



## **The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXXI, No. 125 May 3, 1971**

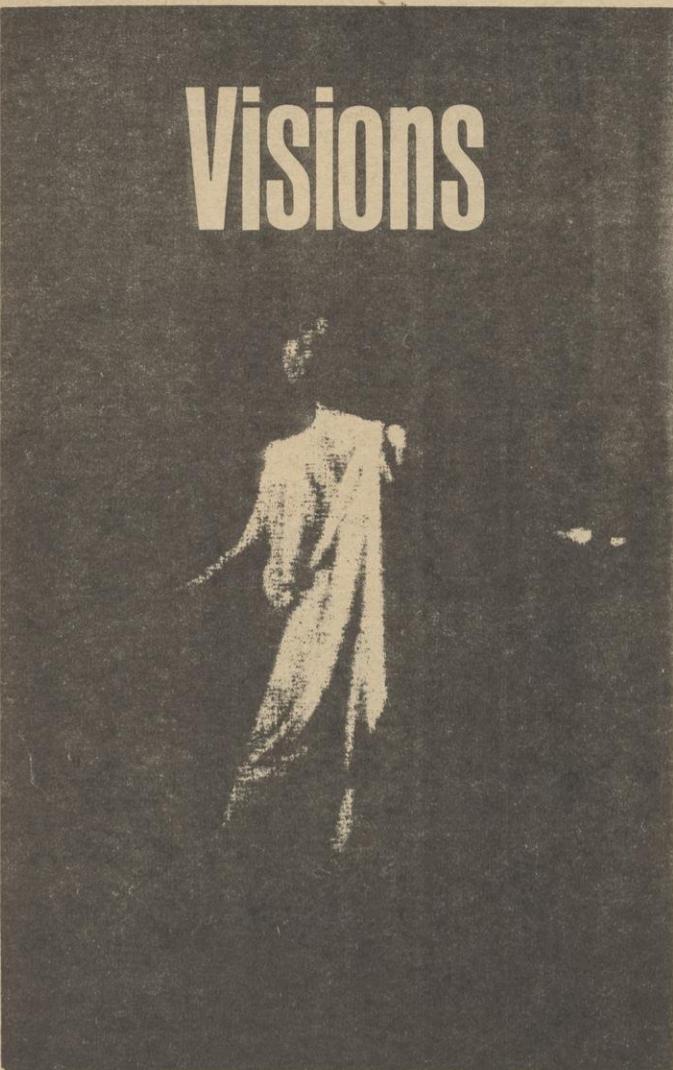
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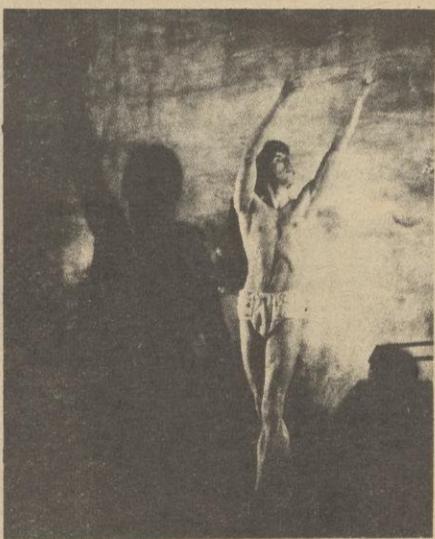
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# Visions



A liturgical Dance-drama. Throughout time prophets have had visions of the Savior's coming, and the events of his life. These visions, and others, were presented by the University Dance Repertory Theater last Thursday night, in choreography by Frank and Linda Hatch, Ellen Colescott, and Kathe Horton.



THE  
DAILY  
CARDINAL  
**MONDAY**

"He was oppressed and he was afflicted,  
Yet he opened not his mouth; he is  
brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and  
as a sheep before his shearers is dumb,  
so he opened not his mouth."

Isaiah 53:78

Photos By Mickey Pfleger



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# All sides continue U merger debate Legislature remains split

By TINA DANIELL  
and  
DIANE DUSTON  
of the Cardinal Staff

Gov. Lucey's proposed merger has been tossed around, bandied about, accepted by some and criticized by many since its inception some months ago.

Some Republicans have criticized the merger plan as a move by the governor to build a political force in Wisconsin's higher education. If adopted, the plan would set up 13 campus councils to which he would appoint six citizen members, who could outvote the remaining five—the campus chancellor, as chairman, two students and two faculty members elected by their peers.

It is uncertain what these campus councils would do but Lucey has said he wants them to have an advisory voice in policy—reporting to the merged Board of Regents with their recommendations.

IT WOULD BE necessary to appoint a president of the merged system. Although many feel that Lucey's choice would be John C. Weaver, others believe he wants Lee S. Dreyfus, president of Stevens Point State University for the job.

It is interesting to note that support for the merger comes from many who have been turned off to the University because of disruptions and violence on the Madison campus. They see the merger as a punishment for the University.

Sen. Walter G. Hollander (R-Fond du Lac) said that support also comes from personnel in the state university system because they feel their budget allotments could be brought to the level of the University of Wisconsin. "Those persons I have talked to in the state universities have expressed favor for the merger because they see a possibility of increased salaries for professors."

If the merger means an equalization of state fund distribution it would seem that the plan would be an increase in the budget rather than a decrease. In this period of austerity any proposal requiring added funds finds disfavor among legislators.

However, in a statement before

## WHAT'S IN STORE

The lines have been sharply drawn in the University merger battle with a decision last week by Senate Republicans that no policy changes such as the University issue can be made in the budget. They say they must be considered separately.

