkinson, to stifle antiwar or "communist" leanings. The spy ring exhibited the subtle, yet poignant, threat to academic freedom. Psychological tests, to expel students, revealed the tactics used to rid the school of undesirable pupils, namely those who would not add to BYU's patriotic image. The number of students who became victims of such tests is not known, but the fact that it occurred at all remains significant.

The Vietnam era proved to be a period of repression at BYU. Speaking out against the administration was not taken lightly, as Walton learned with his antidraft flyer. Dr. Donna Lee Bowen, of BYU's Political Science Department, remembered that 20 years after the Vietnam conflict, students organized to protest the Gulf War. They proudly proclaimed that they were making up for BYU's indifference to the Vietnam conflict. Other serious issues, like feminism
and faculty conduct, continue to haunt BYU into the 1990s. The stinging issues of the 1960s and early 1970s failed to dissipate.

Did the University of Utah have the largest antiwar movement in Utah? How liberal was the school? The U of U had more organizations and a significantly larger turnout at antiwar rallies. The U of U's reputation as a liberal institution preceded it, but evidence suggested that it had more of a permissive attitude than a liberal one. The antiwar movement at the U of U was significantly larger and more organized than at USU or BYU. SDS gained access to the U of U, even though it was a watered-down version. The "Utah 81" were arrested at the infamous Park Building sit-in, which actually included the participation of hundreds. Marches on downtown Salt Lake originated from campus groups. Most telling was the strike vote in 1970 in which the studentbody voted against action taken by Nixon in Cambodia but chose to avoid a campus-wide protest strike. Located in an urban setting, the U of U was the most political campus but never gave the city police reason to intrude.

The most important aspect involving student activism at the University of Utah stemmed from the individuals. Former administrator and eventual U of U President Alfred C. Emery acknowledged that student activists eventually became community leaders. Kathy Collard claimed that her activism at the U of U nurtured her legal career, which is devoted to social reform. Stephen Holbrook served in Utah's House of Representatives and continues as an
advocate for Project 2000. Randy Dryer is a media lawyer and has also acted as president of the Utah Bar Association and as chairman of the Utah Sports Authority. All three remain in the Salt Lake City area. Collard, Dryer, and Holbrook are excellent examples of how certain University of Utah activists did not disappear but continued to exercise their influence in the community.

If USU had the highest nonresident percentages, why was it not the most politically active campus? USU had twice the percentage of nonresident students of the U of U. Nonresident students, like J.J. Platt, often led the antiwar effort at the land-grant school. Most of those interviewed admitted that nonresidents were overrepresented in liberal circles or activism in general at USU. Many of these nonresidents were international students, who did not appear to be heavily involved in USU's antiwar movement. The most significant factor involved the overall atmosphere at the school. The conservative community and student body did not create a political climate conducive to a tumultuous uprising. The voters of Cache County supported the Republicans in 1968 at a higher percentage than BYU's Utah County. It was also a smaller school, located in a relatively isolated valley. Consequently, Utah State University reflected national trends in a more diluted fashion.

Twenty-five years after the close of the 1960s, popular culture and historians alike paint college students of the era as long-haired radicals. Flowers, beads, and LSD add color to the image of young agitators fighting
against the United States' involvement in Southeast Asia. These stereotypes fail to take into account the geographic diversity of the antiwar movement. Activism on the nation's coasts caused a splash that was heard in America's heartland. The rippling effect assured that the movement would also hit Utah, however diluted and less potent.
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