Meanwhile, the Joint Finance Committee will make its recommendations on the University merger and budget in the next several weeks. Lucey has warned the legislature that no budget will be approved without the merger and that he expects to sign a budget with the merger by August 30.

the state Joint Finance Committee Joe E. Nausbaum, assistant to the governor, said, "This proposal will result in immediate cost savings to the state by eliminating the duplication and overlapping administrative tasks. But these short-run cost savings really constitute a small part of the reason for consolidation. It is the long-range fundamental efficiencies that will result from a single system with strong and effective planning that has caused Gov. Lucey to propose consolidation."

Rep. Robert Huber (D-Milwaukee) counters this argument with, "The governor has stressed over and over again that

the merger proposal includes adequate safeguards against any degradation of quality anywhere in Wisconsin's higher educational system. The merger will finally put an end to the expensive competition that exists between the two systems for programs, funds, buildings and other 'prestige' items."

Huber stated that the merger will save the taxpayers money. "By combining three administrations into one, over \$4 million will be saved in the next biennium alone. Importantly, no student would be penalized because he attended an institution of higher learning in one part of the state rather than in another."

Some feel that the merger proposal was not thought out well enough in advance. Lucey has shifted positions in several instances and is expected to do so again. Some see this as healthy flexibility and responsiveness, others criticize it as a result of inadequate groundwork of such a major policy change.

Both Rep. Ed Nager (D-Madison) and Assembly majority leader Anderson remain undecided about the proposed merger, preferring to wait and see what comes out of the Finance Committee before making a decision. "I think a merger statute can be written in such a way that it can protect this campus and other campuses; I think a merger can work," Anderson commented.

In addition to the Joint Finance Committee, the Senate Education Committee has conducted public hearings on the question of the

merger. Sen. Raymond Heinzen, chairman of that committee, supports the merger, but he and Sen. John Chilsen have authored a substitute bill for Lucey's proposal, "to create a vehicle for public hearings and get public reaction to the merger," said Heinzen.

Their bill, both Heinzen and Chilsen said, is similar to Lucey's proposal. "We're not trying to find a different way to accomplish the merger, but a way in which the merger will be considered separately," Heinzen said.

Questions which several of the legislators feel Lucey hasn't answered include: tenure—whether it should be statutory or decided individually by the faculty of each campus; defining the mission for each campus in the system, including the two-year centers such as the one at Wausau.

This mission articulation should, according to Sen. Carl Thompson, specify at which campuses undergraduate studies are to be emphasized, which campuses will include research and Ph.D. studies, and in what fields graduate studies will be allowed at what are now the extension campuses.

Another question asked by Chilsen was, "Are we creating a monster too big for the legislature to handle? The merger system with over a billion dollar budget, would be an awesome lobbying force."

A monster or not, the legislature has to tackle the issue and make a decision.



Jeff Jayson



Benjamin Ellis

FROM THE TWO ends of State St. the battle of the University merger is being fought. Gov. Patrick Lucey is pictured on the left facing President John Weaver.

## Regents uncommitted; raise questions, fears

By GENE WELLS  
of the Cardinal Staff

The University reaction to Gov. Patrick Lucey's proposed merger of the University of Wisconsin system has been a cautious one, with reservations about possible detrimental effects of the merger on the University being voiced from many quarters.

Regent Frank Pelisek, Whitefish Bay, has gone on record in favor of the concept of merger. No one else in the University's upper hierarchy has gone that far.

The Board of Regents as a group has not yet taken a position on the merger. University Pres. John Weaver has not announced a position for or against the merger. The University Committee, in a position ratified by the Madison Campus Faculty Senate, listed eight conditions which were felt to be essential to a successful merger.

The committee listed a clear identification of each campus mission, a Board of Regents free from political pressure, a strong central administration, strong unit faculty government and a high degree of autonomy for individual campuses among its conditions for merger.

FORMER REGENT Gordon Walker, Racine, said the merger is too large a reorganization to be fully accomplished by August, the time set for completion by Gov. Lucey. Walker, whose term on the board expired May 1, also has expressed fears that a part-time Board of Regents would be unable to effectively manage the huge system.

"The administrator at the top and his staff will run the show," Walker predicted.

Board President Bernard Ziegler, West Bend, could not be reached for comment. Regent Walter Renk, Sun Prairie, vice president of the board, indicated he is uncommitted on the merger when contacted by the Cardinal.

Renk said the alleged savings from the merger should be proven, and also wants assurance that the merger will not detract from the University's greatness and that each campus will be able to maintain its identity.

Renk expressed fears that faculty members at the state universities would want salaries comparable to University faculty salaries and that faculty raises would add to financial problems. "Our people aren't going to take less salary," Renk commented.

EQUALIZATION of tuition by reducing University tuition to the state university level has also been suggested, Renk noted, adding that reduction of tuition revenue would increase financial pressures.

Some spokesmen for the state universities have been advocating that the state universities be granted funding equality with the University's Milwaukee, Green Bay and Parkside campuses.

## The Daily Cardinal

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## merger and the budget

By SHARYN WISNIEWSKI

The fate of many at the University—undergrads, graduate students, professors, and even regents—is hanging in the balance awaiting final decision on the education section of Gov. Patrick J. Lucey's Executive Budget.

Lucey has cut \$9.3 million from the University's base budget and has proposed a merger of the University of Wisconsin and Wisconsin State University systems. Both the budget cuts and the merger are opposed by the University administration.

The controversial merger of the two systems is being recommended by Lucey as a way "to provide greater educational benefit to the undergraduates of the state in a more economical fashion."

THE NEW BOARD would be composed of 16 members: six members would be retained from the State Universities Board, the superintendent of public instruction, the chairman of the State Board of Vocational and Adult Education, and four additional citizen members appointed by the governor.

The new board's president would have executive responsibility for all 13 degree-granting campuses, the two-year campuses and the extended training and public service functions.

Each campus would be headed by a chancellor and have an 11-member council composed of citizen, student and faculty members, and would have advisory and consultative functions.

The two systems would be merged under a single board that would have the authority to determine statewide collegiate policies and the power to allocate resources. The Coordinating Council for Higher Education (CCHE) would be abolished.

A second change Lucey designed to return attention to undergraduate education and reduce the budget is a de-emphasis of graduate education, especially in subject areas where there is a national surplus of degree holders. According to the budget report, "Investment in graduate education, when there is no demand for many Ph.D. degrees is an inappropriate allocation of dollars." Lucey says he is leaving it to University President John C. Weaver to decide which graduate programs to cut back, which research projects to eliminate or which campus to allocate funds.

University faculty are offered a pay raise in the Lucey budget, but are expected to help finance their salary increase by carrying a greater classroom teaching load. Presently the University faculty, compared to other Big Ten schools, ranks last or near last in terms of total compensation in

three of the four academic ranks—professor pay ranks ninth, associate professor, tenth, assistant professor, tenth, instructor, seventh. The salary package offers an 8 per cent increase the first year and an 8.5 per cent increase the second.

The University Committee, which acts as the executive board of the Madison campus faculty, along with University President Weaver, the regents and other University administrators, have totally rejected Lucey's line of reasoning in justifying the drastic budget cuts.

The University administrators in testimony April 1 before the Joint Finance Committee said the University won't be able to retain its high quality if the \$9.3 million base cut in the University budget is accepted.

Weaver stressed that teaching and research are both important and inseparable. He said a \$2.3 million cut in the graduate program where research is conducted will impose a great loss on undergraduate education because there is a close relationship between the two.

TO COUNTER THE governor's attacks on faculty group contact hours, Weaver said, "You can't measure the amount of work a faculty member does by the amount of hours he is teaching classes." He then said this is like analyzing how much work a senator or assemblyman does by counting the number of hours he is actually in the senate or assembly chambers, and not counting all the committee and outside work.

Weaver tried to explain the unique position of the University that must be maintained. He said you can't expect to have financial equity between Platteville's engineering department and Madison's engineering department.

"You can't compare nuclear and chemical engineering at Madison with civil and industrial engineering at Platteville," he said. "Chemical and nuclear engineering are inherently much more expensive than civil or industrial engineering."

STUDENTS WILL directly feel the Lucey budget cuts in the form of lessened financial aid. Wallace H. Douma, director of financial aids, said his department requested one and a half million dollars just to keep even with the 1965 base year figures, taking into account rising costs and inflation. Cuts made by the regents and the governor finally dwindled the figure to a \$600,000 increase to the \$950,000 base budget for 1971-73.

In the midst of the pleading on the University's side for needed funds and on the governor's side for needed austerity loom the future of the University and the people who are part of it.

*The protest goes on*

# Springtime in Washington

By PETER GREENBERG

The week began with all of the excitement belonging to a dinner party in Georgetown, on Park Avenue, or in Maple Bluff. It was the annual spring rite—and the tribes were quietly returning once again to the reservation for the homecoming ceremonies.

It was reunion time in the city of Washington, and the familiar faces turned to smiles as the travellers recognized their friends and teammates from years past.

It seemed, however, as if everyone was bored and had been through it all before. And yet, they were all back for more of the same. Perhaps the peace symbol industry would have one more boom year.

#### Reception at the Ambassador

The reception room of the Ambassador Hotel was silently filling as the first pre-march press conference began. "Is the AP here yet," yelled one speaker. "They are? OK, we can start." While the opening statements were being read, march organizers newly arrived hugged each other as they otherwise might have done at a cocktail party two weeks earlier.

**THE MARCH COORDINATORS** of NPAC (National Peace Action Coalition) were themselves an example of reunion. The leaders were, with few exceptions, the survivors of the Old Left who felt sentimentally attached, it seemed, to a movement tactic left over from the early sixties.

And they were enjoying themselves. Fred Halstead (the only other man besides Harold Stassen to run for President six times and lose), Jerry Gordon, Ruth Gage-Colby and the rest who had been in mothballs were limbering up for the annual Old Timers Game at Yankee Stadium. Only the stadium was on Pennsylvania Avenue.

"It will be peaceful and legal," said Gordon, as newsmen feasted themselves on cinnamon rolls and coffee served from a large silver urn. One of the more politically astute correspondents stood at the door surveying the situation. "You can tell it's a Trot function," he

**"You can tell it's a Trot function," he said, "who else would serve coffee and Danish before an anti-war march?"**

said, shaking his head slowly while he laughed. "Who else would serve coffee and danish before an anti-war march?"

#### Paranoid Ascension

March headquarters was housed in a come-as-you-are office building for movement groups. So many were located here that the elevators, by all logic, should have had attendants to call out the floors on the way up: "Fourth floor, SMC. Buttons and posters, assorted hangers on . . . Eighth floor, NPAC, coffee doughnuts, press releases and well-meaning people . . . Ninth floor, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, turn right, May Day Collective, turn left . . . watch your step . . . Tenth floor, Vets Against the War . . ." et al.

**THE FUNNIEST THING** about the building had to be those elevators. It's hard to explain the feeling of ascending for thirty seconds with ten paranoid schizophrenic people—the May Day folks staring down SMC, SMC staring down NPAC, and almost everyone trying not to stare down the vets.

Outside the building, streets were crowded, but not with marchers. Cherry blossoms and tourists had returned to the city, and it was a good week to buy Eastman Kodak stock.

Most restaurants, usually crowded during just lunch and dinner hours, were impossible at other times during the day. Every hotel room was filled, and the postcard and souvenir plate business never was better.

**LARGE CROWDS LINED** up outside of the Justice building to take the 45 minute FBI tour; others waited equally long to see the public rooms at the White House, seemingly oblivious to the new wave of visitors.

Every so often, however, a tourist, Instamatic in hand, would cautiously approach a longhair on a corner and ask to take his picture so he could show the folks back in Helena. Once I saw the true American spectacular as a tourist posed his wife and two seven year-old girls next to some of the vets on the mall.

#### Games marches play

Nevertheless, the days before the march could not all be classified as fun and games. Mostly they were games. As the NPAC people refused to recognize the May Day Collective (and vice versa) things approached the political condition known as "silly." May Day had called a press conference at eleven o'clock one morning and when NPAC found out they, too, held a session at eleven. The result: the press itself informally boycotted both.

In between the vets' guerilla warfare on the steps of the Capital and John Kerry's moving speech in the Senate, the price of buttons went from 50 cents to one dollar a shot, and interviews became harder to obtain.

Each evening at six thirty everyone would gather in front of their televisions sets—the vets on the tenth floor, SMC on the fourth, etc., and see if they had been discovered by the media barons. The competition for coverage was intense, and newsmen were often badgers about giving "the other group" more time on the air.

The group that got (and deserved to get) the most time was the veterans. They were also the most media oriented group there. While NPAC was busy with their mimeograph machine, the vets were talking of atrocities, talking with senators, reporters, and throwing their medals over the hastily built (but strong) fence around the west side of the Capital building. Their actions were their story, and their stories were their motives.

But in the long run, it was all to lead up to a predicted (and still alleged) cultural revolution as longhairs were to march hand in hand with Teamsters, and workers were to

link up with students in the march to maintain "the good fight."

#### Trotsky lives

On the night before the march, the Chevy vans, the VW buses, and the hitchers started arriving. "We predict at least 190 buses from New Jersey tomorrow alone," said one NPAC leader, at an evening press conference. Later, when this was reported on the eleven o'clock news, one stone-out May Dayer turned to his friend and said, "You see, Leon Trotsky is alive and well!" His companion turned, smiling, and retorted, "And what is he doing perchance?" His friend already had the answer. "He owns a charter bus in Trenton." Ha. Ha.

The eve of the march was quiet. The vets for the most part had done their duty and had left the mall as promised, and the city braced itself for the dawn patrol.

**THE NPAC PEOPLE** had published maps of the march area, and march marshals, trained personally by Fred Halstead in "how to be peaceful and legal" were on the mall two hours before kick-off.

However, so many people arrived early that march leaders barely had enough time to toss the coin. The crowd, expanding in mass like an amoeba, grew to the point that the march began 50 minutes early.

Marshals locked hands in a wide oval, and into it stepped 127 truck driving Teamsters from Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis, clad in blue nylon blazers and overseas caps.

"Are you expecting any trouble," a police Seargent was queried. "No, just a long day," was his shrugged response.

**AS THE CROWD MOVED** towards the Archives building, a young couple joined the crowd, and the man was beaming. "This is my wife here. We met here in Washington two years ago at a demonstration. Isn't it wonderful," he asked before running to catch up with the vanguard.

A May Day contingent, flags in tow, ran out in front of the marchers, and for a brief moment there was some confusion. "Man, those construction workers have it coming," said one tribe member. "We're gonna tear the motherf-ker fence down."

However, by the time his contingent had arrived, close to 5,000 people (who probably wanted to say they had been there without wasting a good pair of shoes) were listening to a tape of the Airplane singing "Wooden Ships" as the sound system was being set up. The tribe never got close.

\* \* \*

It was a happy group on the Capitol steps behind the wooden fence that separated them (and the TV cameras) from the masses. NPAC had printed passes for each area, and if one didn't have a "Platform" pass, one stayed in the press area, near the volunteers making peanut butter and jelly sandwiches.

It was almost ready to start. The phone company had just finished installing the last of its 35 press phones when David Livingston, President of Local 65 in New York, began to speak. "The eyes of the world are on you. You are the stars and this is your meeting," Livingston said.

But NPAC had prepared a list of over 20 "one-minute greeters," and over 30 "two-minute greeters." And after the second speaker, no one was quite sure whose meeting it was.

Each speaker seemed to want to speak about his area of interest and how it related to the war. As a result, the one-minute speeches often turned into eight minute autobiographies.

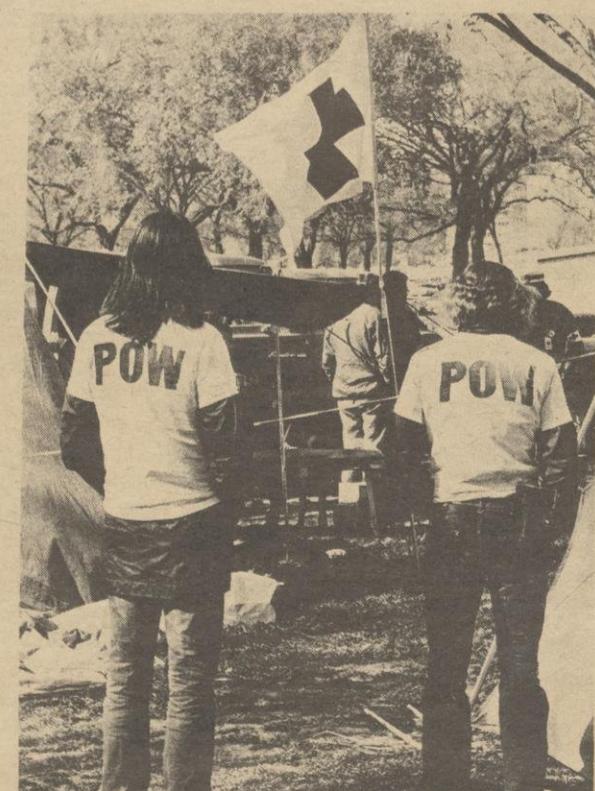
There was no way of telling if the crowd was bored, because there was no way, it seemed, for the crowd to be silent. They were too infatuated with the possibility that they were making history—somewhere, sometime.

At one point, however, they did show some antagonism when Henry Niles, President of Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace began his "greeting" with "Friends, this war is bad for business . . ."

\* \* \*

Behind the speaker's podium, the entertainers were tuning their musical instruments.

"And here they are," Livingston boomed, "together for the first time in nine months, Peter Paul and Mary!" Peter Yarrow, looking spaced out, and with the words to "Give Peace a Chance," and "Blowing in the Wind" taped



to his battered guitar, began the songs.

Out of nowhere, flashing a "V" with one hand, and grabbing for a mike with another, came Mr. Moldy Oldie himself, Mitch Miller, who then proceeded to "sing-along" while at the same time upstaging PP&M and blocking them from the TV fans.

After they were finished, I talked with Yarrow. I asked him what he thought of the march. His press agent was close by. "It's part of the new consciousness," he began with a vague smile. "Tell me about this consciousness," I begged innocently. "Well," he uttered as he gathered his thoughts, "we know where it's not at . . . so, while we're looking for where it IS at . . . we have to get rid of where it's not at . . . dig it?" His press agent was satisfied, and Yarrow was smiling, apparently confident he had expressed himself.

Just then Livingston introduced a new greeter. "And

**... and the man said, beaming, "This is my wife here. We met in Washington two years ago at a demonstration. Isn't it wonderful, . . ."**

here she is to speak to you, the mother of Angela Davis, who has traveled here to speak to you, here she is to speak to you, Mrs. Angela—no, no, here she is, Mrs. Davis!"

AS SHE APPROACHED the microphones, Yarrow, his vague smile still cemented on his face, motioned me over. "Tell me," he inquired, "who's Angela Davis?"

"Are you serious," I responded. "Yeah. Who is she," Yarrow repeated. The press agent was beginning to get edgy when someone overheard our conversation interrupted with the information. "See, I never read newspapers and I never listen to the news," Yarrow explained. "It's part of the new consciousness . . . dig it?"

Standing beyond Yarrow was the heroine of New York's 19th Congressional District, Bella Abzug.

"Battling Bella" had just finished speaking and was tearing into a McIntosh apple as I asked her for her impressions of the march. She took two more huge bites before swallowing, gazed out over the crowd (which stretched as far back as the Monument) and inadvertently sprayed me with a mixture of apple juice and saliva as she said "It ain't Woodstock."

"But isn't it something like a Woodstock with politics?" a stranger interjected. "Nah. Woodstock was a focus on yourself. Today it's a focus on change," Abzug responded.

But already, even as David Livingston continued to

**Each speaker seemed to want to speak about his area of interest and how it related to the war. As a result the one-minute speeches often turned into eight minute auto-biographies.**

proclaim "They're still coming, they're still coming," the crowd had begun to focus on itself. They were tired, and they were leaving. The afternoon was over, and for the most part, so was the excitement.

The rally had ended two hours earlier, and as the temperature dropped and the wind whipped up, darkness settled on the city. The Washington Monument, its two red tower lights blinking slowly, was brightly lit—not by any park lights but by numerous bonfires around the obelisk. They had come here to rest before travelling on.

And they stayed simply because they were tired from marching or just had no other place to go.

Some brought their cars, parking them haphazardly on the mall. Most just brought a blanket or two to wait out the night.

A rock concert had been promised, but was late getting started. In the lull, the tribal percussions had begun, as bongos and bodies throbbed against the cold, punctuating the loud whining of nearby motorcycles.

Planks were ripped from park benches near the monument to fuel the bonfires; the 32 American flags surrounding the structure had been torn earlier.

"Hey, got any psychedelics?" asked a 14-year-old from Bethesda. "If you don't have drugs," she continued, "how about your jacket? I'm cold, man."

Long lines from 20 to 30 people stretched around isolated park phone booths as they queued up to call parents and friends about their big day in Washington.

At 11th and E St., a lone black Washington cop stood watch. "I've been on this corner since seven this morning," he boasted sarcastically. The policeman, identified as T.A. Anthony, had spent most of his time directing lost marchers and April's inescapable cherry blossom tourists. "Hell, if I could have, I would've taken off the uniform and marched with you," he said. "I'm with you all the way, and most of the guys feel like I do."

Anthony, 26, when asked why he was a cop, cheerily replied "that's cause I'm a draft dodger. I taught high school for two years until the Army got me. That's when I became a cop," he continued, in between giving directions to a blanketed couple on their way to the monument. "And six months from now, when I'm 27, I'll no longer be a cop."

In the distance, as the wind carried bits and pieces of conversations away from the nation's phallic symbol, the exodus from the city had begun.

As I tried to make my way across the darkened mall, I bumped into an old acquaintance who I had not seen since high school. After an exchange of polite niceties, we bid each other an uneasy farewell. He was going to New York. I would be returning to Madison. "In any case," he promised, "I'll see you next year. Third week in April, OK?"



A brighter note in the proceedings: Mitch Miller (somewhere back in the center of this photo) led the multitudes in a heartwarming, if somewhat exuberantly off-tune, version of "Give Peace A Chance."



Cardinal photos by  
Peter Greenberg

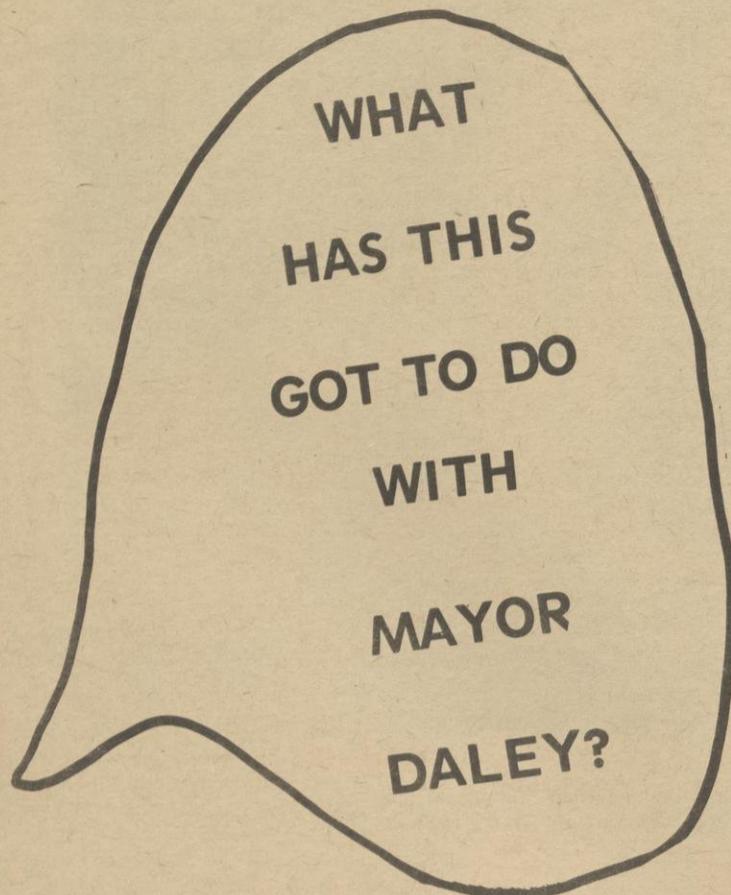


This Vietnam veteran (holding a toy submachine gun) poses dramatically to illustrate the uncompromising feelings of former Southeast Asian combatants who marched by the thousands in protest against a government they had formerly willingly served.

The immovable force meets the irresistible object and the war goes on, as Washington protestors and the government administration fail to see eye to eye.



As he has said before, Nixon told his Thursday night press conference that the anti-war crowd, estimated at near 700,000, would not "intimidate" him or influence his "Vietnamization" policy. Nonetheless deterred, the masses amassed during the April 24 weekend to vigorously denounce the Southeast Asian war conduct of the United States.



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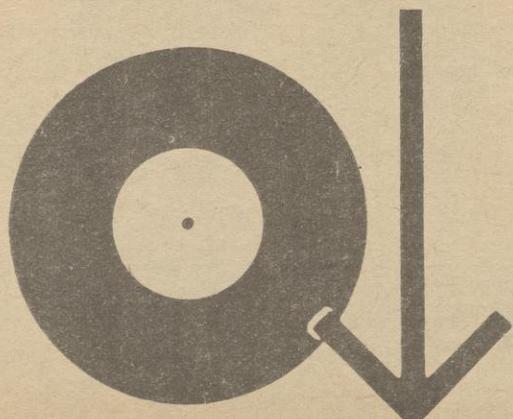
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Andy Himes and Barb Olson (New Morning)	1,568
Mark Wilder and Nino Amato (Horizon)	364
Warren Kozak and Tom Gibbon (Independent)	224
Debby Pope and Diane Pasta (Socialist Union)	216

## NSA DELEGATES

Charles Gelman, Surge
Theodore Gill, Surge
Kenneth Henry, Surge
Catherine Lyman, Surge
Steve Martin, Surge
Bill Rauwerdink, Surge

## STUDENT SENATE WINNERS

District 1—Paul Konfa, Surge	District 11—Mitch Lechter, N.M.
District 2—Linda Larkin, Surge	District 12—Gary Vogt, N.M.
District 3—Larry Bailin, Surge	District 13 (short term)—Bonni Roberts, Surge
District 4—Don Kao, Surge	District 13—Judy Nemschoff, Surge
District 5—Mark Janink, Surge	District 14—Henry Shipper, N.M.
District 6—Ira Mintz, N.M.	District 15—Ellen Machtinger, N.M.
District 7—Rodney Draheim, Horizon	District 16—Nancy Marcel, Surge
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District 9—Fran Bernstein, N.M.	
District 10—Mark Frankel, Surge	

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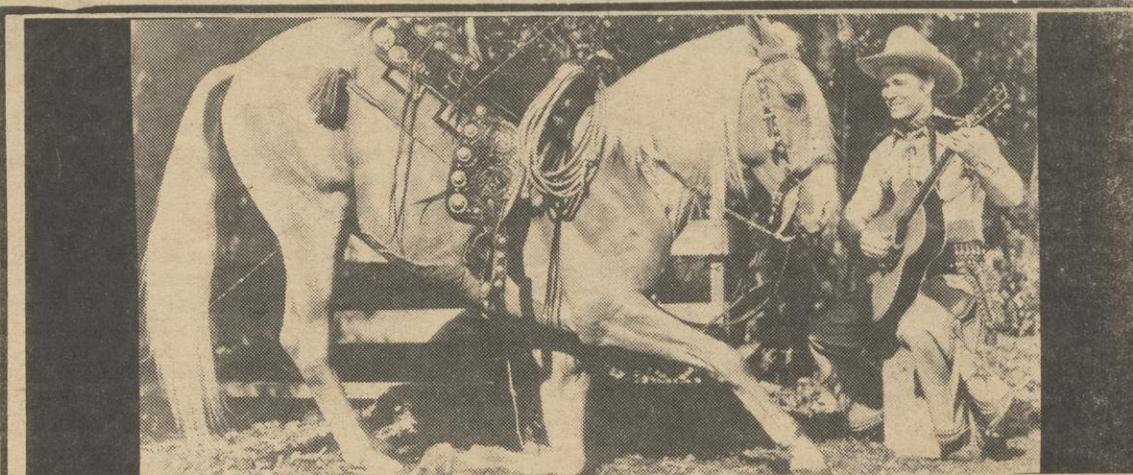
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# Kent State: Unanswered Questions

**KENT STATE: WHAT HAPPENED & WHY**  
James Michener, Random House, \$10.00

By JON WOLMAN  
of the Cardinal Staff

"... Kent State, at the end of April, was like many other American colleges and universities, and to believe that deaths occurred here because the school was in some way different is to miss the whole point. The shootings could have happened at almost any large university, given the series of unfortunate events that plagued Kent during the first days of May."

The dramatic impact of those shootings is reflected in an opinion shared by many: that the dimension of campus turbulence that was to follow was in reaction to incidents at Kent State University more than to the invasion of Cambodia by American troops.

The information that has leaked out of Kent, Ohio has been, almost exclusively, media coverage of the partisans, and "facts" uncovered by the most blatantly biased commissions conceivable, hardly a complete or objective presentation.

**KENT STATE: What Happened and Why** is a precisely researched narrative which, in the end, doesn't really tell what happened or why. To try to have done so, as author James Michener's own research has borne out, would have been alternately presumptuous and deceitful.

The book is based upon at least eight months of interviews, examination of records, photographs, testimony, news accounts and the logical extention of known facts. Michener has further gone to the trouble to get the feel of Kent State, discarding the dry newspaper-breaking-the-facts approach to get behind the events in terms of human analysis. And Michener presents us with an important book, important because he has done a valuable job of sifting the memories, the evidence, and the significance of Kent State.

Michener traces the history of antiwar activity at Kent State. He recreates the immediate events which precipitated the shooting of four students on the Pagoda one year ago tomorrow. Step-by-step, back and forth in time, Michener combines the two to give as complete a picture as possible of the forces that coincided to create the Kent State Four.

The evidence is all encompassing, gaps are few; yet Michener never is able to say Kent State: What Happened as fact, for the evidence is often contradictory. Michener points out that he leaves the contradictions alone, doesn't try to pick between them unless he can be absolutely certain. The result is that after reading Kent State the more obvious questions really aren't answered conclusively.

**WHO WAS TO Blame?** According to Michener, everyone was to blame in some way. He won't take a definite stand although he does make certain conclusions on the level of events and causation. He agrees the National Guard members cannot be called into account for murder and cites the catch-all Ohio State law which serves, in effect, to protect guardsmen from prosecution.

The greatest controversy still centers upon whether or not the guard felt they were in mortal danger when they turned and fired. Both opinions are aired extensively, and Michener finally lends his own after viewing a film of the incident. "To have claimed, as some did, that the group of students hurrying up from the right constituted a 'mortal danger' or 'a howling mob bent on killing the Guard'

required either extra-sensory perception or a new definition of words. But that is not what is really relevant.

The larger question must be, 'What would a hot, tired Guardsman think if he caught a glimpse of moving students coming at him on his blind right flank?' He could reasonably think that he was about to be attacked by a 'howling, vicious mob prepared to tear him apart.' The fact that in ten years of antiwar protest in this country there has never been a "howling, vicious mob prepared to tear 'anyone' apart" doesn't seem to phase Michener in the least.

Questions to be answered reach even farther back. Should the Guard have been there in the first place? Michener says, "Because students assembled peacefully, conducted themselves at the beginning nontumultuously, and never in concert, experts have concluded that there was no riot in the common sense of that word . . . It is logical to argue that had the Guard not been there, no disturbance would have developed. But this is irrelevant; the Guard was there and for understandable reason. Society had assembled combustible materials, and no one should be surprised that they ignited."

Michener, as you may have noticed, doesn't take a stand, even when he takes a stand. That may not be overly courageous of him, but he does such a detailed job of presenting researched scenarios of the relevant proceedings that one is grateful to the author for leaving most of the conclusions to the reader, instead of trying to grant himself a position of immaculate political analyst, for when he takes up that position, on occasion, his logic seems to fail him. The failure of **Kent State: Why?** is a failure in title choice.

#### "Emotionally draining" to Read

Michener is at his most parochial when dealing with the activities of girls: their "vulgarity," their "teasing" the Guardsmen, their militance, their determination. He presents, and echoes, numerous witnesses who stood in awe at the "unfeminine" behavior in the face of a war detested, a system they no longer believe in. Boys will be boys, but how do you figure the girls? Michener never finds out.

The book is emotionally draining; the narration can be criticized for presenting things too dramatically, or for relying on memories jogged by probing media, preconceptions, and an effort to see what you wish you had seen. Which is the way it is at Kent State, which is so important to the future there, if not so important in understanding the past.

When a student reacts in August, "there was really no need for the Guard," it says more about what will happen tomorrow than yesterday. Michener spends some time looking for tomorrow at Kent State and his speculations are the epitome of a man longing to save this nation before the forces that created Kent State create an even more ominous chaos elsewhere.

**SOME OF THE** more interesting passages which abound in **Kent State: What Happened and Why** include:

"There was an aura of mystery about the actual burning of the (ROTC) building (Saturday night, May 2). Why were the arsonists granted an uninterrupted interval of 70 minutes in which to try to set the building afire?" As close as Michener comes to giving a reprimand goes to the Kent city and University police who throughout the weekend displayed either purpose or incompetence which Michener is satisfied to not understand rather than censure.

When speaking of isolated trashing of a respected University building, Michener speaks of German-born Professor Harvey Saalberg, "a survivor of Nazi concentration camps. Tears came to his eyes as he saw his beautiful building being defaced. He was reminded of the glass that had shattered throughout Germany on that famous Crystal Night when the Nazi hoodlums finally asserted their leadership."

Assistant Prof. Dan Fuller is quoted: "I was able to view Kent State without hysteria because I had seen agitations at Wisconsin and believe me, they were much, much, worse. In comparison, our kids at Kent were well behaved."

**MICHENER QUOTES** a Czechoslovakian visiting professor, who said, "Russia took over my whole country without killing one student. Your soldiers couldn't take over a plot of grass." Michener adds, "What Koutnik left out was one fundamental difference between the two events: in Czechoslovakia no one could conceivably imagine that the Russian guns were not loaded or would not be fired." One supposes Michener is more secure in this proof of American guns as poised and willing, in order that the American students might give in without dissenting a government invasion of an Asian nation. Or two. Or three.

Toward the end, Michener cautions, "It is naive for the citizens of Kent to deplore the university or for the voters in Portage county to declare war on students. It is themselves they are fighting; it is their own children they are rejecting, and of a hundred problems which face them, 99 would continue even if the university were abolished."

In speaking of the grand jury, which indicted 25 defendants and no Guardsmen, Michener said, "Taking the estimates that appear in the conclusions to each of the days (presented in order in the book) it is obvious that the persons responsible for this book believe there was justification, if not conclusive evidence, for making the following arrests: 400 misdemeanors, 150 minor felonies, 37 major felonies, of which 162 had already been made. A sigh of relief swept over Portage County when the grand jury made its report (handing down thirty one indictments to 25 defendants). That it (the grand jury) had not been vindictive was a tribute to our legal system."

One wonders 'what is a justification for arrests' outside that of conclusive evidence. One wonders whether or not a catch-all law protecting the Guardsmen is a tribute to our legal system. One ultimately wonders whether Michener tries to hard to straddle the middle of the road.

**THE IMPACT** May 4, 1970, in Kent Ohio has upon this country may go far beyond one chaotic month of campus disorders, for as Michener has inadvertently stumbled upon, "the American guns are, indeed, loaded and ready to be fired." The effect this knowledge has upon this nation is for the historical future.

Four years ago, Stephen Stills wrote "Step out of line/They come and take you away," today he sings, "Step out of line/they shoot you down."

**Kent State: What Happened and Why.**

WSA  
vote  
in

By RON SVOBODA  
of the Cardinal Staff

The WSA elections are finally over—maybe.

When the returns came in Friday morning, Tim Higgins (SURGE) was announced as president after beating his closest rival, Andy Himes of New Morning by nearly 1,000 votes. SURGE also won 10 of the 18 senate seats up, with New Morning taking 6, Horizon one, and an independent one.

Both Cardinal Board seats also went to SURGE, as well as all six positions for NSA delegates. The referendum on the Peace treaty passed with 3475 voters supporting it and with only 883 opposing. Students also voted that they wouldn't mind having their tuitions increased to provide scholarship funds for the underprivileged by a vote of 2864 to 1563.

Higgins, who refers to himself as a "systems radical," defeated Himes when 2487 people voted for him and only 1568 supported Himes. SURGE ran extremely well in the districts determined by geographical location, and swept all the dormitory seats.

But the elections are definitely going to be contested. Spearheading the dissidents will be the United Students party who ran a campaign for the Presidency and a number of senate seats only to have their names removed from the ballot the day before voting began.

Members of the party were successful in getting the student court to order these elections postponed early Wednesday morning, the day voting was scheduled to begin. However, the elections did begin despite the court order, and after two hours of voting another student court tribunal reversed the early morning decision, and the elections were completed according to schedule.

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